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THE WORKS

OF THE

RIGHT REVEREND JOSEPH HALL, D.D.

BISHOP OF EXETER AND AFTERWARDS OF NORWICH.

A NEW EDITION,

REVISED AND CORRECTED, WITH SOME ADDITIONS,

BY

PHILIP WYNTER, D.D.

PRESIDENT OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD.

VOL. VIII.

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THE BREATHINGS

OF

THE DEVOUT SOUL.

I.—Blessed Lord God, thou callest me to obedience, and fain would I follow thee; but what good can this wretched heart of mine be capable of except thou put it there? Thou knowest I cannot so much as wish to think well without thee I have strong powers to offend thee: my sins are my own: but whence should I have any inclination to good but from thee, who art only and all good? Lord, work me to what thou requirest, and then require what thou wilt.

II.—Lord God, whither need I go to seek thee! Thou art so with me, as that I cannot move but in thee. I look up to heaven: there I know thy Majesty most manifests itself; but withal, I know, that being here thou art never out of thy heaven, for it is thy presence only that makes heaven. O, give me to enjoy thee, in this lowest region of thy heavenly habitation: and as, in respect of my natural being, I live and move in thee; so let me not live and move spiritually, but with thee and to thee.

III.—Whither now, O whither do ye rove, O my thoughts? Can ye hope to find rest in any of these sublunary contentments? Alas, how can they yield any stay to you, that have no settlement in themselves? Is there not enough in the Infinite Good to take you up, but that ye will be wandering after earthly vanities? O my Lord, how justly mightest thou cast me off with scorn, for casting any affective glances upon so base a rival! Truly, Lord, I am ashamed of this my hateful inconstancy; but it is thou only that must remedy it. O thou that art the Father of mercies, pity my wildness and weak distractions. Take thou my heart to thee: it is thine own: keep it with thee: tie it close to thee by the cords of love; that it may not so much as cast down an eye upon this wretched and perishing world.

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IV.—Lord, I confess, to my shame, thou art a great loser by me: for, besides my not improving of thy favours, I have not kept even reckonings with thee; I have not justly tallied up thy inestimable benefits. Thy very privative mercies are both without and beyond my account; for every evil that I am free from is a new blessing from thee: that I am out of bondage, that I am out of pain and misery, that I am out of the dominion of sin, out of the tyranny of Satan, out of the agonies of an afflicted soul, out of the torments of hell; Lord, how unspeakable mercies are these! yet when did I bless thee for any of them? Thy positive bounties I can feel, but with a benumbed and imperfect sense. Lord, do thou enlarge and intenerate my heart: make me truly sensible, as of my good received, so of my escaped evils; and take thou to thyself the glory of them both.

V.—Ah, my Lord God, what heats and colds do I feel in my soul! Sometimes I find myself so vigorous in grace that no thought of doubt dare show itself, and methinks I durst challenge my hellish enemies; another while I feel myself so dejected and heartless, as if I had no interest in the God of my salvation, nor never had received any certain pledges of his favour. What shall I say to this various disposition? Whether, Lord, is it my wretchedness to suffer myself to be robbed of thee, for the time, by temptation? or whether is this the course of thy proceedings in the dispensation of thy graces to the sons of men; that thou wilt have the breathings of thy Spirit, as where, so how, and when thou pleasest? Surely, O my God, if I did not know thee constant to thine everlasting mercies, I should be utterly disheartened with these sad intervals: now, when my sense fails me, I make use of my faith, and am no less sure of thee, even when I feel thee not, than when I find the clearest evidences of thy gracious presence. Lord, shine upon me with the light of thy countenance, if it may be, always; but whenever that is clouded, strengthen thou my faith: so shall I be safe, even when I am comfortless.

VI.—O my God, I am justly ashamed to think what favours I have received from thee, and what poor returns I have made to thee. Truly, Lord, I must needs say thou hast thought nothing either in earth or in heaven too good for me; and I, on the other side, have grudged thee that weak and worthless obedience which thou hast required of me. Alas! what pleasure could I have done to thee who art infinite, if I had sacrificed my whole self to thee,

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as thou commandest? Thou art and wilt be thyself, though the world were not: it is I, I only, that could be a gainer by this happy match; which, in my own wrong, I have unthankfully neglected. I see it is not so much what we have, as how we employ it. O thou, that hast been so bountiful in heaping thy rich mercies upon me, vouchsafe to grant me yet one gift more: give me grace and power to improve all thy gifts to the glory of the Giver; otherwise, it had been better for me to have been poor than ungrateful.

VII.—Ah, Lord, what struggling have I with my weak fears! how do I anticipate my evils by distrust! What shall I do when I am old? How shall I be able to endure pain? how shall I pass through the horrid gates of death? O, my God, where is my faith, that I am thus surprised? Had I not thee to uphold and strengthen my soul, well might I tremble and sink under these cares; but now, that I have the assurance of so strong an helper as commands all the powers of heaven, earth, and hell, what a shame is it for me to give so much way to my wretched infidelity as to punish myself with the expectation of future evils! O for *the victory that overcomes the world, even our faith!* 1 John v. 4. Thou, *O God,* art my *refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble. Therefore will I not fear, though the earth be removed, and though the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea,* Psalm xlvi. 1, 2.

VIII.—Lord, I made account my days should have been but an inch, but thou hast made them *a span long,* Psalm xxxix. 5, having drawn out the length of a crazy life beyond the period of my hopes. It is for something, sure, that thou hast thus long respited me from my grave, which looked for me many years ago. Here I am, O my God, attending thy good pleasure. Thou knowest best what thou hast to do with me: dispose of me as thou wilt: only make me faithful in all thy services; resolute, to trust myself with thee in all events; careful, to be approved of thee in all my ways; and crown my decayed age with such fruits as may be pleasing to thee, and available to the good of many: lastly, let me live to thee, and die in thee.

IX.—How oft, Lord, have I wondered to see the strange carriage of thine administration of these earthly affairs; and therein to see thy marvellous wisdom, power, goodness, in fetching good out of evil! Alas! we wretched men are apt enough to fetch the worst of evils out of the greatest good; *Turning the*

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grace of thee *our God into wantonness*, Jude 4: but how have I seen thee of lifeless stones to raise up children to Abraham; of sinners, to make saints! out of a desperate confusion, to fetch order; out of a bloody war, an happy peace; out of resolutions of revenge, love; out of the rock, waters; out of a persecutor, an apostle! How can I be discouraged with unlikelihoods, when I see thee work by contraries? It is not for me, O my God, to examine or prejudge thy counsels: take what ways thou wilt, so thou bring me to thine own end: all paths shall be direct that lead me to blessedness.

X.—How many good purposes, O my God, have I taken up, and let fall to the ground again without effect! how teeming hath this barren womb of my heart been of false conceptions! but especially, when thine hand hath been smart and heavy upon me in mine affliction, how have I tasked myself with duties, and revived my firm resolutions of more strict obedience; which yet, upon the continuance of my better condition, I have slackened! Lord, it is from thee that I purposed well: it is from my own sinful weakness that I failed in my performances. If any good come from me, the will and the deed must be both thine: *The* very *preparations of the heart* are from thee, Prov. xvi. 1; and if I have devised my way, it must be thou that directest my steps, Prov. xvi. 9. O God, do thou ripen and perfect all the good motions that thou puttest into my soul, and make my health but such as my sickness promised.

XI.—Every man, Lord, is unwilling that his name should die: we are all naturally ambitious of being thought on when we are gone: those that have not living monuments to perpetuate them affect to have dead: if Absalom have not a son, he will erect a pillar. Yet, when we have all done, time eats us out at the last: *There is no remembrance of the wise more than of the fool for ever; seeing that which now is in the days to come shall all be forgotten*, Eccles. ii. 16. O God, let it be my care and ambition, whatever become of my memory here below, that my name may be recorded in heaven.

XII.—Thy wise providence, O God, hath so ordered it, that every man's mind seeks and finds contentment in something; otherwise it could not be, since we must meet with so frequent crosses in the world, but that man's life would be burdensome to him. One takes pleasure in his hawk or hound; another, in his horses and furnitures: one, in fair buildings; another, in pleasant

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walks and beautiful gardens: one, in travelling abroad; another, in the enjoying of the profits and pleasures of his home: one, in a comfortable wife; another, in loving and dutiful children. But when all is done, if there be not somewhat else to uphold the heart in the evil day, it must sink. O God, do thou possess my soul of thee: let me place all my felicity in the fruition of thine infinite goodness; so I am sure the worst of the world hath not power to render me other than happy.

XIII.—O Lord God, under how opposite aspects do I stand from the world! how variously am I construed by men! One pities my condition; another praises my patience: one favours me, out of the opinion of some good that he thinks he sees in me; another dislikes me for some imagined evil. What are the eyes or tongues of men to me? Let me not know what they say or think of me, and what am I the better or worse for them. They can have no influence upon me without my own apprehension. All is, in what terms I stand with thee, my God: if thou be pleased to look upon me with the eye of thy tender mercy and compassion, what care I to be unjustly browbeaten of the world? If I may be blessed with thy favour, let me be made *a gazingstock to the world, to angels, and to men.*

XIV.—*Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth:* what is it which thou wouldest have me to do, that I may find rest to my soul? I am willing to exercise myself in all the acts of piety which thou requirest: I am ready to fast, to pray, to read, to hear, to meditate, to communicate, to give alms, to exhort, admonish, reprove, comfort, where thou biddest me; and if there be any other duty appertaining to devotion or mercy, let me serve thee in it: but alas! O my God, howsoever I know these works are in themselves well-pleasing unto thee; yet, as they fall from my wretchedness, they are stained with so many imperfections, that I have more reason to crave pardon for them than to put confidence in them; and if I could perform them never so exquisitely, yet one sin is more than enough to dash all my obedience. I see then, O Lord, I well see, there is no act that I can be capable to do unto thee wherein I can find any repose; it must be thine act to me which only can affect it. It is thy gracious word, *Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest*, Matth. xi. 28. Lo, this rest must be thy gift, not my earning: and what can be freer than gift? Thou givest it then, but to those that come to thee; not to those that come not: to those

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that come to thee laden and labouring under the sense of their own wretchedness; not to the proud and careless. O Saviour, thy sinner is sufficiently laden with the burden of his iniquities; lade thou me yet more with true penitent sorrow for my sins, and enable me then to come unto thee by a lively faith. Take thou the praise of thine own work. Give me the grace to come, and give me rest in coming.

XV.—O blessed Saviour, what strange variety of conceits do I find concerning thy thousand years' reign! What riddles are in that prophecy, which no human tongue can aread! Where to fix the beginning of that marvellous millenary, and where the end; and what manner of reign it shall be, whether temporal or spiritual, on earth or in heaven; undergoes as many constructions as there are pens that have undertaken it; and yet, when all is done, I see thine apostle speaks only of the souls of thy martyrs reigning so long with thee; not of thy reigning on earth so long with those martyrs. How busy are the tongues of men, how are their brains taken up with the indeterminable construction of this enigmatical truth, when, in the mean time, the care of thy spiritual reign in their hearts is neglected! O my Saviour, while others weary themselves with the disquisition of thy personal reign here upon earth for a thousand years, let it be the whole bent and study of my soul to make sure of my personal reign with thee in heaven to all eternity.

XVI.—Blessed be thy name, O God, who hast made a good use even of hell itself. How many atheous hearts have been convinced by the very operations of devils! Those which would, with the stupid Sadducees, persuade themselves there are no spirits; yet, when they have sensibly found the marvellous effects wrought even by the base instruments of Satan, they have been forced to confess, *Doubtless there is a God that rules the world;* for so great powers of evil spirits must necessarily evince the greater powers of good. It is of thy wise and holy dispensation that thy good angels do not so frequently exhibit themselves, and give so visible demonstrations of their presence to thy saints, as the evil angels do to their vassals, though they are ever as present and more powerful. What need they, when thou so mightily overrulest those malignant spirits, that thou forcest from them thine own glory, and advantage to thy chosen? Lord, how much more shall all thy other creatures serve to thy praise, when thy very hellish enemies shall proclaim thy justice, goodness, omnipotence!

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XVII.—Speculation, O Lord, is not more easy than practice is difficult. How many have we known, who, as it was said of the philosophers of old, know how to speak well, but live ill! How many have written books of chymistry, and given very confident directions for the finding out of that precious stone of the philosophers! but how many have indeed made gold? Practice is that which thou, O God, chiefly requirest and respectest; who hast said, *If ye know these things, blessed are ye if ye do them; knowledge puffeth up, but love edifieth,* 1 Cor. viii. 1. O Lord, do thou enlighten mine eyes with the knowledge of thy will; but, above all, do thou rectify my affections: *guide my feet into the ways of thy commandments; apply my heart to fulfil thy statutes alway,* Psalm cxix. 35, 112; and *prosper thou the work of* my *hands upon* me, *O prosper thou* my *handywork,* xc. 17.

XVIII.—How oft have I wondered, O Lord, at the boldness of those men, who knowing they must shortly die, yet dare do those things which will draw upon them eternity of torments! What shall I say, but, *The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God?* Surely men love themselves well enough, and would be loath to do that which would procure them an inevitable misery and pain. Did they therefore believe there were another world, and that they must be called to a strict reckoning for all their actions, and be doomed to an everlasting death for their wicked deeds, they durst not, they could not do those acts, which should make them eternally miserable. Let me say to the most desperate ruffian, "There is poison in this cup: drink this draught, and thou diest;" he would have the wit to keep his lips close, and cast the potion to the ground. Were it not for their infidelity, so would men do, to the most plausible but deadly offers of sin. O Lord, since I know thy righteous judgments, teach me to tremble at them; restrain thou my feet from every evil way, and teach me so to walk, as one that looks every hour to appear before thy just and dreadful tribunal.

XIX.—The longer I live, O my God, the more do I wonder at all the works of thine hands. I see such admirable artifice in the very least and most despicable of all thy creatures, as doth every day more and more astonish my observation. I need not look so far as heaven for matter of marvel, though therein thou art infinitely glorious; while I have but a spider in my window, or a bee in my garden, or a worm under my feet, every one of

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these overcomes me with a just amazement: yet can I see no more than their very outsides; their inward form, which gives their being and operations, I cannot pierce into. The less I can know, O Lord, the more let me wonder; and the less I can satisfy myself with marvelling at thy works, the more let me adore the majesty and omnipotence of thee that wroughtest them.

XX.—Alas! my Lord God, what poor, weak, imperfect services are those, even at the best, that I can present thee withal! How lean, lame, and blemished sacrifices do I bring to thine altar! I know thou art worthy of more than my soul is capable to perform; and fain would I tender thee the best of thine own; but *what I would, that I do not*, Rom. vii. 15, yea, cannot do. Surely, had I not to do with an infinite mercy, I might justly look to be punished for my very obedience. But now, Lord, my impotence redounds to the praise of thy goodness; for were I more answerable to thy justice, the glory of thy mercy would be so less eminent in my remission and acceptance. Here I am before thee, to await thy good pleasure: thou knowest whether it be better to give me more ability, or to accept of that poor ability thou hast given me: but since when thou hast given me most, I shall still and ever stand in need of thy forgiveness, let my humble suit be to thee always, rather for pardon of my defects, than for a supply of thy graces.

XXI.—O my God, how do I see many profane and careless souls spend their time in jollity and pleasure! *The harp and the viol, the tabret and the pipe, and wine, are in their feasts*, Isaiah v. 12; while I, that desire to walk close with thee, in all conscionable obedience, droop and languish under a dull heaviness and heartless dejection. I am sure I have a thousand times more cause of joy and cheerfulness than the merriest of all those wild and jovial spirits: they have a world to play withal; but I have a God to rejoice in: their sports are trivial and momentary; my joy is serious and everlasting: one dram of my mirth is worth a pound of theirs. But I confess, O Lord, how much I am wanting to myself in not stirring up this holy fire of spiritual joy, but suffering it to lie raked up under the dead ashes of a sad neglect. O thou, who art the God of hope, quicken this heavenly affection in my soul, and *fill* me *with all joy and peace in believing*, Rom. xv. 13. Make my heart so much more light than the worldling's, by how much my estate is happier.

XXII.—What shall I do, Lord? I strive and tug, what I may,

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with my natural corruptions, and with the *spiritual wickednesses in high places* (Eph. vi. 12.), which set upon my soul; but sometimes I am foiled, and go halting out of the field. It is thy mercy that I live, being so fiercely assaulted by those principalities and powers: it were more than wonder if I should escape such hands without a wound. Even that holy servant of thine, who strove with thine angel for a blessing, went limping away, though he prevailed: what marvel is it that so weak a wretch as I, striving with many evil angels for the avoidance of a curse, come off with a maim or a scar? But, blessed be thy name, the wounds that I receive are not mortal; and when I fall, it is but to my knees, whence I rise with new courage and hopes of victory. Thou, who art the God of all power, and keepest the keys of hell and death, hast said, *Resist the devil, and he will flee from you:* Lord, I do and will, by thy merciful aid, still and ever resist: make thou my faith as steadfast as my will is resolute. O, still *teach thou my hands to war, and my fingers to fight*, Psalm cxliv. 1. Arm thou my soul with strength; and at last, according to thy gracious promise, crown it with victory.

XXIII.—O Lord God, how ambitious, how covetous of knowledge is this soul of mine! As *the eye is not satisfied with seeing, nor the ear filled with hearing*, Eccles. i. 8, no more is the mind of man with understanding: yea, so insatiable is my heart, that the more I know, the more I desire to know, and the less I think I know. Under heaven there can be no bounds set to this intellectual appetite. O, do thou stop the mouth of my soul with thyself, who art infinite. *Whom have I in heaven but thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire besides thee*, Psalm lxxiii. 25. Alas! Lord, if I could know all creatures, with all their forms, qualities, workings; if I could know as much as innocent Adam or wise Solomon; yea more, if I could know all that is done in earth or heaven; what were my soul the better, if it have not attained the knowledge of thee? since, as the Preacher hath most wisely observed, *in much wisdom is much grief; and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow*, Eccles. i. 18. O, then, set off my heart from affecting that knowledge whose end is sorrow, and fix it upon that knowledge which brings everlasting life: *And this is life eternal, to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent*, John xvii. 3.

XXIV.—O my God, what miserable uncertainties there are in these worldly hopes! But yesterday I made account of an eminent

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advantage of my estate, which now ends in a deep loss. How did we lately feed ourselves with the hope of a firm and during peace, which now shuts up in too much blood! How confidently did I rely upon the promised favour of some great friends, which now leave me in the suds, as the scorn of (a miscalled) fortune. In how slippery places, O Lord, do our feet stand! if that may be said to stand, which is ever sliding, never fixed: and not more slippery than brittle; so as there is not more danger of falling than of sinking. With thee, O God, with thee only is a constant immutability of happiness: there let me seek it; there let me find it: and overlooking all the fickle objects of this vain world, let my soul pitch itself upon that blessed immortality which, ere long, it hopes to enjoy with thee.

XXV.—Lord God, what a wearisome circle do I walk in here below! I sleep, and dress, and work, and eat, and work again, and eat again, and undress, and sleep again; and thus wearing out my time, find a satiety in all these, troublesome. Lord, when shall I come to that state wherein I shall do nothing but enjoy thee, do nothing but praise thee; and in that one work shall find such infinite contentment, that my glorified soul cannot wish to do any other: and shall therein alone bestow a blessed eternity?

XXVI.—O God, how troublesome and painful do I find this sun of thine, whose scorching beams beat upon my head! and yet this excellent creature of thine is that to which, under thee, we are beholden for our very life; and it is thy great blessing to the earth, that it may enjoy these strong and forcible rays from it. O, who shall be able to endure the burning flames of thy wrath, which thou intendest for the punishment and everlasting torment of thine enemies! And if men shall blaspheme the name of thee, the God of heaven, (Rev. xvi. 9,) for the great heat of that beneficial creature, what shall we think they will do for that fire which shall be consuming them to all eternity? Lord, keep my soul from those flames, which shall be ever burning, and never either quenched or abated!

XXVII.—Which way, O Lord, which way can I look, and not see some sad examples of misery? One wants his limbs, with Mephibosheth; another, his sight, with Bartimæus; a third, with Lazarus, wants bread and a whole skin: one is pained in his body; another, plundered of his estate; a third, troubled in mind: one is pined in prison; another, tortured on the rack; a third, languisheth under the loss of a dear son, or wife, or husband.

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Who am I, Lord, that, for the present, I enjoy an immunity from all these sorrows? I am sure none groans under them that have deserved them more. It is thy mercy, thy mere mercy, O my good God, that any of these calamities have fallen beside me. O make me truly thankful for thine infinite goodness; and yet only so sensible of thy gracious indulgence this way, as that when any of these evils shall seize upon me, I may be no more dejected in the sense of them, than I am now overjoyed with the favour of their forbearance.

XXVIII.—O blessed God, what variety of gifts hast thou scattered amongst the sons of men! To one, thou hast given vigour of body; to another, agility; beauty, to a third: to one, depth of judgment; to another, quickness of apprehension; to one, readiness and rarity of invention; to another, tenacity of memory: to one, the knowledge of liberal arts; to another, the exquisiteness of manuary skill: to one, worldly wealth; to another, honour: to one, a wise heart; to another, an eloquent tongue: to one, more than enough; to another, contentment with a little: to one, valour; to another, sagacity. These favours, O Lord, thou hast promiscuously dispersed amongst both thy friends and enemies: but, O! how transcendent are those spiritual mercies which thou hast reserved for thine own; the graces of heavenly wisdom, lively faith, fervent charity, firm hope, joy in the Holy Ghost, and all the rest of that divine bevy! For any competency of the least of thy common blessings, I desire to be thankful to thy bounty; for which of them, O God, can I either merit or requite? but O for a soul truly and eagerly ambitious of those thy best mercies! O, let me ever long for them, and ever be insatiable of them. O, do thou fill my heart with the desire of them, and let that desire never find itself filled.

XXIX.—How comfortable a style is that, O God, which thine apostle gives to thy heaven, while he calls it *the inheritance of the saints in light!* None can come there but saints: the rooms of this lower world are taken up, commonly, with wicked men, with beasts, with devils; but into that heavenly Jerusalem no unholy thing can enter. Neither can any saint be excluded thence: each of them have not only a share, but an entire right to thy glory. And how many just titles are there, O Saviour, to that region of blessedness! It is thy Father's gift: it is thy purchase: it is thy saints' inheritance; theirs, only in thy right: by thy gracious adoption they are sons, and, as sons, heirs, coheirs

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with thee of that blessed patrimony, Rom. viii. 17; so feoffed upon them, so possessed of them, that they can never be disseised. And, Lord, how glorious an inheritance it is! an inheritance in light, in light incomprehensible, in light inaccessible. Lo, the most spiritual of all thy visible creatures is light; and yet this light is but the effect and emanation of one of thy creatures, the sun, and serves only for the illumination of this visible world: but that supernal light is from the all-glorious beams of thy divine Majesty, diffusing themselves to those blessed spirits, both angels and souls of thy saints, who live in the joyful fruition of thee to all eternity. Alas! Lord, we do here dwell in darkness, and under an uncomfortable opacity, while thy face is clouded from us with manifold temptations: there above, with thee is pure light, a constant noontide of glory: I am here under a miserable and obscure wardship. O teach me to despise the best of earth; and ravish my soul with a longing desire of being possessed of that blessed *inheritance of the saints in light.*

XXX.—What outward blessing can be sweeter than civil peace? what judgment more heavy than that of the sword? Yet, O Saviour, there is a peace which thou disclaimest; and there is a sword which thou challengest to bring: peace with our corruptions is war against thee; and that war in our bosoms, wherein the Spirit fighteth against the flesh, is peace with thee. O, let thy good Spirit raise and foment this holy and intestine war more and more within me. And as for my outward spiritual enemies, how can there be a victory without war? and how can I hope for a crown without victory? O do thou ever gird me with strength to the battle; enable thou me to resist unto blood: make me faithful to the death, that thou mayest give me the crown of life.

XXXI.—O Lord God, how subject is this wretched heart of mine to repining and discontentment! If it may not have what it would, how ready it is, like a froward child, to throw away what it hath! I know and feel this to be out of that natural pride which is so deep rooted in me; for, could I be sensible enough of my own unworthiness, I should think every thing too good, every thing too much for me. My very being, O Lord, is more than I am ever able to answer thee; and how could I deserve it, when I was not? but, that I have any helps of my well-being here, or hopes and means of my being glorious hereafter, how far is it beyond the reach of my soul! Lord, let me find my own nothingness: so

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shall I be thankful for a little; and, in my very want, bless thee.

XXXII.—Where art thou, O my God? whither hast thou withdrawn thyself? It is not long since I found thy comfortable presence with my soul: now I miss thee, and mourn and languish for thee. Nay, rather, where art thou, O my soul? My God is where he was; neither can be any other than himself: the change is in thee, whose inconstant disposition varies continually, and cannot find itself fixed upon so blessed an object. It will never be better with me, O my God, until it shall please thee to *establish my heart with thy free Spirit*, Psalm li. 12, and to keep it close to thee, that it may not be carried away with vain distractions, with sinful temptations. Lord, my God, as thou art always present with me, and canst no more be absent than not be thyself; so let me be always with thee, in an humble and faithful acknowledgment of thy presence: as I can never be out of thine all-seeing eye, so let mine eyes be ever bent upon thee, who art invisible. Thou, that hast given me eyes, improve them to thy glory and my happiness.

XXXIII.—My bosom, O Lord, is a Rebekah's womb: there are twins striving within it; a Jacob and Esau; the old man and the new. While I was in the barren state of my unregeneration, all was quiet within me: now, this strife is both troublesome and painful; so as nature is ready to say, *If it be so, why am I thus?* Gen. xxv. 22. But withal, O my God, I bless thee for this happy unquietness; for I know there is just cause of comfort in these inward strugglings: my soul is now not unfruitful, and is conceived with an holy seed, which wrestles with my natural corruptions; and if my Esau have got the start in the priority of time, yet my Jacob shall follow him hard at the heel, and happily supplant him; and though I must nourish them both as mine, yet I can, through thy grace, imitate thy choice, and say with thee, *Jacob have I loved, and Esau have I hated.* Blessed God, make thou that word of thine good in me, that *the elder shall serve the younger.*

XXXIV.—Alas! my Lord God, how small matters trouble me! every petty occurrence is ready to rob me of my peace; so as, methinks, I am like some little cockboat in a rough sea, which every billow topples up and down, and threats to sink. I can chide this weak pusillanimity in myself; but it is thou that must redress it. Lord, work my heart to so firm a settledness

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upon thee, that it may never be shaken; no, not with the violent gusts of temptation, much less with the easy gales of secular misaccidents. Even when I am hardest pressed in the multitude of the sorrows of my heart, let thy comforts refresh my soul: but for these slight crosses, O teach me to despise them, as not worthy of my notice, much less of my vexation. Let my heart be taken up with thee; and then, what care I, whether the world smile or frown?

XXXV.—What a comfort it is, O Saviour, that thou art *the firstfruits of them that sleep!* Those that die in thee do but sleep. Thou saidst so once of thy Lazarus, and mayest say so of him again; he doth but sleep still. His first sleep was but short; this latter, though longer, is no less true; out of which he shall no less surely awake at thy second call, than he did before at thy first. His first sleep and waking was singular; this latter is the same with ours: we all lie down in our bed of earth, as sure to wake as ever we can be to shut our eyes. In and from thee, O blessed Saviour, is this our assurance, who art *the firstfruits of them that sleep.* The first handful of the firstfruits was not presented for itself, but for the whole field wherein it grew: the virtue of that oblation extended itself to the whole crop. Neither didst thou, O blessed Jesu, rise again for thyself only; but the power and virtue of thy resurrection reaches to all thine: so thy Chosen Vessel tells us, *Christ the firstfruits, afterward they that are Christ's at his coming,* 1 Cor. xv. 23. So as, though the *resurrection be of all the dead, both just and unjust,* Acts xxiv. 15; yet, to rise by the power of thy resurrection is so proper to thine own, as that thou, O Saviour, hast styled it the *resurrection of the just,* Luke xiv. 14; while the rest shall be dragged out of their graves, by the power of thy Godhead, to their dreadful judgment. Already, therefore, O Jesu, are we risen in thee, and as sure shall rise in our own persons. The locomotive faculty is in the head: thou, who art our Head, art risen; we, who are thy members, must and shall follow. Say then, O my dying body, say boldly unto death, *Rejoice not over me, O mine enemy; for though I fall, yet I shall rise again,* Micah vii. 8. Yea, Lord, the virtue of thy firstfruits diffuseth itself, not to our rising only, but to a blessed immortality of these bodies of ours; for as thou didst rise immortal and glorious, so shall we by and with thee, *who shalt change these vile bodies, and make them like to thy glorious body,* Phil. iii. 21. The

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same power that could shake off death can put on glory and majesty. Lay thee down therefore, O my body, quietly and cheerfully, and look to rise in another hue: thou art *sown in corruption*, thou shalt be *raised in incorruption;* thou art *sown in dishonour*, thou shalt be *raised in glory;* thou art *sown in weakness*, but shalt be *raised in power*, 1 Cor. xv. 42, 43.

XXXVI.—In this life, in this death of the body, O Lord, I see there are no degrees, though differences of time. The man that died yesterday is as truly dead, as Abel, the first man that died in the world; and Methuselah, that lived nine hundred sixty-nine years, did not more truly live, than the child that did but salute and leave the world. But in the life to come, and the second death, there are degrees: degrees of blessedness to the glorified; degrees of torments to the damned; the least whereof is unspeakable, unconceivable. O thou, that art the Lord of life and death, keep my soul from those steps that go down to the chambers of death, and once set it—for higher I dare not sue to go—but over the threshold of glory and blessedness.

XXXVII.—O Lord my God, I am as very a pilgrim as ever walked upon thy earth: why should I look to be in any better condition than my neighbours, than my forefathers? Even the best of them, that were most fixed upon their inheritance, were no other than strangers at home: it was not in the power of the world to naturalize them, much less to make them enrol themselves free denizens here below: they knew their country, which they sought, was above; so infinitely rich and pleasant, that these earthly regions, which they must pass through, are, in comparison, worthy of nothing but contempt, Heb. xi. 13, 14, 15. My condition is no other than theirs: I wander here in a strange country; what wonder is it if I meet with foreigners' fare, hard usage and neglect! Why do I intermeddle with the affairs of a nation that is not mine? why do I clog myself in my way with the base and heavy lumber of the world? why are not my affections homeward? why do I not long to see and enjoy my Father's house? O, my God, thou that hast put me into the state of a pilgrim give me a pilgrim's heart; set me off from this wretched world wherein I am; let me hate to think of dwelling here; let it be my only care how to pass through this miserable wilderness to the promised land of a blessed eternity.

XXXVIII.—One talent at the least, O Lord, hast thou put into my hand; and that sum is great to him that is not worth a dram: but, alas! what have I done with it? I confess I have not hid

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it in a napkin, but have been laying it out to some poor advantage; yet surely the gain in so unanswerable, that I am afraid of an audit. I see none of the approved servants in the Gospel brought in an increase of less value than the receipt, Luke xix. 16—19: I fear I shall come short of the sum. O thou, who justly holdest thyself wronged with the style of *an austere Master*, vouchsafe to accept of my so mean improvement; and thou, who valuedst the poor widow's mites above the rich gifts cast into thy treasury, be pleased to allow of those few pounds that my weak endeavours could raise from thy stock; and mercifully reward thy servant, not according to his success, but according to his true intentions of glorifying thee.

XXXIX.—What a word is this, which I hear from thee, O Saviour, *Behold, I stand at the door and knock!* Thou, which art the Lord of life, God blessed for ever, to stand and knock at the door of a sinful heart! O what a praise is this of thy mercy and longsuffering! what a shame to our dull neglect and graceless ingratitude! For a David to say, *I waited patiently upon the Lord,* Psalm xl. 1; *Truly my soul waited upon God,* Psalm lxii. 1; it is but meet and comely; for it is no other than the duty of the greatest monarchs on earth, yea, of the highest angels in heaven, to attend their Maker: but for thee, the great God of heaven, to wait at the door of us sinful dust and ashes, what a condescension is this! what a longanimity! It were our happiness, O Lord, if, upon our greatest suit and importunity, we might have the favour to entertain thee into our hearts; but that thou shouldest importune us to admit thee, and shouldest wait at the posts of our doors till thy *head* be *filled with dew, and* thy *locks with the drops of the night,* (Cant. v. 2.) it is such a mercy, as there is not room enough in our souls to wonder at. In the mean time, what shall I say to our wretched unthankfulness and impious negligence? Thou hast graciously invited us to thee, and hast said, *Knock and it shall be opened;* and yet thou continuest knocking at our doors, and we open not; willingly delaying to let in our happiness. We know how easy it were for thee to break open the brazen doors of our breasts, and to come in; but the kingdom of heaven suffers not violence from thee, though it should suffer it from us. Thou wilt do all thy works in a sweet and gracious way, as one who will not force, but win love. Lord, I cannot open unless thou, that knockest for entrance, wilt be pleased to enable me with strength to turn the key, and to unbolt this unwieldy bar of my soul. O do thou make way

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for thyself, by the strong motions of thy blessed Spirit, into the inmost rooms of my heart; and do thou powerfully incline me to mine own happiness: else thou shalt be ever excluded, and I shall be ever miserable.

XL.—In what pangs couldst thou be, O Asaph, that so woful a word should fall from thee, *Hath God forgotten to be gracious?* Psalm lxxvii. 9. Surely the temptation went so high, that the next step had been blasphemy. Had not that good God, whom thy bold weakness questions for forgetfulness, in great mercy remembered thee, and brought thee speedily to remember thyself and him, that which thou confessest to have been infirmity had proved a sinful despair. I dare say for thee, that word washed thy cheeks with many a tear, and was worthy of more; for, O God, what can be so dear to thee as the glory of thy mercy? There is none of thy blessed attributes which thou desirest to set forth so much unto the sons of men, and so much abhorrest to be disparaged by our detraction, as thy mercy. Thou canst, O Lord, forget thy displeasure against thy people; thou canst forget our iniquities, and cast our sins out of thy remembrance, Micah vii. 18, 19; but thou canst no more forget to be gracious than thou canst cease to be thyself. O my God, I sin against thy justice hourly, and thy mercy interposes for my remission; but O keep me from sinning against thy mercy. What plea can I hope for, when I have made my advocate mine enemy?

XLI.—How happy, O Lord, is the man that hath thee for his God! He can want nothing that is good; he can be hurt by nothing that is evil: his sins are pardoned; his good endeavours are accepted; his crosses are sanctified; his prayers are heard: all that he hath are blessings; all that he suffers are advantages: his life is holy; his death comfortable; his estate after death glorious. O that I could feel thee to be my God, that I could enjoy an heavenly communion with thee! in vain should earth or hell labour to make me other than blessed.

XLII.—How just a motion is this of thine, O thou sweet singer of Israel, *O love the Lord, all ye his saints!* Psalm xxxi. 23. Surely they can be no saints that love not such a Lord. Had he never been good to them, yet that infinite goodness which is in himself would have commanded love from saints. Yet, how could they have been saints if he had wholly kept his goodness to himself? In that then he hath made them saints, he hath communicated his goodness to them, and challengeth all love from them;

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and being made such, how infinitely hath he obliged them with all kinds of mercies! How can ye choose, O ye saints, but love the Lord? What have ye, what are ye, what can ye be, but from his mere bounty! They are slight favours that he hath done you for the world; in these, his very enemies share with you: how transcendent are his spiritual obligations! Hath he not given you his angels for your attendants; himself for your protector; his Son out of his bosom for your Redeemer; his Spirit for your Comforter; his heaven for your inheritance? If gifts can attract love, O my God, who can have any interest in my heart but thy blessed self, that hast been so infinitely munificent to my soul? Take it to thee, thou that hast made and bought it; enamour it thoroughly of thy goodness: make me sick of love; yea, let me die for love of thee, who hast loved me unto death, that I may fully enjoy the perfection of thy love in the height of thy glory.

XLIII.—Lord, how have I seen men miscarried into those sins, the premonition whereof they would have thought incredible, and their yieldance thereto impossible! How many Hazaels hath our very age yielded, that if a prophet should have foretold their acts, would have said, *Is thy servant a dog, that he should do these great things?* 2 Kings viii. 13. O my God, why do not I suspect myself? what hold have I of myself more than these other miserable examples of human frailty? Lord God, if thou take off thy hand from me, what wickedness shall escape me? I know I cannot want a tempter; and that tempter cannot want either power, or malice, or vigilance, or skill, or baits, or opportunities; and for myself, I find too well that of myself I have no strength to resist any of his temptations. O, for thy mercy's sake, uphold thou me with thy mighty hand; stand close to me in all assaults; show thyself strong in my weakness: *Keep back thy servant from presumptuous sins; let them not have dominion over me: then,* only, *shall I be upright, and shall be innocent from the great transgression,* Psalm xix. 13.

XLIV.—It is thy title, O Lord, and only thine, that thou givest *songs in the night,* Job xxxv. 10. The night is a sad and dolorous season, as the light, contrarily, is the image of cheerfulness, Eccles. xi. 7: like as it is in bodily pains and aches, that they are still worst towards night, so it is in the cares and griefs of mind; then they assault us most, when they are helped on by the advantage of an uncomfortable darkness. Many men can

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give themselves songs in the day of their prosperity, who can but howl in the night of their affliction: but for a Paul and Silas to sing in their prison at midnight, Acts xvi. 25; for an Asaph to *call to remembrance* his *song in the night*, Psalm lxxvii. 6; this comes only from that Spirit of thine whose peculiar style is the *Comforter*. And surely, as music sounds best in the night, so those heavenly notes of praise which we sing to thee our God in the gloomy darkness of our adversity cannot but be most pleasing in thine ears. Thine apostle bids us, which is our ordinary wont, when we are *merry* to *sing*; when *afflicted*, to *pray*: but if when we are afflicted we can sing, as also when we are merriest we can pray, that ditty must needs be so much more acceptable to thee, as it is a more powerful effect of the joy of thy Holy Ghost. O my God, I am conscious of my own infirmity; I know I am naturally subject to a dull and heavy dumpishness, under whatsoever affliction. Thou, that art the God of all comfort, remedy this heartless disposition in me; pull this lead out of my bosom; make me not patient only, but cheerful, under my trials; fill thou my heart with joy and my mouth with songs in the night of my tribulation.

XLV.—It is a true word, O Lord, that thy seer said of thee long ago, *The Lord seeth not as man seeth*, 1 Sam. xvi. 7. Man sees the face; thou seest the heart: man sees things as they seem; thou seest them as they are: many things are hid from the eyes of men; all things lie open and displayed before thee. What a madness then were it in me to come disguised into thy presence, and to seek to hide my counsels from thine all-seeing eyes! I must be content, Lord, to be deluded here by fair appearances; for I may not offer to look into the bosoms of men, which thou hast reserved for thyself: it is only the outside that I can judge by. Yea, O God, if I shall cast my eyes inward, and look into my own breast, even there I find myself baffled at home; *The heart of man is deceitful above all things: who can know it?* None but those piercing eyes of thine can discover all the windings and turnings of that intricate piece. What would it avail me, O Lord, to mock the eyes of all the world with a semblance of holiness, whilst thou shouldest see me false and filthy? Should I be censured by a world of men when I am secretly allowed by thee, I could contemn it, yea, glory in their unjust reproach; but if thine eye shall note me guilty, to what purpose is all the applause of men? O thou, that art the God of

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truth, do thou open and dissect this close heart of mine; search every fibre that is in or about it; and if thou findest any ill blood there, let it out; and if thou findest any hollowness, fill it up; and so work upon it, that it may be approved of thee that madest it: as for men, it shall be alike to me whether they spend their breath or save it.

XLVI.—Lord God, what a world of treasure hast thou hid in the bowels of the earth, which no eye of man ever did, or shall, or can see! what goodly plants hast thou brought forth of the earth in wild, unknown regions, which no man ever beheld! what great wits hast thou shut up in a willing obscurity, which the world never takes notice of! In all which, thou showest that it is not only the use and benefit of man which thou regardest, in the great variety of thy creation, and acts of administration of the world, but thine own glory, and the fulfilling of thine own good pleasure; and if only the angels of heaven be witnesses of thy great works, thou canst not want a due celebration of thy praise. It is just with thee, O God, that thou shouldest regard only thy blessed self, in all that thou doest or hast done; for all is thine, and thou art all. O that I could sincerely make thee the perfect scope of all my thoughts, of all my actions; that so we may both meet in one and the same happy end, thy glory in my eternal blessedness.

XLVII.—Indeed, Lord, as thou sayest, *the night cometh, when no man can work.* What can we do when the light is shut in, but shut our eyes and sleep? When our senses are tied up, and our limbs laid to rest, what can we do, but yield ourselves to a necessary repose? O my God, I perceive my night hastening on apace; my sun draws low, the shadows lengthen, vapours rise, and the air begins to darken. Let me bestir myself for the time; let me lose none of my few hours; let me work hard a while, because I shall soon rest everlastingly.

XLVIII.—Thou seest, Lord, how apt I am to contemn this body of mine. Surely, when I look back upon the stuff whereof it is made, no better than that I tread upon; and see the loathsomeness of all kinds that comes from it; and feel the pain that it ofttimes puts me to; and consider whither it is going; and how noisome it is, above all other creatures, upon the dissolution; I have much ado to hold good terms with so unequal a partner. But, on the other side, when I look up to thy hand, and see how fearfully and wonderfully thou hast made it; what infinite cost

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thou hast bestowed upon it, in that thou hast not thought thine own blood too dear to redeem it; that thou hast so far honoured it, as to make it the temple of thy Holy Ghost, and to admit it into a blessed communion with thyself; and hast decreed to do so great things for it hereafter, even to clothe it with immortality, and to make it like unto thy glorious body; I can bless thee for so happy a mate, and with patience digest all these necessary infirmities: and now I look upon this flesh, not as it is, withered and wrinkled, but as it will be, shining and glorified. O Lord, how vile soever this clay is in itself, yet make me, in thine interest and my hopes, so enamoured of it, as if I did already find it made celestial. O that my faith could prevent my change, and anticipate my ensuing glory!

XLIX.—Lord, what a dreadful favour was that which thou showedst to thy prophet Elijah, to send a fiery chariot for him, to convey him up to heaven! I should have thought that the sight of so terrible a carriage should have fetched away his soul beforehand, and have left the body grovelling on the earth; but that good Spirit of thine, which had foresignified that fiery rapture, had doubtless forearmed thy servant with an answerable resolution to expect and undergo it. Either he knew that chariot, however fearful in the appearance, was only glorious, and not penal; or else he cheerfully resolved, that such a momentary pain in the change would be followed with an eternity of happiness. O God, we are not worthy to know whereto thou hast reserved us. Perhaps thou hast appointed us to be in the number of those whom thou shalt find alive at thy second coming; and then, the case will be ours; we shall pass through fire to our immortality: or if thou hast ordained us to a speedier despatch, perhaps thou hast decreed that our way to thee shall be through a fiery trial. O God, whatever course thou, in thy holy wisdom, hast determined for the fetching up my soul from this vale of misery and tears, prepare me thoroughly for it: and do thou work my heart to so lively a faith in thee, that all the terrors of my death may be swallowed up in an assured expectation of my speedy glory; and that my last groans shall be immediately seconded with eternal hallelujahs in the glorious choir of thy saints and angels in heaven. Amen. Amen.

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SUSURRIUM CUM DEO.

SOLILOQUIES:

OR,

HOLY SELF-CONFERENCES OF THE DEVOUT SOUL,

UPON SUNDRY CHOICE OCCASIONS;

WITH HUMBLE ADDRESSES

TO THE

THRONE OF GRACE.

BY JOS. HALL, B. NORWICH.

The Author's Supplicatory Dedication.

To thee only, O my God, who hast put these holy thoughts into my soul, do I most humbly desire to dedicate both myself and them; earnestly beseeching thee graciously to accept of both; and that thou wouldest be pleased to accompany and follow these my weak practical Devotions with a sensible blessing in every reader. Let these good Meditations not rest in the eye, but descend into the bosom of the perusers; and effectually work in their hearts that warmth of pious affections which I have here presumed to exemplify in mine: to the glory of thy great name, and our mutual comfort, in the day of the glorious appearing of our Lord Jesus. Amen.

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SELF-CONFERENCES.

Soliloquy I.—*The best Prospect.*

O my God, I shall not be worthy of my eyes, if I think I can employ them better than in looking up to thy heaven; and I shall not be worthy to look up to heaven, if I suffer my eyes to rest there, and not look through heaven at thee, the almighty Maker and Ruler of it, who dwellest there in all glory and majesty; and if seeing thee I do not always adore thee, and find my soul taken up with awful and admiring thoughts concerning thee. I see many eyes have looked curiously upon that glorious frame, else they could not have made so punctual observation of the fire and motion of those goodly globes of light which thou hast placed there, as to foretell all their conjunctions and oppositions for many hundred years before: but, while they look at the motions, let me look at the Mover, wondering, not without ravishment of spirit, at that infinite power and wisdom which keeps up those numberless and immense bodies in so perfect a regularity, that they all keep their just stations and times, without the least varying from the course which thou settest them in their first creation; so while their observation makes them the wiser, mine shall make me the holier. Much variety of objects hast thou given us here below, which do commonly take up our eyes; but it shall be my fault, if all those do not rather lead my thoughts to thee, than withdraw them from thee, since thy power and majesty is clearly conspicuous in them all. O God, while I have eyes, let me never but see thee in all things, let me never but enjoy thee: let me see thee as thou mayest be seen, by the eye of faith, till I may see, as I am seen, hereafter, in glory: let me see thee as through a glass darkly here on earth, till I may come to see thee face to face in heaven, 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

II.—*The happy Parting.*

I have lived divers years longer than holy David did, yet I can truly say with him, if that psalm were his which hath the title of Moses, *We have brought our years to an end, as it were a tale that is told*[a], Psalm xc. 9. Methinks, O my soul, it is but yesterday since we met, and now we are upon parting: neither shall we, I hope, be unwilling to take leave; for what

[a] Euthym. in Præfat. Psalmorum.

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advantage can it be to us to hold out longer together? One piece of me cannot but grow more infirm with use and time; and thereupon must follow a decay of all faculties and operations. Where the tools are grown bad and dull, what work can be exquisite? Thou seest it then necessary, and inevitable, that we must yield to age, and grow worse with continuance. And what privilege can mere time give us in our duration? We see the basest of stones last longer than the durablest plants; and we see trees hold out longer than any sensitive creatures; and divers of those sensitive creatures outlast man, the lord of them all. Neither are any of these held more excellent, because they wear out more hours. We know Enoch was more happy, that was fetched away at three hundred sixty-five years, than Methuselah, at nine hundred sixty and nine, Gen. v. 23, 24, 27. Difference of age doth nothing but pull down a side, where there are not supplies of increasing abilities. Should we continue our partnership many years longer, could we hope for more health and strength of body, more vigour of understanding and judgment, more heat of good affections? And can we doubt that it will be elsewhere better with us? Do we not know what abides for us above? Are we not assured, that *if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens?* 2 Cor. v. 1. Why, therefore, O why should ye be loath to part upon fair terms? thou, O my soul, to the possession of that happy mansion, which thy dear Saviour hath from eternity prepared for thee in his Father's house; and thou, O my body, to that quiet repository of thy grave, till ye both shall happily meet in the blessed resurrection of the just, never, never to be severed.

III.—*Heavenly Conversation.*

It matters not a little with whom we hold our familiar conversation; for, commonly, we are transformed into the dispositions and manners of those whose company we frequent: we daily see those who, by haunting the society of drunkards and debauched persons, have, from civil and orderly men, grown into extremity of lewdness; and, on the contrary, those who have consorted themselves with the holy and virtuous, have attained to a gracious participation of their sanctity. Why shouldest thou not then, O my soul, by a continual conversation with God and his angels, improve to an heavenly disposition? Thou canst not,

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while thou art here, but have somewhat to do with the world: that will necessarily intrude into thy presence, and force upon thee businesses unavoidable; and thy secular friends may well look to have some share in thy sociable entertainments. But these are but goers and comers, easily and willingly dismissed, after some kind interlocutions: the company that must stick by thee is spiritual; which shall never leave thee, if thou have the grace to apply thyself to them upon all occasions. Thou mayest hold fair correspondence with all other, not offensive companions; but thy entireness must be only with these. Let those other be never so faithful, yet they are uncertain; be their will never so good, yet their power is limited: these are never but at hand; never but able and willing to make and keep thee happy. O my God, thou seest how subject I am to distractions: O hold me close to thee: let me enter into the same company here in my pilgrimage which I shall for ever enjoy hereafter in my home.

IV.—*Love-unchangeable.*

Our younger years are wont to be delighted with variety, and to be much affected to a change, although to the worse: the child is better pleased with his new coat, though the old be far handsomer; whereas age and experience fixeth our desires, and teacheth us to set the greatest value upon those good things wherewith we have been longest acquainted. Yea, it is the general disposition of nature to be cloyed with continued blessings; and, upon long fruition, to complain of that good which we first commended for pleasing and beneficial. What could relish better with the Israelites the first morning than the angels' food which fell down from heaven every day about their camp? the taste whereof was like to wafers made with honey, Exod. xvi. 13; Deut. viii. 3; Exod. xvi. 31. If we stay but a while, we shall, ere many years, hear them calling for the onions and garlick of Egypt; and crying out, *Now our soul is dried away: there is nothing but this manna before our eyes,* Numb. xi. 6. Our wanton appetite is apt to be weary of the best blessings, both of earth and heaven, and to nauseate with store: neither is any thing more tedious to us than the enjoined repetition of a daily-tasked devotion. But, contrarily, grace endears all blessings to us by their continuance; and heightens our affections, where they are rightly placed, by the length of the time of their enjoying. O God, it is thy mercy, that thou hast vouchsafed to allow me an

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early interest in thee, even from my tender years: the more and longer I have known thee, the more cause have I still found to love thee and adore thee. Thou art ever one and unchangeable: O, make thou my heart so. Devote thou me wholly unto thee; and by how much cooler my old age is in all other affections, inflame it so much the more in my love to thee.

V.—*The happiest Object.*

If we could attain to settle in our thoughts a right apprehension of the majesty of God, it would put us into the comfortable exercise of all the affections that belong to the soul. For, surely, if we could conceive aright of his omnipotent power, and transcending glory, and incomprehensible infiniteness, we could not but tremble before him, and be always taken up with an adoring fear of him; and if we could apprehend his infinite goodness both in himself and to mankind, we could not but be ravished with a fervent love to him, and should think ourselves happy that we might be allowed to love such a God; and if we could conceive of that absolute beauty of his holiness and blissful presence, we could not but be inflamed with a longing desire to enjoy such a God; and if we could apprehend all these, we could not be but both transported with an unspeakable joy, that we have a sure interest in a God so holy, so good, so almighty, so glorious; and stricken with an unexpressible grief that we should either offend him, or suffer ourselves to want but for a moment the feeling presence of that all-sufficient and all-comprehending Majesty. On the contrary, those men begin at the wrong end who go about to draw their affections to God first, and then after seek to have their minds enlightened with right conceits of his essence and attributes; who, meeting with those occurrent temptations which mainly cross them in their desires and affections, are straight set off from prosecuting their good motions, and are as new to seek of a God as if they had never bent their thoughts towards heaven. O God, let it be the main care of my life to know thee, and whom thou hast sent, Jesus Christ, thy Son, my Saviour: I cannot, through thy mercy, fail of an heavenly disposition of soul while I am here, and of a life of eternal glory with thee hereafter.

VI.—*Unchangeable Duration.*

In the first minute wherein we live, we enter upon an eternity of being: and though at the first, through the want of the exer-

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cise of reason, we cannot know it; and afterwards, through our inconsideration and the bewitching businesses of time, we do not seriously lay it to heart, we are in a state of everlastingness. There must, upon the necessity of our mortality, be a change of our condition; but, with a perpetuity of our being, the body must undergo a temporary dissolution, and the soul a remove either to bliss or torment; but both of them, upon their meeting, shall continue in an unchangeable duration for ever and ever. And if we are wont to slight transitory and vanishing commodities, by reason of their momentary continuance, and to make most account of things durable, what care and great thoughts ought I to bestow upon myself, who shall outlast the present world! and how ought I to frame my life, so as it may fall upon an eternity infinitely happy and glorious! O God, do thou set off my heart from all these earthly vanities, and fix it above with thee. As there shall be no end of my being, so let there be no change of my affections. Let them beforehand take possession of that heaven of thine whereto I am aspiring. Let nothing but this clay of mine be left remaining upon this earth whereinto it is mouldering. Let my spiritual part be ever with thee, whence it came, and enter upon that bliss which knows neither change nor end.

VII.—*Trust upon Trial.*

What a providence there is over all the creatures in the world, which both produceth them to their being, and overrules and carries them on, to and in their dissolution, without their knowledge or intended cooperation: but for those whom God hath endued with the faculty of ratiocination, how easy is it to observe the course of the divine proceedings with them! how that all-wise God contrives their affairs and events, quite beyond and above the power of their weak projections; how he prevents their desires; how he fetches about unexpected and improbable occurrences to their hinderance or advantage: sometimes blessing them with success beyond all their hopes; sometimes blasting their projects when their blossoms are at the fairest. Surely, if I look only in a dull stupidity upon the outsides of all accidents that befall me, and not improve my reason and faith to discern and acknowledge that invisible power that orders them to his own and their ends, I shall be little better than brutish; and if upon the observation of that good hand of God, sensibly leading me on in all the ways of my younger and riper age, in so many

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feeling and apparent experiments of his gracious provisions and protections, I shall not have learned to trust him with the small remainder of my days, and the happy close of that life which he hath so long and mercifully preserved, the favours of a bountiful God shall have been cast away upon a barren and unthankful heart. O God, I am such as thou hast made me: make up thy good work, in me, and keep me that I do not mar myself with my wretched unbelief. I have tried thee to the full. O that I could cast myself wholly upon thee, and trust thee, both with my body and soul, for my safe passage to that blessed home, and for the perfect accomplishment of my glory in thine!

VIII.—*Angelical Familiarity.*

There is no reason to induce a man to think that the good angels are not as assiduously present with us for our good, as the evil angels are for our hurt, since we know that the evil spirits cannot be more full of malice to work our harm, than the blessed angels are full of charity and well-wishing to mankind; and the evil are only let loose to tempt us by a permission of the Almighty, whereas the good are by a gracious delegation from God encharged with our custody, Heb. i. 14. Now that the evil spirits are ever at hand, ready upon all occasions to present their service to us for our furtherance to mischief, appears too plainly in their continual temptations which they inject into our thoughts; in their real and speedy operations with the spells and charms of their wicked clients, which are no less effectually answered by them immediately upon their practice, than natural causes are by their ordinary and regular productions. It must needs follow, therefore, that the good angels are as close to us and as inseparable from us: and though we see neither, yet he that hath spiritual eyes perceives them both, and is accordingly affected to their presence. If, then, wicked men stick not to go so far as to endanger and draw on their own damnation by familiarly conversing with malignant spirits; why should not I, for the unspeakable advantage of my soul, affect an awful familiar conversation with those blessed angels which I know to be with me? The language of spirits are thoughts: why do not I entertain them in my secret cogitations, and hold an holy discourse with them in mental allocutions; and so carry myself, as that I may ever hold fair correspondence with those invisible companions, and may expect from them all gracious offices, of holy motions, careful pro-

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tection, and at last, an happy conveyance to my glory? O my soul, thou art a spirit, as they are: do thou ever see them, as they see thee; and so speak to them as they speak to thee; and bless thy God for their presence and tuition; and take heed of doing aught that may cause those heavenly guardians to turn away their faces from thee as ashamed of their charge.

IX.—*The unanswerable Christian.*

It is no small grief to any good heart that loves the Lord Jesus in sincerity, to see how utterly unanswerable the greater sort of men that bear the name of Christ are to the example and precepts of that Christ whose name they bear. He was humble and meek; they, proud and insolent: he bade us love our enemies; they hardly can love their friends: he prayed for his persecutors; they curse: he, that had the command of all, cared not to possess any thing; they, not having right to much, would possess all: he bade us give our coat also to him that takes our cloak; they take both coat and cloak from him that hath it: he bade us turn our cheek for the other blow; they will be sure to give two blows for one: he paid obedience to a foster-father and tribute to Cæsar; they despise government: his trade was only doing good, spending the night in praying, the day in preaching and healing; they debauch their time, revelling away the night, and sleeping away or mispending the day: he forbade oaths; they not only swear and forswear, but blaspheme too: he bade us make friends of the mammon of unrighteousness; they make mammon their god: he bade us take up his cross; they impose their own: he bade us lay up our treasure in heaven; they place their heaven in earth: he bids us give to them that ask; they take violently from the owners: he bade us return good for evil; they, for good, return evil: he charged his disciples to love one another; they nourish malice and rancour against their brethren: he left peace for a legacy to his followers; they are apt to set the world on fire: his business was to save; theirs, to destroy. O God, let rivers of waters run down mine eyes, because they do no better keep the law of thy gospel, Psalm cxix. 136. Give grace to all that are called by thy name to walk worthy of that high profession whereto they are called; and keep me, thy unworthy servant, that I may never deviate from that blessed pattern which thou hast set before me. O let me never shame that great name that is put upon me. Let me, in all things, approve myself a Christian in earnest, and

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so conform myself to thee, in all thy examples and commands, that it may be no dishonour to thee to own me for thine.

X.—*Hellish Hostility.*

I cannot but observe how universal it is, in all kinds, for one creature to prey upon another: the greater fishes devour the less: the birds of rapine feed upon the smaller fowls: the ravenous wild beasts sustain themselves with the flesh of the weaker and tamer cattle: the dog pursues the hare; the cat, the mouse: yea, the very mole under the earth hunts for the worm, and the spider in our window for the fly. Whether it pleased God to ordain this antipathy in nature, or whether man's sin brought this enmity upon the creature, I inquire not: this I am sure of, that both God hath given unto man, the lord of this inferior world, leave and power to prey upon all these his fellow creatures, and to make his use of them both for his necessity and lawful pleasure; and that the god of this world is only he that hath stirred up men to prey upon one another: some, to eat their flesh, as the savage Indians; others, to destroy their lives, estates, good names; this proceeds only from him that is a murderer from the beginning. O my soul, do thou mourn in secret, to see the great enemy of mankind so wofully prevalent as to make the earth so bloody a shambles to the sons of men, and to see Christians so outrageously cruel to their own flesh. And, O thou that art the Lord of hosts and the God of peace, restrain thou the violent fury of those which are called by thy name; and compose these unhappy quarrels amongst them that should be brethren. Let me, if it may stand with thy blessed will, once again see peace smile over the earth, before I come to see thy face in glory.

XI.—*False Joy.*

Amongst these public blusters of the world, I find many men that secretly applaud themselves in the conceit of an happy peace which they find in their bosom; where all is calm and quiet, no distemper of passions, no fear of evil, no sting of remorse, no disturbance of doubts, but all smoothness of brow, and all tranquillity of mind; whose course of life, yet without any great inquiry, hath appeared to be not over strict and regular. I hear them boast of their condition, without any envy of their happiness, as one that had rather hear them complain of their inward unquietness than brag of their peace. Give me a man, that, after many

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secret bickerings and hard conflicts in his breast, upon a serious penitence and sense of reconciliation with his God, hath attained to a quiet heart, walking conscionably and close with that Majesty with whom he is atoned; I shall bless and emulate him as a meet subject of true joy. For, spiritually, there is never a perfect calm but after a tempest: the wind and earthquake and fire make way for the soft voice, 1 Kings xix. But I pity the flatteries and self-applauses of a careless and impenitent heart; this jollity hath in it much danger, and, without some change, death. O Saviour, I know thou camest to send fire on the earth; yea, fire into these earthen bosoms, whereof the very best hath combustible matter enough for thee to work upon; *and what will I,* thou sayest, *if it be already kindled?* Luke xii. 49. O blessed Jesu, my will agrees with thine: I desire nothing in the world more than that this fire of thine may flame up in my soul, and burn up those secret corruptions which have lien smothering within me. Set me at full variance with myself, that I may be at peace with thee.

XII.—*True Light.*

Thou hast taught us, O Saviour, that even the light of man may be darkness, and that the light endarkened causeth the greatest darkness, Matt. vi. 23: neither can it be otherwise; since the very obscuring of the light maketh some kind of darkness, the utter extinction of it must needs make the darkness absolute. Now what is darkness but a mere privation of light? There is but a double spiritual light, the absence whereof causeth darkness. Thine evangelist hath justly said of thee, Thou art *the true Light, that enlightenest every man that cometh into the world,* John i. 9. Thy Psalmist hath said of thy divine oracles, *Thy word is a lantern unto my feet, and a light unto my steps,* Psalm cxix. 105: whosoever wants both, or either of these, cannot but be in darkness; yea, his pretended light cannot but be darkness itself. I see, O Lord, there is much of this dark light in the world. In one, I observe a kind of glowworm-light, which in a summer's evening shines somewhat bright; but he that should offer to light his candle at it would be much deceived: this is justly a dark light, since it shines not at all by day, neither is at all communicable to another, no not to the bearer itself. In another, I see the light of a dark-lantern, which casts out some gleams of light, but only to him that bears it: even this man's light is darkness also to all the world besides himself. In a third, I see a resem-

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blance of that meteorical light, which appears in moorish places, that seems fire, but is nothing but a slimy glittering exhalation, causing both the wonder and error of the traveller; leading him, through the impulsive motion of the air, into a ditch: and of this kind I find too much variety; all of them agreeing in this, that they pretend visions and revelations of the Spirit even for contrary projections. O Saviour, what light soever is not derived from thee is no better than darkness. Thou hast sufficiently revealed thyself and thy will to us in thy word: as for any new lights, except it be a clearer manifestation of the old, O Lord, give me the grace not to follow them. I find a double light to proceed from thee: one, which is a general light, that enlightens every man that comes into the world; the other, especial light of thy Spirit, illuminating the soul of every believer with a right apprehension of thee and heavenly things. O do thou shine into my soul with this heavenly light of thine; and if this be not enough to make me happy, without the accession and with the rejection of other new lights, let me sit in perpetual darkness.

XIII.—*Bosom-Discourse.*

O Lord, if I had the skill and grace to be ever communing with my own heart and with thee, I should never want either work or company; never have cause to complain of solitariness or tedious hours; for there is no time wherein there is not some main business to be done between thee and my soul: one while, finding my heart dull and stupid, I should have cause to rouse it up by some quickening meditation; another while, finding it dejected with some unexpected cross, I should be cheering it up with some comfortable applications: one while, finding it distracted with some scrupulous doubts, I should be labouring to settle it in just resolutions; another while, perceiving it to incline towards idle thoughts, I should be checking it with a seasonable reprehension: one while, finding it faint and slack in holy duties, I should chide it into a more sensitive vigour; another while, finding it more cheerful in the performances of devotion, I should encourage it with the assurance of a gracious acceptation: one while, I should find cause to fortify it against temptations; another while, to erect it after a foil: one while, to conflict; another, to triumph: one while to examine my condition; another while, either to deplore or congratulate it: one while, I should find time to sue to thee, my God, for the supply of some want; another

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while, to bless thee for favours received: one while, to bemoan my wretchedness; another while, to adore thy infinite greatness: one while, to renew my vows; another while, to beg pardon for my omissions: one while, to seek thee with tears and due humiliation; another while, to rejoice in thy great salvation. The varieties of my ever-changing condition, while I am in this vale of misery, cannot want the perpetual employment of a busy soul. O God, let me be dumb to all the world, so as I may ever have a tongue for thee and my own heart.

XIV.—*The Insensible Fetters.*

What a subtle devil we have to deal with! He will be sure to give the sinner line enough, so he may be sure to hold him; he shall have his full scope and freedom to all honest and religious practices, so as, by some one secret sin, that evil spirit may have power over his soul, both to ensnare and retain it. He cares not how godly we seem, how conscionable we are in all other actions, so as he may still, in one dear sin, keep us fast entangled. Whereupon it often comes to pass, that, not only the eyes of the world, but even our own, are too often deceived, in the judgment of our spiritual estate. We profess strict holiness, and give good proofs, upon occasion, of a tender and well-guided conscience, so as this glorious show wins us the reputation of rare virtue and exemplary piety; yet still that wicked devil hath a tie upon our heel: there is some peccadillo of smothered lust, or concealed pride, or zealous cruelty and uncharitableness, that gives him the command of our souls at pleasure: and this shall no less fetch us within his power and mercy, than if we were locked up under a thousand chains. O God, thou who art infinite both in wisdom and power, do thou enable me, not only to resist the power, but to avoid the wiles of that cunning spirit. Let me give him no advantage by the close entertainment of any bosom sin. Let my holiness and obedience be as universal as either thy commands or his mischievous intentions.

XV.—*Satan's Prevalence.*

How busy and prevalent Satan is in this present age, above all former times, appears too plainly in those universal broils and combustions which he hath raised all the world over; whereof no nation of the whole known habitable earth is at this day free: in the strange number and variety of sects, schisms, heresies, set on foot by him everywhere; the like whereof were never heard of

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in the preceding times of the Church: in the rifeness of bold and professed atheism: and, most clearly, in the marvellous multitude of witches abounding in all parts. Heretofore, one of those clients of hell in a whole country was hooted at as a strange monster; now, hundreds are discovered in one shire; and, if fame deceive us not, in a village of fourteen houses, in the north parts, are found so many of this damned breed: heretofore, only some barbarous and wild deserts, or some rude uninhabited coasts, as of Lapland and Finland, &c., were thought to be haunted with such miscreant guests; now the civilest and most religious parts are frequently pestered with them: heretofore, some silly, poor, and ignorant old women were thus deluded by that infernal impostor; now, we have known those of both sexes which have professed much knowledge, holiness, devotion, drawn into this damnable practice. What shall we say to all these over-pregnant proofs of the unusually prevailing power of hell? Certainly, either Satan is now let loose, according to the prediction of the holy evangelist in Patmos, towards the end of the world; or, because he finds his time but short, he rageth thus extremely, as if what he must lack in time he would make up in fury. But, O blessed God, thine infinite wisdom and omnipotence knows how to make a just advantage of that increased power and success which thou hast permitted to this great enemy of mankind. Thy justice is hereby magnified in thy just judgments upon the wicked; and thy mercy, in the gain that hence accrues to thy chosen: for certainly thy true saints would not be so eminently holy if Satan were not so malicious. Thou, who in natural causes art wont to work by contraries, so as inward heat is ordinarily augmented by the extremity of an ambient cold, canst and wilt do so much more in spiritual. What thy visible Church loseth in the number of formal professors is abundantly made up in the vigorous graces of thy real saints. Still and ever do thou so order and overrule these busy workings of the powers of darkness, that thou mayest repay thine unreclaimable enemies with judgments, and heighten the piety, vigilancy, and zeal of thy faithful ones.

XVI.—*Leisurely Growth.*

We are all commonly impatient of leisure, and apt to over-hasten the fruition of those good things we affect. One would have wealth; but he would not be too long in getting of it; he would have golden showers rain down into his lap on the sudden:

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another would be wise and learned; yet he cannot abide to stay for gray hairs, or to spend too much oil in his tedious lucubrations. One would be free; but he would not wear out an apprenticeship: another would be honourable; but he would neither serve long nor hazard much. One would be holy; but he would not wait too long at the doorposts of God's house, nor lose too many hours in the exercise of his stinted devotions: another would be happy; but he would leap into heaven suddenly, not abiding to think of a leisurely towering up thither by a thousand degrees of ascent in the slow proficiency of grace. Whereas the great God of heaven, that can do all things in an instant, hath thought good to produce all the effects of natural agency not without a due succession of time. When I look into my garden, there I see first a small spire look out of the earth, which in some months' time grows into a stalk; then, after many days' expectation, branches forth into some leaves; at last, appears the hope of a flower, which, ripened with many suns and showers, arises to its perfection, and at last puts forth its seed for a succeeding multiplication. If I look into my orchard, I see the well-grafted scions yield first a tender bud: itself, after many years, is bodied to a solid stock; and, under the patience of many hard winters, spreads forth large arms: at last, being grown to a meet age of vegetation, it begins to grace the spring with some fair blossoms, which, falling off kindly, give way to a weak embryon of fruit: every day now adds something to the growth, till it attain, in autumn, to a full maturity. Why should I make account of any other course in my spiritual proceedings? O God, I shall be always ready to censure my slow pace in grace and holy obedience; and shall be ever ambitious of aspiring higher in thy gracious favour: but when I shall have endeavoured my utmost, I shall wait with humble patience upon thy bountiful hand; as one that desires thankfully to acknowledge the little that I have received, and meekly to attend thy good pleasure for what I may receive. So thou bring me to heaven, take what time and keep what pace thou pleasest.

XVII.—*Allowable Variety.*

It is a great and insolent wrong in those men who shall think to reduce all dispositions, and forms of devotion, and usages, to their own; since in all these there may be much variety and all those different fashions may receive a gracious acceptation in

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heaven. One thinks it best to hold himself to a set form of invocation; another deems it far better to be left free to his arbitrary and unpremeditated expressions: one pleases himself with this notion of that omnipotent Deity whom he implores; another thinks that may be more proper and affective: one thinks this posture of body may be the meetest for his humble address to the throne of grace, or to the table of the heavenly manna; another likes that better: one is for a long prayer; another, for short ejaculations: one desires to raise up his spirits, with the prophet, by the aid of an harmonious melody; another holds them better fixed in a sad silence: one holds it best to set forth God's service in a solemn state and magnificence; another approves better of a simple and inceremonious devotion: one requires a sacred place and a peculiar habit, as best becoming God's public worship; another makes no difference of either room or dress: one makes scruple of coming otherwise than fasting to the Lord's table; another conceives it more seasonable after a love-feast: one thinks his Christian liberty allows him the moderate scope to all not unlawful recreations; another's austerity interdicts all pastimes: one judgeth this hair and that attire not lawful only, but comely; another thinks he espies sin in both. O God, as thou hast ever showed thyself justly severe in the avenging of sin; so I know thee graciously indulgent in allowing thy servants much latitude in the free use of all that thou hast not prohibited: in imitation whereof, give me an heart holily zealous to abhor every thing that is truly evil, and charitably affected to the favourable censure of all usages that are merely indifferent. Let my main care be to look to the sincerity of my soul, and to the sure grounds of warrant for my actions: for other circumstantial appurtenances, where thou art pleased to be liberal, let me not be straithanded.

XVIII.—*Misconstructions of Holiness.*

It is no marvel if there be nothing that undergoes more variety of constructions from the lookers on than holiness; for that, being an inward gracious disposition of the soul conformed to God in all the renewed faculties thereof, lies so close in the bosom, that it can only be guessed at by such uncertain emanations of words and actions as flow from it to the ears and eyes of others. The particular graces and affections of love, fear, hope, joy, godly sorrow, zeal, and the rest, break forth apparently in such symp-

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toms and effects, as may win a certainty of belief from the beholders, neither indeed are easily concealed from the view of others; all these may be read in the face; but if the heart itself could be seen, and that curiously dissected, yet even thus could not holiness be discovered. Beside the closeness, every man is apt to measure his judgment of holiness by a false rule of his own; whereby it comes to pass that it is so commonly mistaken. One thinks him holy that forsakes the world, and retires into some wild desert, or mures up himself in an anchorite's cell: another judges him holy that macerates his body with fasting, that disciplines his hide with whips and haircloths, that lies hard and fares hard; that abstains from all that relates to flesh in his Lent and Embers; that passionately hugs his crucifix, and tosses his beads, and duly observes his shrifts and canonical hours: now this man, that in their way is in danger of canonization for a saint, is by the professor of an opposite holiness decried to hell for superstition and idolatry. One styles him holy who segregates himself from the contagious communion of formal Christians; professing to serve his God in a purer way of worship; rejecting all stinted forms of prayer and psalmody; spitting at the mention of an hierarchy; allowing no head sacred but by the imposition of what we miscall laic hands; abandoning all ceremonies of human institution; abiding no circumstances of divine worship but apostolical: another allows him only holy who is already a citizen of the new Jerusalem; advanced to such an entireness with God, as that he is no less than glorified; he hath left the Scriptures below him as a weak and dead letter, and is far above all whatsoever ordinance, yea—which I tremble to report—above the blood of Christ himself: a third reputes him only holy, who, having left the society of all churches as too impure, stands now alone, waiting for some miracles from heaven to settle his resolution. Now, Lord, after all these and many more weak and idle misprisions, upon the sure and unfailing grounds of truth, (*thy word is truth,*) I know that man to be truly holy whose understanding is enlightened with right apprehensions of thee and heavenly things; whose will and affections are rightly disposed to thee, so as his heart is wholly taken up with thee; whose conversation is so altogether with thee, that he thinks all time lost wherein he doth not enjoy thee, and a sweet and heavenly communion with thee; walking perpetually with thee, and labouring in all things to be approved of thee. O God, do thou work me up to this temper, and keep me

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still in it; and then, however I may differ in a construction of holiness from others that think themselves more perfect, howsoever I may be censured as defective in my judgment or affections, yet I do not without sound and sensible comfort know, that my Judge is in heaven and my witness in my bosom.

XIX.—*Two Heavens in One.*

I was wont to say, "It is in vain for a man to hope for, and impossible for him to enjoy, a double heaven; one below, and another above: since our sufferings here on earth must make way for our future glory:" but now I find it, in a better sense, very feasible for a true Christian to attain both: for, as we say, where the prince resides, there is the court, so, surely, where the supreme and infinite Majesty pleases to manifest his presence, there is heaven. Whereas, therefore, God exhibits himself present two ways, in grace and in glory; it must follow, that the gracious presence of God makes an heaven here below, as his glorious presence makes an heaven above. Now it cannot but fall out, that as the lower material heaven comes far short of the purity of the superior regions, being frequently overcast with clouds, and troubled with other both watery and fiery meteors, so this spiritual heaven below, being many times darkened with sad desertions and blustered with temptations, cannot yield that perfection of inward peace and happiness which remains for us above this sphere of mutability; yet affords us so much fruition of God, as may give us a true title and entrance into blessedness. I well see, O God, it is no paradox to say, that thy saints reign with thee here on earth, though not for a thousand years: yet during the time of their sojourning here below, not in any secular splendour and magnificence, not in bodily pleasures and sensual contentments; yet in true spiritual delectation, in the joys of the Holy Ghost, *unspeakable and full of glory.* O my God, do thou thus set my foot over the threshold of thy heaven! Put thou my soul into this happy condition of an inchoate blessedness; so shall I cheerfuly spend the remainder of my days in a joyful expectation of the full consummation of my glory.

XX.—*The Stock employed.*

What are all excellencies without respect of their use? How much good ground is there in the world that is neither cultured nor owned! what a world of precious metals lie hid in the bowels of the earth, which shall never be coined! what store of rich

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pearls and diamonds are hoarded up in the earth and sea, which shall never see the light! what delicacies of fowls and fishes do both elements afford, which shall never come to the dish! How many great wits are there in the world which lie willingly concealed; whether out of modesty, or idleness, or lack of a wished opportunity! Improvement gives a true value to all blessings. A penny in the purse is worth many pounds, yea talents, in an unknown mine. That is our good which doth us good. O God, give thou me grace to put out my little stock to the public bank, and faithfully to employ those poor faculties thou hast given me to the advantage of thy name and the benefit of thy Church; so, besides the gain of others, my pounds shall be rewarded with cities.

XXI.—*Love of Life.*

We are all naturally desirous to live; and though we prize life above all earthly things, yet we are ashamed to profess that we desire it for its own sake, but pretend some other subordinate reason to affect it. One would live, to finish his building or to clear his purchase; another, to breed up his children, and to see them well matched: one would fain outlive his trial at law; another wishes to outwear an emulous corrival: one would fain outlast a lease that holds him off from his long-expected possessions; another would live to see the times amend, and a reestablishment of a public peace. Thus we, that would be glad to give skin for skin, and all things for life, would seem to wish life for any thing but itself. After all this hypocrisy, nature, above all things, would live, and makes life the main end of living: but grace has higher thoughts; and therefore, though it holds life sweet and desirable, yet entertains the love of it upon more excellent, that is, spiritual terms. O God, I have no reason to be weary of this life, which, through thy mercy, long acquaintance hath endeared to me, though sauced with some bitter disgusts of age; but how unworthy shall I approve myself of so great a blessing, if now I do not more desire to continue it for thy sake than my own!

XXII.—*Equal Distribution.*

It was a most idle question which the philosophers are said to have proposed to Barnabas, the colleague of St. Paul[a]: "Why a small gnat should have six legs, and wings beside; whereas the elephant, the greatest of beasts, hath but four legs, and no wings."

[a] Clem. [Rom.] de [rebus] gestis B. Petri. [Paris. 1555, p. 9.]

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What pity it is that those wise masters were not of the counsel of the Almighty when he was pleased to give a being to his creature! they would surely have devised to make a winged elephant and a corpulent gnat; a feathered man, and a speaking beast. Vain fools! they had not learned to know and adore that infinite Wisdom wherein all things were made. It is not for that incomprehensible Majesty and Power to be accountable to wretched man for the reasons of his allwise and mighty creation: yet so hath he contrived it, that there is no part of his great workmanship whereof even man cannot be able to give an irrefragable reason why thus framed, not otherwise. What were more easy than to say, that six legs to that unwieldy body had been cumbersome and impeditive of motion, that the wings for so massy a bulk had been useless? I admire thee, O God, in all the works of thy hands; and justly magnify, not only thine omnipotence, both in the matter and form of their creation, but thy mercy and wisdom, in the equal distribution of all their powers and faculties, which thou hast so ordered, that every creature hath some requisite helps, no creature hath all. The fowls of the air, which are ordained for flight, hast thou furnished with feathers to bear them up in that light element: the fishes, with smooth scales and fins, for their more easy gliding through those watery regions: the beasts of the field, with such limbs and strong hides, as might fit them for service: as for man, the lord of all the rest, him thou hast endued with reason, to make his use of all these. Whom yet thou hast so framed, as that, in many qualities, thou hast allowed the brute creatures to exceed their master: some of them are stronger than he, some of them swifter than he, and more nimble than he: he were no better than a madman that should ask, why man should not fly as well as the bird, and swim as well as the fish, and run as fast as the hart; since that one faculty of reason wherewith he is furnished is more worth than all the brutish excellencies of the world put together. O my God, thou that hast enriched me with a reasonable soul, whom thou mightest have made the brutest of thy creatures: give me the grace so to improve thy gift, as may be most to the glory and advantage of thy own name: let me, in the name and behalf of all my brute fellow creatures, bless thee for them; and both for them and myself, in a ravishment of spirit, cry out with the Psalmist, *O Lord my God, how wonderful and excellent are thy works, in wisdom hast thou made them all!*

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XXIII.—*The Body of Subjection.*

Bodily exercise, saith the apostle, *profits little,* 1 Tim. iv. 8. Little, sure, in respect of any worth that it hath in itself, or any thank that it can expect from the Almighty. For what is it to that good and great God, whether I be full or fasting; whether I wake or sleep; whether my skin be smooth or rough, ruddy or pale, white or discoloured; whether my hand be hard with labour or soft with ease; whether my bed he hard or yielding; whether my diet be coarse or delicate? But though in itself it avail little, yet so it may be, and hath been, and ought to be improved, as that it may be found exceedingly beneficial to the soul: else the same apostle would not have said, *I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection: lest that by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a castaway,* 1 Cor. ix. 27. In all the records of history, whom do we find more noted for holiness than those who have been most austere in the restraints of bodily pleasures and contentments? In the Mount of Tabor, who should meet with our Saviour in his transfiguration, but those two eminent saints which had fasted an equal number of days with himself? And our experience tells us, that what is detracted from the body is added to the soul: for the flesh and spirit are not more partners than enemies: one gains by the other's loss; the pampering of the flesh is the starving of the soul. I find an unavoidable emulation between these two parts of myself: O God, teach me to hold an equal hand betwixt them both: let me so use them as holding the one my favourite, the other my drudge; not so humouring the worse part as to discontent the better; nor so wholly regarding the better, as altogether to discourage the worse. Both are thine, both by gift and purchase; enable thou me to give each of them their dues, so as the one may be fitted with all humble obsequiousness to serve, the other to rule and command with all just authority and moderation.

XXIV.—*The Ground of Unproficiency.*

Where there is defect in the principles, there can be no possibility of prevailing in any kind. Should a man be so foolish as to persuade his horse, that it is not safe for him to drink in the extremity of his heat; or to advise a child, that it is good for him to be whipt, or, in a case of mortal danger, to have a fontanel made in his flesh; how fondly should he misspend his breath!

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because the one wants the faculty, the other the use, of reason. So, if a man shall sadly tell a wild sensualist, that it is good for him to bear the yoke in his youth; that it is meet for him to curb and cross his unruly appetite; that the bitterest cup of afflictions ought to be freely taken off, as the most sovereign medicine of the soul; that we ought to bleed and die for the name of Christ; that all *the sufferings of the present times are not worthy to be compared with the glory that shall be revealed in us*, Rom. viii. 18; his labour is no less lost, than if he had made an eloquent oration to a deaf man: because this carnal hearer lacks that principle of grace and regeneration which only can enable him to apprehend and relish these divine counsels. I see, O God, I see too well, how it comes to pass, that thy word sounds so loud and prevails so little; even because it is not joined with faith in the hearers: the right principle is missing which should make the soul capable of thy divine mysteries. Faith is no less essential to the true Christian than reason is to man, or sense to a beast. O do thou furnish my soul with this heavenly grace of thine; and then all thy sacred oracles shall be as clear to my understanding as any visible object is to my sense.

XXV.—*The sure Refuge.*

Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof, saith our Saviour. Lo, every day hath its evil, and that evil is load enough for the present, without the further charge of our anticipated cares. Surely, the life of man is conflicted with such a world of crosses succeeding each other, that if he have not a sure refuge to flee unto, he cannot choose but be quite overlaid with miseries: one while, his estate suffers, whether through casualty or oppression: another while, his children miscarry, whether by sickness or death or disorder: one while, his good name is impeached; another while, his body languishes: one while, his mind is perplexed with irksome suits; another while, his soul is wounded with the sting of some secret sin: one while, he is fretted with domestical discontents; another while, distempered with the public broils: one while, the sense of evil torments him; another while, the expectation. Miserable is the case of that man who, when he is pursued with whole troops of mischiefs, hath not a fort wherein to succour himself; and safe and happy is that soul that hath a sure and impregnable hold whereto he may resort. O the noble example of holy David! never man could be more perplexed than

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he was at his Ziklag; his city burnt, his whole stock plundered, his wives carried away, his people cursing, his soldiers mutinying, pursued by Saul, cast off by the Philistines, helpless, hopeless: *but David fortified himself in the Lord his God*, 1 Sam. xxx. 6. There, there, O Lord, is a sure help in the time of trouble; a safe protection in the time of danger; a most certain remedy of all complaints: let my dove get once into the holes of that rock, in vain shall all the birds of prey hover over me for my destruction.

XXVI.—*The light Burden.*

Why do we complain of the difficulty of a Christian profession, when we hear our Saviour say, *My yoke is easy and my burden is light?* Certainly, he that imposed it hath exactly poised it, and knows the weight of it to the full. It is our fault if we make or account that heavy which he knows to be light. If this yoke and burden be heavy to our sullen nature, yet to grace they are [easy] if they be heavy to fear, yet they are light to love. What is more sweet and easy than to love; and love is all the burden we need to take up; for *love is the fulfilling of the law;* and the evangelical law is all the burden of my Saviour. O blessed Jesu, how willingly do I stoop under thy commands! It is no other than my happiness that thou requirest: I shall be therefore my own enemy, if I be not thy servant. Hadst thou not bidden me to love thee, to obey thee, thine infinite goodness and perfection of divine beauty would have attracted my heart to be spiritually enamoured of thee: now thou biddest me to do that which I should have wished to be commanded, how gladly do I yield up my soul to thee! Lay on what load thou pleasest; since the more I bear the more thou enablest me to bear, and the more I shall desire to bear. The world hath so clogged me this while with his worthless and base lumber, that I have been ready to sink under the weight; and what have I got by it, but a lame shoulder and a galled back? O do thou free me from this unprofitable and painful luggage; and ease my soul with the happy change of thy gracious impositions: so shall thy yoke not be easy only, but pleasing; so shall thy fulfilled will be so far from a burden to me, that it shall be my greatest delight upon earth, and my surest and comfortablest evidence for heaven.

XXVII.—*Joy Intermitted.*

What a lightsomeness of heart do I now feel in myself for the

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present, out of a comfortable sense of thy presence, O my God, and the apprehension of my interest in thee! Why should it not be thus always with me? Surely thine apostle bids me rejoice continually; and who would not wish to do so? For there is little difference betwixt joy and happiness: neither was it guessed ill by him that defined that man only to be happy that is always delighted; and certainly there is just cause why I should be thus always affected. Thus, O my God, thou art still and always the same: yea, the same to me in all thy gracious relations, of a merciful Father, a loving Saviour, a sweet Comforter: yea, thou art my Head, and I am a limb of thy Mystical Body. Such I am and shall ever be. Thou canst no more change than not be; and for me, my crosses and my sins are so far from separating me from thee, that they make me hold of thee the faster. But, alas! though the just grounds of my joy be steady, yet my weak disposition is subject to variableness. While I carry this flesh about me, my soul cannot but be much swayed with the temper of my body, which sometimes inclines me to a dull listlessness and a dumpish heaviness of heart and sadness of spirit; so as I am utterly unapt to all cheerful thoughts, and find work enough to pull my affections out of this stiff clay of the earth, and to raise them up to heaven. Besides, this joy of the Holy Ghost is a gift of thy divine bounty, which thou dispensest when and how thou pleasest, not always alike to thy best favourites on earth: thou that givest thy sun and rain, dost not command thy clouds always to be dropping, nor those beams to shine continually upon any face: there would be no difference betwixt the proceeding of nature and grace, if both produced their effects in a set and constant regularity; and what difference should I find betwixt my pilgrimage and my home, if I should here be taken up with a perpetuity of heavenly joy? Should I always thus feelingly enjoy thee, my life of faith should be changed into a life of sense. It is enough for me, O God, that above, in those regions of bliss, my joy in thee shall be full and permanent; if in the meanwhile it may please thee, that but some flashes of that celestial light of joy may frequently glance into my soul. It shall suffice, if thou give me but a taste of those heavenly pleasures whereon I shall once liberally feast with thee to all eternity.

XXVIII.—*Universal Interest.*

It was a noble praise that was given to that wise heathen (Cato), that he so carried himself as if he thought himself born

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for all the world. Surely the more universal a man's beneficence is, so much is it more commendable, and comes so much nearer to the bounty of that great God, who *openeth his hand, and filleth all things living with plenteousness.* There are too many selfish men, whose spirits, as in a close retort, are cooped up within the compass of their own concernments, whose narrow hearts think they are born for none but themselves; others, that would seem goodnatured men, are willing enough to enlarge themselves to their kindred, whom they are careful to advance, with neglect of all others, however deserving: some, yet more liberal minded, can be content to be kind and openhanded to their neighbours; and some perhaps reach so far as to profess a readiness to do all good offices to their countrymen; but here their largeness finds its utmost bounds. All these dispositions are but inclosures; give me the open champain of a general and illimited benefacture. Is he rich? he scatters his seed abroad by whole handfuls over the whole ridge, and doth not drop it down between his fingers into the several furrows; his bread is cast upon the waters also. Is he knowing and learned? he smothers not his skill in his bosom, but freely lays it out upon the common stock; not so much regarding his private contentment as the public proficiency. Is he deeply wise? he is ready to improve all his cares and counsels to the advancement and preservation of peace, justice, and good order amongst men. Now, although it is not in the power of any but persons placed in the highest orb of authority, actually to oblige the world to them; yet nothing hinders, but that men of meaner rank may have the will to be thus universally beneficent, and may, in preparation of mind, be zealously affected to lay themselves forth upon the common good. O Lord, if thou hast given me but a private and short hand, yet give me a large and public heart.

XXIX.—*The Spiritual Bedlam.*

He that with wise Solomon affects to know, not wisdom only, but madness and folly, let him, after a serious observation of the sober part of the world, obtain of himself to visit Bedlam, and to look into the several cells of distracted persons; where it is a wonder to see what strange varieties of humours and passions shall present themselves to him. Here he shall see one weeping and wringing his hands for a merely imaginary disaster; there, another holding his sides in a loud laughter, as if he were made all of mirth: here, one mopishly stupid, and so fixed to his posture, as if he were a

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breathing statue; there, another apishly active and restless: here, one ragingly fierce, and wreaking his causeless anger on his chain; there, another gloriously boasting of a mighty style of honour whereto his rags are justly entitled. And when he hath wondered a while at this woful spectacle, let him know and consider that this is but a slight image of those spiritual frensies wherewith the world is miserably possessed. The persons affected believe it not: surely, should I go about to persuade any of these guests of Bedlam that indeed he is mad, and should therefore quietly submit himself to the means of cure, I should be more mad than he; only dark rooms, and cords, and hellebore, are meet receipts for these mental distempers. In the mean while, the sober and sad beholders too well see these men's wits out of the socket, and are ready, out of Christian charity, to force upon them due remedies who cannot be sensible of their own miseries.

Now having learned of the great Doctor of the Gentiles to distinguish man into *spirit, soul, and body,* 1 Thess. v. 23, whereof the body is as the earthly part, the soul as the ethereal, the spirit as the heavenly; the soul animal, the spirit rational, the body merely organical: it is easy for him to observe, that as each of these parts exceeds other in dignity, so the distemperature thereof is so much greater and more dangerous as the part is more excellent. When, therefore, he shall hear the prophet Hosea say, *The spiritual man is mad,* Hosea ix. 7, he cannot think that charge less than of the worst of frensies.

And such indeed they are, which have been epidemical to all times. Could they pass for any other than sottishly mad that would worship cats and dogs and serpents? so did the old Egyptians, who thought themselves the most deeply learned of all nations. Could they be less mad than they, that of the same tree would make a block for their fire and a god for their adoration? so did Isaiah's idolaters, Isaiah xliv. 16. Could they be any better, who, when they had molten their earrings, and with their own hands had shaped a golden calf, could fall down and worship it, and say, *These be thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt?* so did they which should have known themselves God's peculiar people, Exod. xxxii. 4. Could they be any other than madmen that thought there was one god of the hills, another of the valleys? so did the Syrian courtiers, 1 Kings xx. 23. Could they be any other than stark mad that would lance and gash their own flesh, because their block did not an-

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swer them by fire? so did the Baalites, 1 Kings xviii. 28. Lastly, could they be other than the maddest of men, who would pass their own children through the fire and burn them to ashes in a pretence of devotion? so did the clients of Moloch, 2 Kings xxiii. 10.

Yea, what speak I of the times of ignorance? even since the true light came into the world, and since the beams of his glorious Gospel shined on all faces, there hath been no less need of dark rooms and manacles than before. Can we think them other than notoriously mad, that, having good clothes to their backs, would needs strip them off, and go stark naked? so did the Adamites of old, about the year of our Lord 194: so did certain Anabaptists of Holland, at Amsterdam, in the year 1535: so did the cynical Saint Francis in the streets of Assisium. Could they be other than mad which would worship Cain, Judas, the Sodomites? so did those good devotionists, which were called *Caiani*, about the year 159. Nay, were they not worse than mad, who, if we may believe Hosius and Lindanus and Prateolus, worshipped the devil ten times every day? so did those heretics which were in the last age called *demoniaci*. Could they be better than mad which held that beasts have reason as well as man; that the elements have life; that plants have sense, and suffer pain in their cutting up? so did the Manichees. Could they be other than blasphemously mad that held there are two gods, one good, the other evil, and that all creatures were made by the latter? so did the Gnostics. Were there ever madmen in the world, if they were not such, who would beseech, yea force passengers to do them the favour to cut their throats, in a vain affectation of the praise of martyrdom? so did the Circumcellions, a faction of Donatists in the year 349. But, above all other, did not those surpass in madness, who allowed of all heresies and professed to hold all opinions true? so did Rhetorius and his followers: St. Augustin's charity sticks at the belief of so impossible a tenet; I must crave leave to wonder at his reason: "For," saith he, "many opinions being contradictory to each other, no man that is *compos mentis* can think both parts can be verifiable;" as if it could be supposed that a Rhetorius, thus opening, could be any other than beside all his wits: surely, had he been himself, so impossible an absurdity could not have fallen from him; neither could any of these forecited practices or opinions have been incident into any but brains highly distempered. But what do we

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raking in the ashes of these old forgotten lunatics? Would to God we had not work, more than enough, to look for the prodigious frensies of the present age; than which there were never, since the world began, either more or worse!

Can there be, under the cope of heaven, a madder man than he that can deny there is a God? such a monster was rare, and hooted at in the times of Paganism. The heathen orator[e] tells us of but two, in those dark ages before him, that were so far forsaken of their wits; and we know that the old Athenians, when a bold pen durst but question a Deity, sentenced the book to the fire, and the author to exile. But now, alas! I am ashamed to say, that this modern age, under so clear beams of the Gospel, hath bred many professed atheists, who have dared, not in their heart only, as in David's time, but with their blasphemous lips, to deny the God that made them.

And are the frensies of those insolent souls any whit less wild and outrageous that dare boast themselves to be God, and stick not to style themselves absolutely deified? avowing, that the soul in their body is the only Christ or God in the flesh; that all the acts of their beastly and abominable lusts are the works of righteousness; that it is their perfection, and the highest pitch of their glory, to give themselves up to all manner of abominations without any reluctation; that there is no hell but a dislike of, and remorse for, their greatest villanies[f]: now show me, amongst the savagest of Pagans, any one that hath been thus desperately brainsick, and let me be branded for a slanderer.

What should I need to instance in any more, or to contract a large volume of heresiology? In short, there is no true heretic in the world that is not in some degree a madman. And this spiritual madness is so much worse than the natural, as in other regards, so especially in this; that, whereas that distemper of the brain contains itself in its own bounds, without any danger of diffusion to others; the spiritual, as extremely contagious, spreads its infection to the peril of all that come within the air of it.

In this sad case, what is to be done? Surely we may, as we do, mourn for the miserable distractions of the world; but it is thou only, O Lord, that canst heal them. O thou that art the

[e] Cicero de Natura Deorum: initio. [Deos —— nullos esse omnino Diagoras Melius et Theodorus Cyrenaicus putaverunt.]

[f] "Heart-Bleedings for Professors' Abominations: set forth under the Hands of 16 churches of Christ's Baptized into the Name of Christ." pp. 5, 6, 7, &c.

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great and sovereign Physician of souls, that, after seven years' brutality, restoredst the frantic Babylonian to his shape and senses, look down mercifully upon our Bedlam, and restore the distracted world to their right temper once again: as for those that are yet sound, keep them, O God, in their right wits unto the end; preserve them safe from all the pestilent taintures of schism and heresy: and for me, the more insight thou givest me into, and the more sense of, these woful distempers, so much the more thankful do thou make me to thine infinite goodness, that thou hast been graciously pleased to keep me within compass. And O, do thou still and ever keep me within the compass of thy revealed will and all just moderation, and suffer me not to be miscarried into any of those exorbitances of judgment which may prove a trouble to thy Church and a scandal to thy name.

XXX.—*The Difference of Actions.*

There is great difference in sins and actions, whether truly or seemingly offensive: there are gnats and there are camels. Neither is there less difference in consciences: there are consciences so wide and vast, that they can swallow a camel; and there are consciences so strait, as that they strain at a gnat: yea, which is strange to observe, those very consciences which one while are so dilated that they strain not at a camel, another while are so drawn together by an anxious scrupulousness, that they are ready to be choked with a gnat. How palpably was this seen in the chief priest and Pharisees and elders of the Jews! the small gnat, of entering into the judgment hall of the Roman governor, would by no means down with them; that heinous act would defile them, so as they should not eat the passover, John xviii. 28: but, in the mean time, the huge camel of the murder of the Lord passed down glib and easily through their throats. They are ready to choke with one poor ear of corn pulled on a sabbath by an hungry passenger, yet whole houses of widows, the while, pass down their gorges with ease. An unwashed hand or cup was piacular; while, within, their hearts are full of extortion and excess, Matt. xxiii. 25. I wish the present age did not abound with instances. It is the fashion of hypocrites to be seemingly scrupulous in small things, while they make no conscience at all of the greatest: and to be so much less conscionable of *greater matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and* faith, as they are more scrupulously punctual in their mint, anise, and cummin. O

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God, I would not make more sins than thou hast made. I desire to have an heart wisely tender, not fondly scrupulous. Let my soul endure no fetters but thine. If indifferent things may be my gnats, let no known sin be other than a camel to me; and let me rather choke in the passage than let down such a morsel.

XXXI.—*The Necessity of Labour.*

The great and wise God, that hath been pleased to give to all creatures their life and being, without their endeavour or knowledge, hath yet ordained not to continue their being without their own labour and cooperation; so as he hath imposed upon them all a necessity of painstaking for their own preservation. The wild beasts of the desert must walk abroad and forage far for their prey: the beasts of the field must earn their pasture with their work and labour, in very feeding to fill a large maw, with picking up those several mouthfuls whereby they are sustained: the fowls of several kinds must fly abroad to seek their various diet; some in the hedges, some in the fields, some in the waters: the bee must, with unwearied industry, gather her stock of wax and honey out of a thousand flowers. Neither know I any that can be idle and live. But man, as he is appointed to be the lord of all the rest, so he is in a special manner born to labour, as he upon whom the charge lies to provide both for himself and all the creatures under his command: being not more impotent than they, in his first entrance into the world, than he is afterwards, by the power of his reason, more able to govern them, and to order all things that may concern both their use and conservation. How willingly, O Lord, should I stoop to this just condition of my creation! Labour is my destiny, and labour shall be my trade. Something I must always do, both out of thy command and my own inclination, as one, whose not unactive spirit abhors nothing more than the torment of doing nothing. O God, do thou direct me to and employ me in those services that may be most for thy glory, for the good of others, and my own discharge and comfort.

XXXII.—*Acquaintance with Heaven.*

What an high favour is it in the great God of heaven, that he is pleased to stoop so low as to allow wretched man here upon earth to be acquainted with so infinite a Majesty! yet, in the multitudes of his mercies, this hath he condescended unto. So far hath he yielded to us, as that he is pleased we should know him;

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and to that end he hath clearly revealed himself to mankind: and more than so, he is willing and content that we should enjoy him, and should continually make a comfortable use of his presence with us; that we should walk with him, and impart all our secret thoughts and counsels to him; that we should call for his gracious aid upon all our occasions; that we should impart all our wants and fears and doubts to him, with expectation of a merciful and sure answer and supply from heaven; yea, that he should invite us, silly wretches, to his presence, and call us up to the throne of grace, and encourage us poor souls, dejected with the conscience of our unworthiness, to put up our suits boldly to his merciful hands; yea, that he should give this honour to dust and ashes, as to style us his friends. How shamefully unthankful, and how justly miserable shall I be, if I make not an answerable use of so infinite a mercy! O God, how utterly unworthy shall I be of this grace, if, notwithstanding these merciful proffers and solicitations, I shall continue a willing stranger from thee, and shall make no more improvement of these favours than if they had never been rendered! O let me know thee; let me acknowledge thee; let me adore thee; let me love thee; let me walk with thee; let me enjoy thee; let me, in an holy and awful familiarity, be better and more entirely acquainted with thee than with the world, than with myself: so I shall be sure to be happy here, and hereafter glorious.

XXXIII.—*The all-sufficient Knowledge.*

I find much inquiry of curious wits, whether we shall know one another in heaven. There is no want of arguments on both parts; and the greatest probabilities have seemed to be for the affirmative. But, O Lord, whether or no we shall know one another, I am sure we shall all, thy glorified saints, know thee, and in knowing thee we shall be infinitely happy: and what would be more? Surely, as we find here that the sun puts out the fire, and the greater light ever extinguisheth the less; so, why may we not think it to be above? When thou art all in all to us, what can the knowledge of any creature add to our blessedness? And if, when we casually meet with a brother or a son before some great prince, we forbear the ceremonies of our mutual respects, as being wholly taken up with the awful regard of a greater presence; how much more may we justly think, that when we meet before the glorious throne of the God of heaven,

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all the respects of our former earthly relations must utterly cease, and be swallowed up of that beatifical presence, divine love, and infinitely blessed fruition of the Almighty! O God, it is my great comfort here below to think and know that I have parents or children, or brothers and sisters, or friends, already in possession of glory with thee; and to believe assuredly, that, in my time, I shall be received to the association of their blessedness: but if, upon the dissolution of this earthly tabernacle, I may be admitted to the sight of thy all-glorious essence, and may set eye upon the face of my blessed Saviour, now sitting at the right hand of thy incomprehensible Majesty, attended with those millions of his heavenly angels, I shall neither have need nor use of inquiring after my kindred according to the flesh. What can fall into my thoughts or desires beside or beyond that which is infinite?

XXXIV.—*Poor Greatness.*

I cannot but look with much pity mixed with smiles upon the vain worldling, that sets up his rest in these outward things, and so pleases himself in this condition, as if he thought no man happy but himself. How high he looks! how big he speaks! how proudly he struts! With what scorn and insultation doth he look upon my dejectedness! The very language of his eye is no other than contempt, seeming to say, "Base indigent, thou art stripped of all thy wealth and honour; thou hast neither flocks, nor herds, nor lands, nor manors, nor bags, nor barnfuls, nor titles, nor dignities, all which I have in abundance; no man regards thy meanness, I am observed with an awful veneration." Be it so, great sir, think I: enjoy you your height of honour and heaps of treasure, and ceremonies of state, while I go shrugging in a threadbare coat, and am glad to feed on single dishes, and to sleep under a thatched roof; but, let me tell you, set your all against my nothing if you have set your heart upon these gay things; were you the heir of all the earth I would be loath to change condition with your eminence; and will take leave to tell you, that at your best you shall fall within my commiseration. It is not in the power of all your earthly privileges to render you other than a miserable vassal. If you have store of gold, alas! it is but made up into fetters and manacles; and what is all your outward bravery but mere matter of opinion? I shall show you an Indian slave that shall no less pride himself in a bracelet of glass beads than you can in you richest jewels of rubies and diamonds.

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All earthly things are as they are valued. The wise and almighty Maker of these earthern mines esteems the best metals but as thick clay; and why should we set any other price on them than their Creator? And, if we be wont to measure the worth of all things by their virtues and uses and operations, what is it that your wealth can do? Can it free you from cares? can it lengthen your steps? can it keep you from headaches, from gouts, dropsies, fevers, and other bodily distempers? can it ransom you from death? can it make your account easier in the great day of reckoning? Are you ever the wiser, ever the holier, ever the quieter, for that which you have purchased with tears and blood? And, were it so precious as you imagine, what hold have you of it? what assurance to enjoy it or yourself but one hour? As for despised me, I have wealth that you know not of: my riches are invisible, invaluable, interminable: God all-sufficient is mine; and with him all things: my treasure is not locked up in earth or in heaven; but fills both: my substance is sure; not obnoxious to plunder or loss or diminution: no man hath bled, no widow or orphan hath wept for my enriching; the only difference is this, you are miserable, and think yourself happy; I am happy, whom you think miserable: however our thoughts may bear us out in both for a while, yet at the last, except truth itself can deceive us, the issue must fall on my side. O God, be thou my portion, and the lot of mine inheritance: let the scum of the world spit in my face, as the most despicable of all creatures: I am above the despite of men and devils, and am secretly happy, and shall be eternally glorious.

XXXV.—*Acceptation of Desires.*

What a comfort it is to us weak wretches that we have to deal with a merciful God, that measures us, not by our performances, but by the truth of our desires! David had a good mind to build God an house: his hands were too bloody to lay the foundation of so holy a fabric; yet God takes it as kindly from him as if he had finished the work, and rewards the intention of building an house to his name with the actual building of an house to David for ever. Good Hezekiah knew how easy and welcome a suit he made, when, after all endeavours of sanctifying the people for the celebration of that great passover, he prayed, *The Lord pardon every one that prepareth his heart to seek God, the Lord God of his fathers, though he be not cleansed according to the purifica-*

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tion of the sanctuary, 2 Chron. xxx. 18, 19. Alas! we cannot be but lame in all our obediences. What can fall from defective causes but imperfect effects? If we pray, we are apt to entertain unmeet notions of the infinite Spirit to whom we address our supplications, and sudden glances of wandering thoughts: if we read or hear, we are subject to vain distractions: if we approach God's table, our souls fail of that exact preparation and purity wherewith they should be decked when they come to that celestial banquet: if we do the works of justice or mercy, it is not without some light touch of self-respect; and well may we say with the blessed apostle, *The good that I would I do not,* Rom. vii. 19: we should therefore find just cause of discouragement in ourselves if our best actions were to be weighed by their own worth, and not by our better intentions: but that gracious God, who puts good desires into us, is so ready to accept of them, that he looks not so much at what we have done, as at what we wished to have done; and, without respect to our defects, crowns our good affections. All that I can say for myself, O my God, is, that the desire of my heart is to please thee in all things: my comfort then is, though my abilities fail in the performance, yet thy mercies cannot fail in my acceptation.

XXXVI.—*Heavenly Joys.*

Doubtless, O God, thou that hast given to men, even thine enemies here upon earth, so excellent means to please their outward senses; such beautiful faces and admirable flowers, to delight the eye; such delicate scents from their garden, to please the smell; such curious confections and delicate sauces, to please the taste; such sweet music from the birds, and artificial devices of ravishing melody from the art of man, to delight the ear; hast much more ordained transcendent pleasures and infinite contentments for thy glorified saints above. My soul, while it is thus clogged and confined, is too strait to conceive of those incomprehensible ways of spiritual delectation which thou hast provided for thy dear chosen ones, triumphing with thee in thy heaven. O teach me to wonder at that which I cannot here attain to know, and to long for that happiness which I there hope to enjoy with thee for ever.

XXXVII.—*Mixed Contentments.*

What a fool were I, if I should think to find that which

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Solomon could not—contentment upon earth! His greatness, wealth, and wisdom gave him opportunity to search, where my impotency is shut out: were there any thing under heaven free from vanity and vexation, his curious inquisition could not have missed it. No, alas! all our earthly contentments are like a Jewish passover, which we must eat with sour herbs. Have I wealth? I cannot be void of cares: have I honour? I cannot be rid of envy: have I knowledge? *He that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow*, saith the kingly Preacher: have I children? it were strange, if without crosses: have I pleasures? not without sting: have I health? not without the threats of disease: have I full diet? not without the inconveniences of satiety: have I beauty? not without a snare to my soul. Thus it is in all our sublunary comforts; I cannot have the rose, but I must be content with the prickles. Pure and absolute pleasure dwells elsewhere, far above the reach of this vale of misery. O God, give me to seek it there only; not without a contemptuous neglect of all those deceitful vanities which would withdraw my soul from thee: and there let me find it, while I am here, by faith; when I remove hence, by personal fruition. In the mean time, let me take what thou givest me with patience and thankfulness; thankfulness for the meat, and patience with the sauce.

XXXVIII.—*True Wealth.*

All a man's wealth or poverty is within himself; it is not the outward abundance or want that can make the difference. Let a man be never so rich in estate, yet if his heart be not satisfied, but he is still whining and scraping and pining for more, that man is miserably poor: all his bags cannot make him other than a stark beggar. On the other side, give me a man of small means, whose mind is thoroughly content with a little, and enjoys his pittance with a quiet and thankful heart, that man is exceeding rich; all the world cannot rob him of his wealth. It is not having, by which we can measure riches, but enjoying. The earth hath all treasures in it, yet no man styles it rich. Of these, which the world call goods of fortune, only opinion sets the value. Gold and silver would be metals whether we think them so or not; they would not be riches, if men's conceit and institution did not make them such. O my soul, be not thou carried away with the common error, to covet and admire those things which have no true worth in themselves; if both the Indies

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were thine, thou shouldest be no whit the wealthier: labour for those riches whereby thy stock may be advanced. The great Lord of all, who knows best where his wealth lies, and where thou shouldest hoard up thine, hath told thee where to seek it, where to lay it: *Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal; but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven*, Matt. vi. 19, 20. There thou shalt be sure to find it entire, free from plunder, and all danger of diminution. O God, give me to covet that my mind may be rich in knowledge; that my soul may be rich in grace; that my heart may be rich in true contentation: as for this pelf of the world, let it make them miserable that admire it.

XXXIX.—*False Light.*

Looking forth one starry evening, my eye met with a glorious light, that seemed fairer than its fellows. While I was studying what planet it might be, it suddenly glided down and vanished. O God, how can we hope to avoid delusions upon earth, when even the face of heaven may thus deceive us? It is no otherwise in the firmament of the Church: how many have there been that have seemed eternally fixed in that high sphere, which have proved no other than base meteors gilded with fair beams! they appeared stars, their substance was but slime. Woe were to the earth if a true star should fall. Yea, I doubt whether the fabric of heaven would stand if one of those glorious lights should drop down. If therefore, the star Wormwood shall fall and embitter the waters, he shall show himself to be but a false star, and a true impostor; else heaven should fall as soon as he. O my God, give me grace to know the truth of my substance, and the firmness of my station: let me hate all counterfeit exaltations: let me know myself the least and most insensible star of thy galaxy: so shall I be happy in thee, and thou shalt be by me glorified.

XL.—*The Haste of Desire.*

How slowly the hours seem to pace when we are big with the desire and expectation of any earthly contentment! We are ready to chide the time for standing still when we would over-hasten the fruition of our approaching comfort. So the schoolboy longs for his play-day; the apprentice, for his freedom; the ward, for

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his livery; the bride, for her nuptials; the heir, for his inheritance: so approvedly true is that of wise Solomon, *Hope deferred maketh the heart sick*, Prov. xiii. 12. Were it not, O my soul, for that wretched infidelity which cleaves so close unto thee, thou couldest not but be thus affected to thy heaven, and shouldest be yet so much more as the joys there are infinitely more exquisite than those which this earth can afford. Surely thou dost but flatter me with the overweening conceit of the firm apprehension of my faith, while I find thee so cool in the longing desires of thy glorification. What! hast thou no stomach to thy happiness? Hath the world benumbed thee with such a dull stupidity, that thou art grown regardless and insensible of eternal blessedness? O shake off this lethargic heaviness of spirit which hath possessed thee, and rouse up thyself to those ardent desires of glory which have sometimes inflamed thee. Yea, Lord, do thou stir up that heavenly fire that now lies raked up in the embers of my soul, and ravish my heart with a longing desire of thy salvation.

XLI.—*Death's Remembrancers.*

Every thing that I see furnishes me with fair monitions of my dissolution.- If I look into my garden, there I see some flowers fading, some withered; if I look to the earth, I see that mother in whose womb I must lie; if I go to church, the graves that I must step over in my way show me what I must trust to; if I look to my table, death is in every dish, since what I feed on did once live; if I look into my glass, I cannot but see death in my face; if I go to my bed, there I meet with sleep, the image of death, and the sheets, which put me in mind of my winding up; if I look into my study, what are all those books but the monuments of other dead authors? O my soul, how canst thou be unmindful of our parting, when thou art plied with so many monitors? Cast thine eyes abroad into the world, what canst thou see but killing and dying? Cast thine eyes up into heaven, how canst thou but think of the place of thy approaching rest? How justly then may I say with the apostle, *By our rejoicing which I have in Christ Jesus, I die daily!* 1 Cor. xv. 31. And, Lord, as I daily die in the decay of this frail nature, so let me die daily in my affection to life, in my preparation for death. O do thou fit me for that last and happy change. Teach me so to number my days that I may apply my heart to wisdom, and address it to ensuing glory.

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XLII.—*Faith's Victory.*

We are here in a perpetual warfare, and fight we must; surely either fight or die. Some there are that do both; that is, according as the quarrel is, and is managed. There are those that fight against God; these, meddling with so unequal a match, cannot look to prevail. Again, the flesh warreth against the spirit; this intestine rebellion cannot hope to prosper. But if, with the Chosen Vessel, I can say, *I have fought a good fight,* 2 Tim. iv. 7, I can neither lose life nor miss of victory. And what is that good fight? Even the same apostle tells me, *The fight of faith,* 1 Tim. vi. 12. This is the good fight indeed, both in the cause and managing, and the issue. Lo, this faith it is that wins God to my side; that makes the Almighty mine; that not only engages him in my cause, but unites me to him, so as his strength is mine. *In the power of his might,* therefore, I cannot but be victorious over all my spiritual enemies by the only means of this faith. For Satan, this *shield of faith* is it that shall *quench all the fiery darts of that wicked one,* Eph. vi. 16. For the world; *this is the victory that overcomes the world; even our faith,* 1 John v. 4. Be sure to find thyself furnished with this grace, and then say, "O my soul, thou hast marched valiantly; the powers of hell shall not be able to stand before thee; they are mighty, and have all advantages of a spiritual nature, of long duration and experience, of place, of subtlety; yet this conquering grace of faith is able to give them the foil, and to trample over all the powers of darkness. O my Lord God, do thou arm and fortify my soul with a lively and steadfast faith in thee, I shall not fear what man nor devil can do unto me: settle my heart in a firm reliance upon thee, and turn me loose to what enemy thou pleasest.

XLIII.—*The Unfailing Friend.*

Next to the joy of a good conscience, there is no greater comfort upon earth than the enjoyment of dear friends; neither is there any thing more sad than their parting; and by how nearer their relations are, so much greater is our sorrow in foregoing them. What moan did good David make both for Absalom, as a son, though ungracious, and for Jonathan, as a friend! Surely when our dear ones are pulled away from us, we seem to have limbs torn away from our bodies; yet this is a thing must be looked for: we are given to each other, or lent rather, upon con-

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dition of parting: either they must leave us, or we them; a parting there must be, as sure as there was a meeting. It is our fault if we set our hearts too much upon that which may, yea, which must be lost. Be wise, O my soul, and make sure of such friends as thou canst not be bereaved of. Thou hast a God that hath said, *I will not leave thee nor forsake thee.* It was an easy suit, and already granted, which the holy Psalmist made; *Cast me not off in the time of old age: forsake me not when my strength faileth,* Psalm lxxi. 9: and again, *When my father and my mother forsake me,* in their farewell to a better world, *yet then the Lord will take me up,* Psalm xxvii. 10. It is an happy thing to have immortal friends. Stick close unto them, O my soul, and rejoice in them evermore; as those that shall sweetly converse with thee here, and shall at last receive thee into everlasting habitations.

XLIV.—*Quiet Humility.*

He is a rare man that is not wise in his own conceit, and that says not within himself, "I see more than my neighbours;" for we all are born proud and self-opinionate, and when we are come to our imaginary maturity, are apt to say with Zedekiah, to those of better judgment than our own, *Which way went the Spirit of God from me to speak unto thee?* 1 Kings xxii. 24. Hence have arisen those strange varieties of wild paradoxes, both in philosophy and religion, wherewith the world abounds every where. When our fancy hath entertained some uncouth thought, our self-love is apt to hatch it up, our confidence to broach it, and our obstinacy to maintain it; and if it be not too monstrous, there will not want some credulous fools to abet it; so as the only way, both to peace and truth, is true humility; which will teach us to think meanly of our own abilities, to be diffident of our own apprehensions and judgments, to ascribe much to the reverend antiquity, greater sanctity, deeper insight of our blessed predecessors. This only will keep us in the beaten road, without all extravagant deviations to untrodden bypaths. Teach me, O Lord, evermore to think myself no whit wiser than I am; so shall I neither be vainly irregular, nor the Church troublesomely unquiet.

XLV.—*Sure Mercies.*

There is nothing more troublesome in human society than the disappoint of trust and failing of friends; for besides the disorder that it works in our own affairs, it commonly is attended with a

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necessary deficiency of our performances to others. The leaning upon a broken reed gives us both a fall and a wound. Such is a false friend, who after professions of love and real offices either slinks from us or betrays us. This is that which the great pattern of patience so bitterly complains of, as none of his least afflictions; *My kinsfolk have failed me, and my familiar friends have forgotten me*, Job xix. 14. It went to the heart of David, that his own familiar friend, in whom he trusted, which did eat of his bread, should lift up his heel against him, Psalm xli. 9. And surely those that are stanch and faithful in themselves cannot but be so much the more deeply affected with the perfidious dealing of others, and yet also so much the more as their confidence and entireness was greater: this was that which heightened the vexation of that man who is so famous for the integrity of his heart: *It was thou, a man, mine equal, my guide, my acquaintance. We took sweet counsel together, and walked to the house of God in company*, Psalm lv. 13, 14. And still our daily experience gives us miserable instances in this kind. He hath had little to do in the world that hath not spent many a sigh upon others' faithlessness. And now, O my soul, the more sad proof thou hast had of the untrusty disposition and carriage of men, the more it concerns thee to betake thyself in all zealous and absolute affiance unto the sure protection and never-failing providence of thy God; the God who, being truth itself, never did, never can forfeit his trust to any soul that relied upon his most certain promises, upon his promised mercies, upon his merciful and just performances: *My soul, wait thou only upon God; for my expectation is from him. He only is my rock and my salvation: in God is my salvation and my glory: the rock of my strength, and my refuge is in God*, Psalm lxii. 5–7. It shall not trouble thee to find men false while thou hast such a true God to have recourse unto.

XLVI.—*Dangerous Prosperity.*

It was a just and needful precaution, O God, which thou gavest of old to thine Israel: *When thou shalt have eaten and art full; then beware lest thou forget the Lord*, Deut. vi. 11, 12. There was not so great fear of forgetting thee while they were in an hungry and dry wilderness; although even there they did too often forget themselves in an ungracious murmuring against thee and their leaders: the greatest danger of their forgetting thee would be, thou knewest, when they should come to be pam-

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pered in the land that flowed with milk and honey. There it was that, accordingly, *Jesurun waxed fat, and kicked:* there, being grown thick and covered with fatness, *he forsook God which made him, and lightly esteemed the Rock of his salvation*, Deut. xxxii. 15. Nothing is more difficult than to keep ourselves from growing wanton by excess; whereas nature, kept low, is capable of just obedience: like as in the body also, a full feed breeds superfluous and vicious humours; whereas a spare diet keeps it both clean and healthful. Do not I see, O Lord, even the man, that was after thine own heart, while thou keptest him in breath, with the persecution of an unjust master, how tenderly conscientious he was; remorsed in himself for but cutting off a lap of the robe of his causeless pursuer, 1 Sam. xxiv. 5; who yet, when he came to the full scope of his ease and courtly jollity, made no scruple of the adulterous bed of fair Bathsheba or the bloody murder of a faithful Uriah. Who was I, O Lord, that I should promise myself an immunity from the peril of a prosperous condition, under which thy holier servants have miscarried? It was thy goodness and wisdom, who foreseest not what shall be only, but what might be also, in prevention of the danger of my surfeit to take away the dish whereon I might have overfed. O God, I do humbly submit to thy good pleasure, and contentedly rest upon thy providence; which hast thought fit rather to secure me in the safe use of my little, than to exercise me with the temptations of a bewitching plenty.

XLVII.—*Cheerful Obedience.*

It is not so much the work that God stands upon, as the mind of the worker. The same act may be done with the thanks and advantage of one agent, and with frowns and disrespect to another. If we do our business grudgingly, and because we must, out of the necessity of our subsistence, we shall have as much thank to sit still: it is our own need that sets our hands on work, not our obedience; so as herein we are our own slaves, not God's servants; whereas, if we go about the works of our calling cheerfully, offering them up to God as our willing sacrifice, in an humble compliance with his commands, and an awful and comfortable expectation of his gracious acceptance, we are blessed in our holy endeavours, and cannot fail of an *Euge* from our Master in heaven. Alas! Lord, it is but little that I can do; and without thy enabling, nothing. Thou, that vouchsafest to give

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me an abilitation to the work, put into me also good affections to thee in performing of it: let me do thy will here, as thy angels do in heaven, with all gracious readiness and alacrity; and be no less glad that I shall do it, than that it is done: so, while carnal hearts shall languish under their forced tasks, my labour shall be my pleasure; and I shall find unspeakable comfort both in the conscience of my act and the crown of my obedience.

XLVIII.—*Heavenly Accordance.*

As our condition here upon earth is different, so must our affection needs be also. That which is one man's joy is another's grief; one man's fear is another man's hope: neither can it be otherwise, while our occasions draw us to so manifest contradictions of disposition. These diversities and contrarieties of inclination and desire are the necessary symptoms of our wretched mortality; and the nearer we grow to the perfection of our blessedness, the more shall we concentrate in the united scope of all our actions and affections, which is the sole glory of our Creator. Know then, O my soul, that the closer thou canst gather up thyself in all the exercises of thy faculties, and proposals of thy desires, to the only respect of the honour of that great and good God which gave thee thy being, thou aspirest so much nearer to thy heaven, where all the blessed saints and angels agree together in one perpetual employment of praising their Maker; and sweetly accord in that one most perfect ditty and note of an eternal Hallelujah to him that sits upon the throne of that celestial glory. O God, do thou draw in my heart more and more from this variety of earthly distractions, and fix it upon this one heavenly work: put me upon that blessed task here below which shall never know any end, but endure for ever in heaven.

XLIX.—*Divine Bounty.*

Had not the apostle said so, yet our own sense and experience would have told us, that *every good and perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights,* James i. 17; for sure from below it cannot come. How should any perfect gift arise from the region of all imperfection? how should evil afford any good? what is below but earth and hell? whereof the one yields nothing but torment, the other nothing but misery and sin. If therefore it be perfect or good, since nothing can give what it hath not, it must needs come from above. And from

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whom above? Not from those lightsome bodies of the stars, whose influences cannot reach unto the soul; whose substance is not capable of any spiritual power, whether to have or give perfect gifts: not from the blessed spirits, which are angels of light; they may help, through God's gracious appointment, to convey blessings to us; they neither will or can challenge an original and primary interest in the blessings which they convey: only, therefore, from the Father of lights; who, as he is light, so is the Author of all whatsoever light, both inward and outward, spiritual and sensible. And as light was the first good and perfect gift which he bestowed on the world, so it well may imply all the spiritual blessings conferred on the creature; so as he that said, *Let there be light*, said also, "Let this man be wise; let that be learned; let that other be gracious and holy." Whence, then, O whence can I look for any good thing but from thy hands, O my God, who *givest to all men liberally and upbraidest not*, James i. 5; whose infinite treasure is not capable of any diminution, since the more thou givest, thy store is not the less, thy glory more. Thou dost not sell thy favours, as we men are apt to do, looking through our small bounty at an expected retribution; but thou givest most freely, most absolutely: neither dost thou lend thy best blessings, as looking to receive them back again, but so conveyest them to us as to make them our own for ever: since therefore thy gifts are so free, that all thy heavenly riches may be had for asking, how worthy shall I be to want them, if I do not sue for them to the throne of thy grace! Yet even this, since it is a good thing, I cannot do without thee: O, then, give thou me the grace that I may be ever begging faithfully of thee, and give me the graces that I beg for.

L.—*Sweet Use of Power.*

I see that great, wise, and holy God, who might most justly make use of his absolute power, yet proceeds sweetly with his creature in all his ways. He might force some to salvation in spite of their will; he might damn others merely for his pleasure, without respect to their sin: but he doth not, he will not do either of these; but goes along graciously and gently with us, inviting us to repentance, and earnestly tendering to us the means of salvation; on the one side, with effectual persuasions, and strong motives, and kindly inclinations to an answerable obedience; on the other side, laying before us the fearful menaces of his

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judgments denounced against sinners, urging all powerful dissuasions, and using all probable means to divert us from all the ways of wickedness, and, when those prevail not, justly punishing us for our wilful disobedience, impenitence, and infidelity. O God, how should we learn of thee to proceed with all our fellow-creatures, but much more with our Christian brethren, not according to the rigour of any pretended prerogative of power; but in all merciful tenderness, in all gentle and fair means of their reclamation on the one side, and, on the other, in an unwilling and constrained severity of necessary justice! And how much doth it concern thee, O my soul, not to stay till thy God shall drag thee to repentance and salvation, but gladly to embrace all those happy opportunities, and cheerfully to yield to all those merciful solicitations, which thy God offers thee for thy full conversion, and carefully to avoid those ways of sin and death which he hath, under so dreadful denunciations, graciously warned thee to shun; else thy God is cleared, both in his justice and mercy, and thy perdition is of thyself!

LI.—*The Power of Conscience.*

It is a true word of the apostle, God is greater than our conscience; and, surely, none but he: under that great God, the supreme power on earth is the conscience. Every man is a little world within himself; and in this little world there is a court of judicature erected, wherein, next under God, the conscience sits as the supreme judge, from whom there is no appeal; that passeth sentence upon us, upon all our actions, upon all our intentions; for our persons, absolving one, condemning another; for our actions, allowing one, forbidding another. If that condemn us, in vain shall all the world beside acquit us; and if that clear us, the doom which the world passeth upon us is frivolous and ineffectual. I grant this judge is sometimes corrupted, with the bribes of hope, with the weak fears of loss, with an undue respect of persons, with powerful importunities, with false witnesses, with forged evidences, to pass a wrong sentence upon the person or cause; for which he shall be answerable to Him that is higher than the highest: but yet this doom, though reversible by the tribunal of Heaven, is still obligatory on earth; so as it is my fault that my conscience is misled, but it is not my fault to follow my conscience. How much need have I therefore, O my God, to pray that thou wouldest guide my conscience aright, and keep this great judge in

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my bosom from corruption and error! and what need hath this intestine arbiter of mine to take special care that he may avoid all misinformations that may mislead his judgment, and all the base suggestions of outward advantage or loss that may deprave his affections! And, O thou, that only art greater than my conscience, keep me from doing aught against my conscience: I cannot disobey that, but I must offend thee; since that is but thine officer under thee, and only commands for thee.

LII.—*Proud Poverty.*

That which wise Solomon observed in the temporal estates of men holds no less true in the spiritual: *There is that maketh himself rich, yet hath nothing: there is that maketh himself poor, yet hath great riches,* Prov. xiii. 7. On the one side we meet with a proud but beggarly Laodicean, that says, *I am rich, and increased with goods, and have need of nothing;* which will not know that he is *wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked,* Rev. iii. 17: this man, when the means of further grace are tendered him, can say, as Esau did of the proffered herds, *I have enough, my brother;* and, with the bragging Pharisee, can boast of what he is not, and of what he is; of what he hath, of what he doth; admiring his own nothing, and not caring to seek for more, because he thinks he hath all: this fond justiciary can overdo his duty, and supererogate; contemning the poverty of souls better furnished than his own, and laying his merits in the dish of the Almighty. On the other side, there is an humble soul, that is secretly rich in all spiritual endowments, full of knowledge, abounding in grace, which, out of the true poverty of spirit, undervalues himself, and makes no show of aught but a bemoaned disability; as we have seen those grounds wherein the richest mines are treasured bewray nothing but barrenness in their outside. O my soul, what estimation soever others may set upon thee, thou art conscious enough of thy own wants: be thankful for the little thou hast, and abased for the much thou lackest; and if thou wilt needs be advancing thyself above others, let it be in the contestation of thy greater humbleness and lower dejection: thy grace shall be no less because thou thinkest it so, but shall rather multiply by a modest diminution. And, O blessed Lord, thou who *resistest the proud and givest grace to the humble,* give me more humility, that I may receive more grace from thee: and thou, whose gracious rain shelves

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down from the steep mountains and sweetly drenches the humble valleys, depress thou my heart more and more with true lowliness of spirit; that the showers of thy heavenly grace may soak into it, and make it more fruitful in all good affections and all holy obedience.

LIII.—*The Happiest Society.*

I find, O Lord, some holy men, that have gone aside from the world into some solitary wilderness, that they might have their full scope of enjoying thee freely, without any secular avocations; who, no doubt, improved their perfect leisure to a great entireness of conversation with thee. Surely I could easily admire the report of their holiness, and emulate their mortified retiredness, if I did not hear them say, The wolf dwells in the wood, and that they could as soon leave themselves as the world behind them. There is no desert so wild, no mountains or rock so craggy, wherein I would not gladly seek thee, O my God, and which I would not willingly climb up to find thee, if I could hope that solitude would yield a spiritual advantage of more enjoying thee: but, alas! I find our weak powers are subject to an unavoidable lassitude; and we can no more contemplate always those divine objects than our bodily eyes are able to fix themselves on the body of the sun in his brightest splendour: so as, if our minds should not be sometimes taken off with a safe variety of cogitations, we should be overwhelmed with thy glory, and with too much light blinded. By this means it comes to pass, that these small interspirations set an edge upon our reassumed speculations and renewed devotions; although also, in the mean time, I should hate all secular diversions, if they should take thee for a moment quite out of my sight; if I did not find that I may refer them to thee, and enjoy thee in them. O God, do thou so fix my soul upon thee, that whatever occasion shall take me up, I may never be out of thy blessed society; and make me so insensible of the noise of the world, that even in the midst of the market I may be still alone with thee.

LIV.—*Honey from the Rock.*

O God, thou didst miraculously refresh thy murmuring Israel of old with water out of the rock in that dry wilderness; and now I hear thee say, If they had hearkened to thy voice, and walked in thy ways, with honey out of the rock thou wouldest have satisfied them, Psalm lxxxi. 16. Lo, that which thou wouldest have done to thine ancient people, if they had obeyed thee, thou

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hast abundantly performed to thine evangelical Israel; with honey out of the rock hast thou satisfied them: the Rock that followed them was Christ my Saviour, 1 Cor. x. 4. Lo, out of this Rock hath flowed that honey whereby our souls are satisfied. *Out of his side*, saith the evangelist, *came water and blood.* This Rock of our salvation affordeth both what Israel had and might have had. Surely, O my God, there can be no honey so sweet as the effect of the precious blood of my Saviour to the soul of the believer: by that blood we have *eternal redemption* from death, and *remission of all our sins*, Heb. ix. 12; Eph. i. 7: by that blood are we *justified* in the sight of our God, and *saved from the wrath to come*, Rom. v. 9: by that blood we have our *peace* made in heaven, and are fully *reconciled to our God*, Col. i. 20: by that blood we are cleansed and *purged* from all our iniquity, Heb. ix. 22: by that blood we are *sanctified* from our corruptions, Heb. xiii. 12; 1 Pet. i. 2: by that blood we receive *the promises* and possessions *of an eternal inheritance*, Heb. ix. 15. O the spiritual honey so sweet, that the material honey is but bitterness to it! Jonathan of old did but dip his spear in the honey of the wood, and but with one lick of that sweet moisture had his eyes cleared and his spirits revived, 1 Sam. xiv. 29. O God, let me but taste and see how sweet the Lord Jesus is, in all his gracious promises, in all his merciful and real performances, I shall need no more to make me happy. Thy Solomon bids me to eat honey, Prov. xxiv. 13. Lo, this is the honey that I desire to eat of: give me of this honey, and I shall receive both clearness to my eyes and vigour of my spirits, to the foiling of all my spiritual enemies. This is not the honey whereof I am bidden not to eat too much, Prov. xxv. 16. No, Lord, I can never eat enough of this celestial honey: here I cannot surfeit; or, if I could, this surfeit would be my health. O God, give me still enough of this honey out of the Rock; so shall my soul live, and bless thee, and be blessed of thee.

LV.—*Sure Earnest.*

O my God, what a comfortable assurance is this which thou hast given to my soul! Thou hast, in thy great mercy, promised and agreed to give me heaven; and now, because thou dost not put me into a present possession, thou hast given me earnest of my future inheritance, Eph. i. 14: and this earnest is that good Spirit of thine, which thou hast graciously put into my soul.

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Even we men, whose style is deceitful upon the balance, think ourselves sure, when, in civil transactions, we have received an earnest of the bargain; and much more, when we have taken that small piece of coin as part of the bargained payment: how then can I fear thee to fail, my God, whose title is *faithful and true;* whose word is *Yea and Amen?* It is ordinary with the world to cheat my soul with fair promises and faithless engagements of yielding me those contentments which it neither can nor meant to perform; but for thee, O Lord, *heaven and earth shall pass away, but not one jot of thy word shall pass unfulfilled*, Matth. xxiv. 35. Hadst thou then but given me that word of thine, I durst have set my soul upon it with all firm confidence; but now that thou hast seconded thy word with thy earnest, what place can be left for my doubt? What then, what is it that thou canst stick at, O my soul? Canst thou make question of the truth of the earnest? thou knowest that thou canst not: the stamp is too well known to be disdoubted: the impressions are full and inimitable: this seal cannot be counterfeit: the graces of the Spirit, which thou hast received, thou feelest to be true and real: thou findest in thyself a faith, though weak, yet sincere; and unfeigned repentance, joined with an hearty detestation of all thy sins; a fervent love of that infinite goodness that hath remitted them; a conscionable care to avoid them; a zealous desire to be approved to God in all thy ways: flesh and blood cannot have wrought these graces in thee: it is only that good Spirit of thy God which hath thus sealed thee to the day of redemption. Walk on, therefore, O my soul, confidently and cheerfully in the strength of this assurance, and joyfully expect the full accomplishment of this happy contract from the sure hands of thy God: let no temptation stagger thee in the comfortable resolutions of thy future glory; but say boldly, with that holy patriarch, *O Lord, I have waited for thy salvation.*

LVI.—*Heavenly Manna.*

Victory itself is the great reward of our fight; but what is it, O God, that thou promisest to give us as the reward of our victory? even the *hidden manna:* surely, were not this gift exceeding precious, thou wouldest not reserve it for the remuneration of so glorious a conquest. Behold that material and visible manna, which thou sentest down from heaven to stop the mouth of murmuring Israel, perished in their use; and if it were reserved but

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to the next day, putrefied, and, instead of nourishing, annoyed them: but the hidden manna, that was laid up in the ark, was incorruptible, as a lasting monument of thy power and mercy to thy people. But now, alas! what is become both of that manna and that ark? Both are vanished, having passed through the devouring jaws of time into mere forgetfulness. It is the true spiritual manna that came down from the highest heaven, and, ascending thither again, is hidden there, in the glorious ark of eternity, that thou wilt give to thy conqueror: that is it which, being participated of here below, nourisheth us to eternal life; and being communicated to us above, is the full consummation of that blessed life and glory. O give me so to fight, that I may overcome; that so overcoming, I may be feasted with this manna. Thou that art, and hast given me thyself, the spiritual manna, which I have fed on by faith; and the symbolical manna, whereof I have eaten sacramentally; give me of that heavenly manna whereof I shall partake in glory. It is yet an *hidden manna*, hid from the eyes of the world; yea, in a sort, from our own; hid in light inaccessible: for, *our life is hid with Christ in God*, Col. iii. 3, but shall then be fully revealed: for it shall then not only cover the face of the earth round about the tents of Israel, but spread itself over the face of the whole heaven; yea, fill both heaven and earth. I well thought, O my God, that if heaven could afford any thing more precious than other, thou wouldest lay it up for thy victor: for it is an hard service, that thy poor infantry here upon earth are put unto, to conflict with so mighty, so malicious, so indefatigable enemies; and therefore the reward must be so much the greater as the warfare is more difficult. O do thou, who art the great Lord of hosts, give me courage to fight, perseverance in fighting, and power to overcome all my spiritual enemies; that I may receive from thee this *hidden manna*, that my soul may live for ever, and may for ever bless thee.

LVII.—*The Heart's Treasure.*

It is a sure word of thine, O Saviour, that where our treasure is, there our hearts will be also; neither can we easily know where to find our hearts, if our treasure did not discover them. Now, Lord, where is my treasure? Surely, I am not worthy to be owned of thee, if my treasure be any where but in heaven: my lumber and luggage may be here on earth, but my treasure is above: there thou hast laid up for me the richest of thy mer-

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cies, even my eternal salvation. Yea, Lord, what is my richest treasure, but thyself; in whom all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, yea of infinite glory, are laid up, for all thine? All things that this world can afford me are but mere pelf in comparison of this treasure; or if the earth could yield aught that is precious, yet I cannot call that treasure. Treasure implies both price and store of the dearest commodities: never so great abundance of base things cannot make a treasure; neither can some few pieces of the richest metals be so accounted; but where there is a large congestion of precious jewels and metals, there only is treasure. If any at all, surely very little, and mean, is the wealth which I can promise myself here: perhaps some brass farthing, or light and counterfeit coin; mere earthly dross, which may load, but cannot enrich my soul. My only true riches are above, with thee; and where, then, should my heart be but there? My hand and my brain too must necessarily be sometimes here below; but my heart shall be still with my treasure in heaven. It is wont to be said, that however the memory of old age is short, yet that no old man ever forgot where he laid up his treasure. O God, let not that celestial treasure which thou hast laid up for me be at any time out of my thoughts: let my eye be ever upon it; let my heart long for the full possession of it; and so joy in the assured expectation of it, that it may disrelish all the contentments, and contemn all the crosses, which this world can afford me.

LVIII.—*The Narrow Way.*

O Saviour, I hear thee say, *I am the way, the truth, and the life;* and yet again, thou, who art Truth itself, tellest me, that the way is narrow and the gate strait that leadeth unto life. Surely thou, who art the living way, art exceeding large; so wide, that all the world of believers enter into life by thee only: but the way of our walk towards thee is strait and narrow. Not but that *thy commandment* in itself *is exceeding broad*, Psalm cxix. 96: for, Lord, how fully comprehensive it is of all moral and holy duties! and what gracious latitude hast thou given us in it of our obedience! and how favourable indulgence and remission, in case of our failings! but narrow, in respect of the weakness and insufficiency of our obedience: it is our wretched infirmity that straitens our way to thee. Lo, heaven, which is thy all-glorious mansion, when we are once entered into it, how infinitely large and spacious it is! even this lower contignation of

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it, at how marvellous distance it archeth in this globe of air and earth and waters! and how is that again surrounded with several heights of those lightsome regions, unmeasurable for their glorious dimensions! But the heaven of heavens, the seat of the blessed, is yet so much larger, as it is higher in place and more eminent in glory: yet thou wouldest have the way to it narrow, and the gate of it strait. And even thus it pleaseth thee to ordain, in the dispensation of all thine inferior blessings: Learning dwells far within; but the entrance is strait, through study, watching, bending of brains, wearing of spirits: the house of Honour is sumptuous and goodly within; but the gate is strait that leads into it; which is through danger, attendance, plots of emulation: Wealth hath large elbowroom of lodging; but the gate is strait; hard labour, careful thrift, racking of thoughts, painful adventures. How much more wouldest thou have it thus in the best of all blessings, the eternal fruition of heaven! And why is this way narrow, but because it is untracked and untrodden? if I may not rather say, the way is untracked, and found by few, because it is narrow, and not easy to tread in. Surely grace is the way to glory; and that path is not for every foot: the straiter and narrower it is, O my God, the more let me strive and shoulder to enter into it. What vain quarrels do we daily hear of for the way; but, Lord, enable me to strive for this way, even to blood. And if thou hast been pleased to set me a deep way or a rough way, through many tribulations, to that happy and eternal life, let me pass it with all cheerful resolution. How oft have I not grudged to go a foul way to a friend's house, where I knew my entertainment kind and cordial! O let me not think much to come to those thy everlasting mansions of bliss through tears and blood: the end shall make an abundant amends for the way: if I suffer with thee, I shall reign with thee.

LIX.—*God's Various Proceedings.*

What strange varieties do I find in the workings of God with man! one, where I find him gently and plausibly inviting men to their conversion; another, where I find him frighting some others to heaven: some, he trains up in a goodly education, and, without any eminent change, calls them forth to an exemplary profession of his name; some others, he chooseth out of a life notoriously lewd to be the great patterns of a sudden reformation: one, that was only formal in his devotion, without any true life of grace, is,

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upon a grievous sickness, brought to a lively sense of godliness; another comes to God's house with a purpose to sleep or scoff, and, through the secret operation of God's Spirit working with his word, returns full of true compunction of heart, with tears in his eyes, and resolutions of present amendment of life: one, that was proud of his own righteousness, is suffered to fall into some foul sin, which shames him before men, and is thus brought down to an humble acknowledgment of his own frailty; another, that was cast down with a sad despair of God's mercy, is raised up by the fall of an unbroken glass, or by some comfortable dream, or by the seasonable word of a cheerful friend: one is called at the sixth hour; another, not till the eleventh: one, by fair and probable means; another, by contraries; so as even the work of Satan himself hath been made the occasion of the conversion of his soul. O God, thy ways are infinite, and past finding out. It is not for us to prescribe thee what to do, but humbly to adore thee in what thou doest. Far be it from me, so to cast myself upon thy all-working providence as to neglect the ordinary means of my salvation. Enable me cheerfully to endeavour what thou requirest, and then take what way thou pleasest; so that thou bringest me to the end of my hope, the salvation of my soul.

LX.—*The Waking Guardian.*

It is a true word which the Psalmist said of thee, O God: *thou, that keepest Israel, neither slumberest nor sleepest,* Psalm cxxi. 4. Fond tyrants think that thou winkest at their cruel persecutions of thy Church, because thou dost not speedily execute vengeance upon them; whereas, if the fault were not in their eyes, they should see thine wide open, and bent upon them for their just destruction: only, thou thinkest fit to hold thy hand for a time from the infliction of judgment, till the measure of their iniquity be full; and then, they shall feel to their cost that thou sawest all their secret plots and conspiracies against thine Israel. The time was, O Saviour, when, in the days of thy human infirmity, thou sleptest in the stern of the ship, on a pillow, when the tempest raged and the waves swelled; yet even then, when thy disciples awoke thee, and said, *Lord, save us, we perish,* thou rebukedst them sharply with, *Why are ye fearful, O ye of little faith?* Matth. viii. 24—26; Mark iv. 37—40; Luke viii. 23—25. Their danger was apparently great: but yet thou tellest them their fear was causeless, and their faith weak, that

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they could not assure themselves that thy presence, though sleeping, was a sufficient preservative against the fury of winds and waters: how much more now, that being in the height of thy heavenly glory, and ever intentively vigilant for the safeguard of thy chosen ones, may we rest secure of thy blessed protection and our sure indemnity! O God, do thou keep my eyes ever open, that I may still wait upon thee, for thy gracious tuition and the merciful accomplishment of thy salvation. Thou seest I have to do with those enemies that are never but waking, never but seeking all advantages against my soul: what can they do, when thine eye is ever over me for good? O then, let mine eyes be ever unto thee, O God my Lord: in thee let me still put my trust: so shalt thou keep me from the snares that they have laid for me, and the gins of the workers of iniquity, Psalm cxli. 8, 9.

LXI.—*The Sting of Guiltiness.*

Guiltiness can never think itself sure, if there were no fiends to torment it: like a bosom-devil, it would ever torment itself: no guard can be so sure, no fort so strong, as to secure it from terrors. The first murderer, after his bloody fratricide, when there is no mention of any man beside his father upon earth, yet can say, *It shall come to pass, that every one that findeth me shall slay me,* Gen. iv. 14: and I marvel that he added not, "If none else will do it, I shall do that deadly office to myself." He was sure he could meet with none but brethren or nephews; and even the face of those was now dreadful to him: he that had been so cruel to him that had lain in the same womb with himself, fears, that no nearness of blood can shield him from the violence of the next man. Conscience, when once exasperated, needs not stay for an accuser, a witness, a solicitor to enforce the evidence, a judge, but itself alone acts all these parts, and oft-times also the executioner's to boot. It was a just question of the wisest of men, *A wounded spirit who can bear?* but there are divers and different degrees of the wounds of spirit: all are painful, some mortal. As in the body, there may be some wounds in the outward and fleshly part which have more pain than peril, but those of the principal and vital parts are not more dolorous than dangerous, and often deadly; so it is in the soul: there are wounds of the inferior and affective faculties, as grief for crosses, vexation for disappointment of hopes, pangs of anger for wrongs received, which may be cured with seasonable remedies; but the

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wounds of conscience, inflicted by the sting of some heinous sin, which lies belking within us, carries in it horror, despair, death. O God, keep me from blood-guiltiness, and from all crying and presumptuous sins; but, if ever my frailty should be so foully tainted, do thou so work upon my soul, as that my repentance may walk in equal paces with my sin, ere it can aggravate itself by continuance. Apply thy sovereign plaster to my soul while the wound is green, and suffer it not to fester inwardly through any impenitent delay.

LXII.—*Beneficial Want.*

It is just with thee, O God, when thou seest us grow wanton, and unthankfully neglective of thy blessings, to withdraw them from us, that by the want of them we may feel both our unregarded obligations and the defects of our duty: so we have seen the nurse, when the child begins to play with the dug, to put up the breast out of sight. I should not acknowledge how precious a favour health is, if thou didst not sometimes interchange it with sickness; nor how much I am bound to thee for my limbs, if I had not sometimes a touch of lameness. Thirst gives better relish to the drink; and hunger is the best sauce to our meat. Nature must needs affect a continuance of her welfare, neither is any thing more grievous to her than these cross interceptions of her contentments: but thou, who art Wisdom itself, knowest how fit it is for us, both to smart for our neglect of thy familiar mercies, and to have thy blessings more endeared to us by a seasonable discontinuance. Neither dost thou want to deal otherwise in the managing of thy spiritual mercies. If thy Spouse, the faithful soul, shall, being pampered with prosperity, begin to grow secure and negligent, so as at the first knock of her beloved she rise not up to open to him, but suffers his head to be filled with dew and his locks with the drops of the night, she soon finds her beloved withdrawn and gone; she may then seek him and not find him; she may call, and receive no answer; she may seek him about the streets, and, instead of finding him, lose her veil, and meet with blows and wounds from the watchmen, Cant. v. 2—7. O God, keep thou me from being restive with ease; hold me in a continual tenderness of heart; continue me in a thankful and awful use of all thy favours: but if at any time thou seest me decline to a careless obduration, and to a disrespective forgetfulness of thy mercies, do thou so chastise me with the fatherly

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hand of thy afflictions, and so work me to a gracious use of thy desertions, that my soul may seek thee with more vigour of affections, and may recover thee with more sensible comfort.

LXIII.—*Interchange of Conditions.*

It is not for nothing, O my God, that thou hast protracted my time so long, and hast given me so large experience of thy most wise and holy dealing with myself and others. Doubtless it is that I might see and feel and observe, and teach the gracious changes of thy carriage towards thy poor sinful creatures upon earth. Thou dost not hold us always under the rod, though we well deserve a perpetual correction; as considering our miserable impotence, and aptness to an heartless dejection. Thou dost not always keep our hearts raised up to the jollity of a prosperous condition; as knowing our readiness to presume, and to be carried away with a false confidence of our unmovableness: but graciously interchangest thy favours with our sufferings. When thou seest us ready to faint, and to be discouraged with our adversity, thou takest off thy hand, and givest us a comfortable respiration from our miseries: when thou seest us puffed up with the vain conceit of our own worth or success, thou takest us down with some heavy cross. When thou findest us overlaid with an unequal match, and ready to be foiled in the fight, thou givest us breath, and puttest new strength into our arms, and new courage into our hearts: when thou findest us insolent with our victory, thou shamest us by an unexpected discomfiture. And as for the outward estate of the nations and kingdoms of the earth, thou whirlest them about in a perpetual yet constant vicissitude: peace breeds plenty; plenty, wantonness and pride; pride, animosity; from thence follows war; war produces vastation and want; poverty causeth industry; and, when nothing is left to strive for, peace; an industrious peace brings plenty again: and, in this gyre, thou hast ordained the world still to turn about. Be not too much moved then, O my soul, when thou findest thyself hard pressed with afflictions and conflicted with strong temptations; but bear up constantly, in the strength of thy faith, as being assured, that having rid out this storm, thou shalt be blessed with an happy calm: neither be thou lifted up too much, when thou findest thyself carried on with a fair gale of prosperity; since thou knowest not what tempests may suddenly arise, and many a hopeful vessel hath been sunk in sight of the port. And when

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thou seest the world everywhere full of woful combustions, be not overmuch dismayed with the sight and sense of these public calamities; but wait patiently upon that Divine Providence, which, after those revolutions of change, shall happily reduce all things to their determinate posture. To which purpose, O God, do thou fix my heart firmly upon thee: do thou keep me from the evil of prosperity, from dejectedness in affliction, from the prevalence of temptation, from misprision of thy providence. Work me to that due temper which thy Solomon hath prescribed me—*In the day of prosperity be joyful, but in the day of adversity consider: God also hath set the one over against the other, to the end that man should find nothing after him,* Eccles. vii. 14.

LXIV.—*The Rule of Devotion.*

Thy will, O God, as it is always holy, so, in what thou hast decreed to do with us, is secret, and in what thou wouldest have us do to thee, is revealed. It is thy revealed will that must regulate both our actions and our prayers. It may be that I may lawfully sue to thee for what thou hast decreed not to grant: as Samuel ceased not to pray for thy favour to that Saul whom thou hadst rejected; and many an Israelite prayed for rain in that three years and an half wherein thou hadst commanded the clouds to make good the prophecy of thine Elias; yea, thine holy apostle prayed thrice to have the messenger of Satan taken off from him, and heard no answer, but, *My grace is sufficient for thee,* 2 Cor. xii. 9. So, Lord, we pray for the removal of thy judgments from this sinful and deplored nation, which, for aught we know, and have cause to fear, thou hast decreed to ruin and devastation; and many a good soul prays for a comfortable sense of thy favour, whom thou thinkest fit to keep down for the time in a sad desertion; and I, thy unworthy servant, may pray to be freed from those temptations wherewith thou seest it fit that my faith should be still exercised. O God, give me the grace to follow thy revealed will, and to submit myself to thy secret. What thou hast commanded, I know I may do; what thou hast promised, I know I may trust to; what thou hast in a generality promised to do, may, in some particular cases, by the just decree of thy secret counsel, be otherwise determined. If I ask what thou hast decreed to do, I know I cannot but obtain; if I ask what thou hast warranted, notwithstanding the particular exception of thy secret will, though I receive it not,

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yet I receive not pardon only, but acceptation. O God, give me grace to steer myself and my prayers by thy revealed will, and humbly to stoop to what the event shows to have been thy secret will.

LXV.—*Hell's Triumph.*

Thou hast told us, O Saviour, that there is joy in the presence of thine angels for a sinner's repentance, Luke xv. 10. Those blessed spirits are so far from envying our happiness, that, as they endeavour it here, so they congratulate it in heaven; and we well know that these good spirits do not more rejoice in the conversion of a sinner, than the evil spirits do in the miscarriage of a convert. The course of the holy obedience of thy servants here is doubtless a pleasing object to thine angels; neither are those malignant spirits less pleased with the wicked practices of their vassals; but the joy arises to both from the contrary condition of those parties over which they have prevailed. The allegiance of a good subject, though well accepted, yet is no news to a gracious sovereign; but the coming in of some great rebel is happy tidings at the court: on the contrary, where there is a rivality of sovereignty, for a professed enemy to do hostile actions is no other than could be expected; but for a subject, or a domestic servant, to be drawn into the conspiracy, is not more advantage than joy to the intruder. O God, thou hast mercifully called me out of the world to a profession of thy name: I know what eyes those envious spirits have ever upon me; O do thou *lead me in thy righteousness because of mine enemies,* Psalm v. 8. If thine angels have found cause to joy in my conversion, O do thou keep me from making music in hell by my miscarriage.

LXVI.—*Dumb Homage.*

How officious, O God, do I see thy poor dumb creatures to us! how do they fawn or crouch as they see us affected! how do they run and fetch and carry, and draw at our command! how do they bear our stripes with a trembling unresistance! how readily do they spend their strength, and live theirs in our service! how patiently do they yield us their milk and their fleeces for our advantage, and lie equally still to be shorn or slain at our pleasure! expecting nothing from us, in the mean time, but a bare sustenance, which if it be denied them they do not fall furiously upon their cruel masters, but meekly bemoan themselves in their brutish language, and languish and die: if granted them, they

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are fattened for our use. I am ashamed, O God, I am ashamed to see these thy creatures so obsequiously pliant unto me, while I consider my disposition and deportment towards thee my Creator. Alas, Lord, what made the difference betwixt me and them but thy mere good pleasure? thou mightest have made them rational, and have exchanged my reason for their brutality. They are my fellows by creation, and owe both their being and preservation to the same hand with myself. Thou art the absolute Lord of both, to whom I must be accountable for them; they are mine only by a limited substitution from thee; why then should they be more obedient to my will than I am to thine, since they have only sense to lead them in their way, I have both reason and faith to teach me my duty? Had I made them, I could but require of them their absolute submission; why should I then exact of them more than I am ready to perform unto thee? O God, thou that hast put them under my hand, and me under thy own; as thou hast made me their master for command, so let me make them my masters to teach me obedience.

LXVII.—*Indifferency of Events.*

Thou givest us daily proofs, O God, of the truth of that observation of wise Solomon, that *all things come alike to all;* and that *no man knows love or hatred by all that is before them,* Eccles. ix. 1, 2. In these outward things, thy dearest friends have not fared better than thine enemies; thy greatest enemies have not suffered more than thy beloved children. When therefore I look abroad, and see with what heavy afflictions thou art pleased to exercise thy best favourites upon earth, I cannot but stand amazed to see that horrible torments of all kinds have been undergone by thy most precious martyrs, whose patience hath overcome the violence of their executioners, and to see those extreme tortures which some of thy faithful servants have endured in the beds of their sickness: one, torn and drawn together with fearful convulsions; another, shrieking under the painful girds of an unremovable stone: one, wrung in his bowels with pangs of cholic, and turning of guts; another, possessed with a raging gout in all his limbs; one, whose bladder, after a painful incision, is ransacked; another, whose leg or arm is cut off to prevent a mortal gangrene: I cannot but acknowledge how just it might be in thee, O God, to mix the same bitter cup for me; and how merciful it is that, knowing my weakness, thou hast

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forborne hitherto to load me with so sad a burden. What thou hast in thine eternal counsel determined to lay upon me, thou only knowest. If thou be pleased to continue thy gracious indulgence to me still, make me truly thankful to thee for health and ease, as the greatest of thy outward favours; but let me not build upon them as the certain evidences of thy better mercies: and if thou think fit to interchange them with the vicissitude of sickness and pain, let me not misconstrue thy severe chastisements as arguments of thy displeasure. But still teach me to fear thee in my greatest prosperity, and to love thee in my greatest sufferings, and to adore thine infinite wisdom, justice, and mercy in both.

LXVIII.—*The Transcendent Love.*

How justly do I marvel, O God, to see what strength of natural affection thou hast wrought in poor brute creatures towards their masters, and towards their own mates, towards their dams and their young! We have plentiful instances of those whom death could not separate from their beloved guardians: some, that have died for their masters; some, with them; some, that have fearlessly hazarded their own lives for the preservation of their young ones; some, that have fed their aged dams with the food which they have spared from their own maws. Amongst the rest, how remarkable is that comparison of thine, O Saviour, wherein thou wert pleased to set forth thy tender care of thine Israel by the resemblance of an hen gathering her chickens under her wings! Matt. xxiii. 37. How have I seen that poor fowl, after the patience of a painful hatching, clucking her little brood together; and, when she hath perceived the puttock hovering over her head, in a varied note calling them hastily under the wing of her protection, and there covertly hiding them, not from the talons only, but from the eye of that dangerous enemy, till the peril hath been fully over! after which, she calls them forth to their liberty and repast, and with many a careful scrape discovers to them such grains of food as may be fit for them, contenting herself to crave for them with neglect of her own sustenance. O God, thou who hast wrought in thy silly creatures such an high measure of indulgence and dearness of respect towards their tender brood, how infinite is thy love and compassion towards the children of men, the great masterpiece of thy creation! How past the admiration of men and angels is that transcendent proof of thy divine love in the more than marvellous work of our redemption!

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How justly glorifiable is thy name in the gracious and sometimes miraculous preservation of thy children! in the experience whereof, if I forbear to magnify thee, or dare not to trust thee, how can I be but unworthy to be owned of thee or blessed by thee?

LXIX.—*Choice of Seasons.*

How regularly, O God, hast thou determined a set season for all thy creatures, both for their actions and their use! *The stork in the heaven*, saith thy prophet Jeremy, *knoweth her appointed times; and the turtle and the crane and the swallow observe the time of their coming*, Jer. viii. 7. Who have seen the storks[s] before the calends of August, or a swallow in the winter? Who hath heard the nightingale in the heat of harvest, or the bittern bearing her bass in the coldest months? Yea, the fishes in the sea know and observe their due seasons, and present us with their shoals only when they are wholesome and useful; the herring doth not furnish our market in the spring, nor the salmon or mackerel in the winter. Yea, the very flies both have and keep their days appointed: the silkworm never looks forth of that little cell of her conception till the mulberry puts forth the leaves for their nourishment; and who hath ever seen a butterfly or an hornet in winter? yea, there are flies, we know, appropriate to their own months, from which they vary not. Lastly, how plain is this in all the several varieties of trees, flowers, herbs! The almond tree looks out first, the mulberry last, of all other: the tulip and the rose, and all other the sweet ornaments of the earth, are punctual in their growth and fall. But as for man, O God, thou hast in thy infinite wisdom endued him with that power of reason whereby he may make choice of the fittest seasons of all his actions. Thou that hast appointed *a time for every purpose under heaven*, Eccles. iii. 1, hast given him wit to find and observe it. Even lawful acts, unseasonably done, may turn evil; and acts indifferent, seasonably performed, may prove good and laudable. The best improvement of morality or civility may shame us, if due time be not as well regarded as substance. Only grace, piety, true virtue, can never be unseasonable. There are no seasons in eternity: there shall be one uniform and constant act of glorifying thee; thy angels and saints praise thee above without change or intermission, the more we can do so on earth, the nearer shall we approach to those blessed spirits. O God, let my heart be wholly

[s] Œcolampad. in loc. Jerem. [Ad Kalendas Augusti non visuntur, &c.]

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taken up evermore with an adoration of thine infinite Majesty, and let my mouth be ever sounding forth of thy praise; and let the Hosannahs and Hallelujahs which I begin here, know no measure but eternity.

LXX.—*The Happy return Home.*

Every creature naturally affects a return to the original whence it first came. The pilgrim, though faring well abroad, yet hath a longing homeward: fountains and rivers run back with what speed they may to the sea, whence they were derived: all compound bodies return to their first elements: the vapours, rising up from the earth and waters, and condensed into clouds, fall down again to the same earth whence they were exhaled: this body that we bear about us returns at last to that dust whereof it was framed. And why then, O my soul, dost not thou earnestly desire to return home to the God that made thee? Thou knowest thy original is heavenly, why are not thy affections so? What canst thou find here below worthy to either withdraw or detain thee from those heavenly mansions? Thou art here in a region of sin, of misery and death: glory waits for thee above: fly then, O my soul, fly hence to that blessed immortality, not as yet, in thy dissolution, for which thou must wait on the pleasure of thy dear Maker and Redeemer: yet in thy thoughts, in thy desires and affections, soar thou up thither, and converse there with that blessed God and Father of Spirits, with those glorious orders of angels, and with the souls of just men made perfect: and if the necessity of these bodily affairs must needs draw thee off for a time, let it be not without reluctation and hearty unwillingness, and with an eager appetite of quick return to that celestial society. It will not be long ere thou shalt be blessed with a free and uninterrupted fruition of that glorious eternity; in the mean time, do thou prepossess it in thy heavenly dispositions, and, contemning this earth, wherewith thou art clogged, aspire to thy heaven, and be happy.

LXXI.—*The Confinements of Age.*

Dost thou not observe, O my soul, how time and age confines and contracts, as our bodies, so our desires and motions here upon earth, still into narrower compasses? When we are young, the world is but little enough for us; after we have seen our own island, we affect to cross the seas, and to climb over Alps and Pyrennees, and never think we have roved far enough. When we

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grow ancient, we begin to be well pleased with rest: now, long and unnecessary journeys are laid aside: if business call us forth, we go, because we must; as for the visits of friendship, one sun is enough to measure them with our returns. And still the older we grow, the more we are devoted to our home; there we are content to sit still, and enjoy the thoughts of our youth and former experience, not looking farther than a kind neighbourhood. But when age hath stiffened our joints and disabled our motions, now our home-pastures and our gardens become our utmost boundaries. From thence, a few years more confine us to our own floor. Soon after that, we are limited to our chamber; and at last to our chair; then to our bed; and in fine to our coffin. These natural restrictions, O my soul, are the appendences of thy weary partner, this earthly body; but for thee, the nearer thou drawest to thy home, the more it concerns thee to be sensible of a blessed enlargement of thy estate and affections. Hitherto thou art immured in a strait pile of clay; now, heaven itself shall be but wide enough for thee. The world hath hitherto taken thee up, which, though large, is yet but finite; now, thou art upon the enjoying of that God who alone is infinite in all that he is. O how inconsiderable is the restraint of the worse part in comparison of the absolute enlargement of the better! O my God, whose mercy knows no other limits than thy essence, work me, in this shutting up of my days, to all heavenly dispositions; that while my outward man is so much more lessened as it draws nearer to the centre of its corruption, my spiritual part may be so much more dilated in and towards thee, as it approacheth nearer towards the circumference of thy celestial glory.

LXXII.—*Sin without Sense.*

Alas, Lord, how tenderly sensible I am of the least bodily complaint that can befall me! If but a tooth begin to ache, or a thorn have rankled in my flesh, or but an angry corn vex my toe, how am I incessantly troubled with the pain! how feelingly do I bemoan myself! how carefully do I seek for a speedy remedy! which till I feel, how little relish do I find in my wonted contentment! But for the better part, which is so much more tender as it is more precious, with what patience, shall I call it? or stupidity, do I endure it wounded, were it not for thy great mercy, no less than mortally! Every new sin, how little soever, that I commit, fetches blood of the soul: every willing sin stabs it: the continu-

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ance wherein festers inwardly, and, without repentance, kills. O God, I desire to be ashamed and humbled under thy hand, for this so unjust partiality, which gives me just cause to fear that sense hath yet more predominance in me than faith. I do not so much sue to thee to make me less sensible of bodily evils, whereof yet too deep a sense differs little from impatience, as to make me more sensible of spiritual: let me feel my sin more painful than the worst disease, and rather than wilfully sin, let me die.

LXXIII.—*The Extremes of Devotion.*

I acknowledge it to be none of thy least mercies, O God, that thou hast vouchsafed to keep me within the due lines of devotion, not suffering me to wander into those two extremes which I see and pity in others. Too many there are, that do so content themselves in mere formalities, that they little regard how their heart is affected with the matter of their prayers: so have I grieved to see poor misdevout souls under the papacy, measuring their orisons, not by weight, but by number; not caring which way their eye strayed, so their lips went; resting well apaid that God understood them, though they understood not themselves: too near approaching whereunto are a world of well-meaning ignorant souls at home, that care only to pray by rote, not without some general intentions of piety, but so, as their hearts are little guilty of the motion of their tongues; who, while they would cloak their carelessness with a pretence of disability of expressing their wants to God, might learn, that true sense of need never wanted words to crave relief: every beggar can, with sufficient eloquence, importune the passenger for his alms; did they not rather lack an heart than a tongue, they could not be defective in bemoaning themselves to Heaven for what they lack, especially while we have to do with such a God as more esteems broken clauses made up with hearty sighs, than all the complements of the most curious eloquence in the world. On the other side, there are certain zealous devotionists which abhor all set forms and fixed hours of invocation, teaching, and so practising, that they may not pray but when they feel a strong impulsion of God's Spirit to that holy work; whereupon it hath come to pass, that whole days, yea weeks, have gone over their heads unblessed by their prayers; who might have taken notice, that under the Law God had his regular course of constant hours for his morning and evening sacrifices; that the ancient saints, under the Old Testament, held close to David's

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rule, *evening, and morning, and at noon,* to pray and cry aloud, Psalm lv. 17: so as the very lions could not fright Daniel from his task: and even after the vail of the Temple was rent, Peter and John went up together to God's house, at the ninth hour, to evening prayer, Acts iii. 1: yea, what stand ye upon this, when the apostle of the Gentiles charges us, to pray continually? 1 Thess. v. 17. Not that we should, in the midst of a sensible indisposedness of heart, fall suddenly into a fashionable devotion; but that by holy ejaculations and previous meditation we should make way for a feeling invocation of our God, whose ears are never but open to our faithful prayers. If we first, though silently, pray that we may pray, the fervour of our devotion shall grow upon us in praying: these holy waters of the sanctuary, that at first did but wet the souls of our feet, shall, in their happy process, rise up to our chins. I thank thee, O God, that thou hast given me a desire to walk even between these extremities. As I would be ever in a praying disposition to thee, so I would not willingly break hours with thee: I would neither sleep nor wake without praying, but I would never pray without feeling. If my heart go not along with forms of words, I do not pray, but babble; and if that be bent upon the matter of my suit, it is all one to thee whether the words be my own or borrowed. Let thy good Spirit ever teach me to pray, and help me in praying; let that ever *make intercessions for me, with groanings which cannot be expressed,* Rom. viii. 26; and then, if thou canst, send me away empty.

LXXIV.—*The Sick Man's Vows.*

The answer was not amiss which Theodoricus bishop of Cologne is said to have given to Sigismond the emperor, who, demanding how he might be directed the right way to heaven, received answer; "If thou walk so, as thou promisedst in thy painful fit of the stone or gout[h]." Our extremities commonly render us holy, and our pain is prodigal of those vows which our ease is as niggardly in performing. The distressed mariner, in the peril of a tempest, vows to his saint a taper as big as the mast of his ship; which upon his coming to shore is shrunk into a rush candle. There was never a more stiffnecked people than that which should have been God's peculiar; yet, upon every new plague, how do they crouch and creep to the power which their murmurs pro-

[h] Æneas Sylv. de Reb. gest. Alph. [De Dictis et factis Alph. Reg. lib. ii. § 40.]

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voked! And we daily see desperation makes those votaries whom health dispenseth with as the loosest of libertines. Were it essential to prosperity thus to pervert and debauch us, it were enough to make a good heart out of love with welfare; since the pleasure and profit of the best estate is far too short of recompensing the mischief of a depraved jollity: but now the fault is in our own wretched indisposition; the blessing is God's, the abuse is ours. Is the sun to be blamed, that the traveller's cloak swelters him with heat? is the fruit of the grape guilty of that drunkenness which follows upon a sinful excess? can we not feed on good meat without a surfeit? And whose fault is it but ours if we forget the engagements of our sick beds? Rather than health should make us godless, how much better were it for us to be always sick! O my God, I do acknowledge and bewail this wretched frailty of our corrupt nature: we are not the same men sick and whole: we are apt to promise thee fair, and to pay thee with disappointment; and are ready to put off our holy thoughts with our biggins. It is thou only that canst remedy this sickness of our health, by working us to a constant mortification. O do thou ever bless thy servant, either with sanctified crosses or a temperate prosperity!

LXXV.—*The Suggestions of a False Heart.*

Surely, if thousands of souls perish by the flattery of others, more perish by their own; while their natural self-love soothes them with plausible but untrue suggestions concerning their estate. Is the question concerning grace? The false heart tells a man he is stored to superfluity and excess, when he is indeed more bare and beggarly than the proud pastor of Laodicea. Is the question of sin? It proclaims him not innocent only, but a saint: it tells him his hands are pure, when he is up to the elbows in blood; that his tongue is holy, when it is foul with perjury and blasphemy; that his eye is honest and chaste, when it is full of adultery; that his soul is clean, when it is defiled with abominable lusts, or with cruel rancour and malice. Is the question concerning virtue? It tells a man he is just, when he is all made up of rapine and violent oppression; that he is eminently wise, when he hath not wit enough to know himself a fool; that he is free-handed and munificent, when he sticks not to rob beggars; that he is piously religious, while he pulls down churches. Thus is the man still hid from himself, and is made to see another in his

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own skin: he cannot repent, because he thinks himself faultless: he cannot amend, because he is ever at the best: his only ease and advantage is, that he is carried hoodwinked into hell. If the question be concerning some scrupulous act to be done or omitted, now self-respect plays its prizes at all weapons: what shifting and traversing there is, to avoid the dint of a present danger! what fine colours and witty equivocations doth the soul find out, to cozen itself into a safe offence! If the question be of a sinful act already committed, what a shuffling there is to face it out by a stout justification! maugre conscience, it was not lawful only, but, such as the circumstances were, expedient also: and if it be so foul that an apology is too odious, yet an extenuation cannot but be admitted; be it amiss, yet not heinous, not unmeet for pardon. One would think hell should have little need of the fawning assentation of others when men carry so dangerous parasites in their own bosoms; but sure, both together must needs help to people that region of darkness. Take heed, O my soul, how thou givest way to these flattering thoughts, whether arising from thy own breast or injected by others; and know, thou art never in more danger than when thou art most applauded. Look upon thine estate and actions with unpartial and severe eyes. Behold thine own face, not in the false glass of opinion and mercenary adulation, but in the true and perfect glass of the royal law of thy Creator: that shall duly represent unto thee, whether the beauty of thy graces or the blemishes of thy manifold imperfections: that alone shall tell thee how much thou art advanced in a gracious proficiency, and how shamefully defective thou art in what thou oughtest to have attained. Judge of thyself by that unfailing rule, and be indifferent what thou art judged of by others.

LXXVI.—*Sacred Melody.*

What a marvellously cheerful service was that, O God, which thou requiredst and hadst performed under the Law! Here was not a dumb and silent act in thy sacrifices, a beast bleeding before thy altar, and a smoke and flame arising out of it; here was not a cloudy perfume, quietly ascending from the golden altar of thine incense; but here was the merry noise of most melodious music, singing of psalms, and sounding of all harmonious instruments. The congregation were upon their knees, the Levites upon their stage sweetly singing, the priests sounding the trumpets, together with cymbals, harps, psalteries, making up one sound in praising

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and thanking the Lord, 2 Chron. xxix. 25—28; v. 12, 13. Methinks I hear, and am ravished to hear, in some of thy solemn days, an hundred and twenty of thy priests sounding with trumpets; thy Levites in greater number singing aloud with the mixture of their musical instruments; so as not the temple only, but the heaven rings again. And even in thy daily sacrifices, each morning and evening, I find an heavenly mirth; music, if not so loud, yet no less sweet and delicate: no fewer than twelve Levites might be standing upon the stage every day, singing a divine ditty over thy sacrifice; psalteries, not fewer than two nor more than six; pipes, not fewer than two nor more than twelve; trumpets two at the least, and but one cymbal[i]: so proportioned by the masters of thy choir, as those that meant to take the heart through the ear. I find where thy holy servants, David, Solomon, Hezekiah, (doubtless by thy gracious direction, yea, by thy direct command, 2 Chron. xxix. 25—28,) both appointed and made use of these melodious services: I do not find where thou hast forbidden them: this I am sure of, since thou art still and ever the same, under both Law and Gospel, that thou both requirest and delightest in the cheerful devotions of thy servants. If we have not the same sounds with thy legal worshippers, yet we should still have the same affections. As they might not wait upon thee sorrowful, so it is not for us to praise thee with drooping and dejected spirits. O God, do thou quicken my spiritual dulness in thy holy service; and when I come to celebrate thy great Name, while the song is in my mouth, let my heart be the stage wherein trumpets and psalteries and harps shall sound forth thy praise.

LXXVII.—*Blemishes of the Holy Function.*

I cannot but bless myself at the sight of that strange kind of curiosity which is reported to have been used in the choice of those who were of old admitted to serve at the altar. If Levi must be singled out from all Israel, yet thousands must be refused of the tribe of Levi. We are told[k], that, notwithstanding that privilege of blood, no less than an hundred and forty blemishes might exclude a man from this sacred ministration; whereof nineteen in the eyes, nine in the ears, twenty in the feet. Such an holy niceness there was in the election of the legal

[i] Maimonides in Clie hamikdash. c. 3. [De vasis Sanctuarii, &c.]
[k] Maimon. in Biath hamikdash. [De ingressu Sanctuarii, &c.]

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priesthood, that if there were not found an exact symmetry of all parts of the body, and not comeliness only, but a perfection of outward form, in those Levitical candidates, they might by no means be allowed to serve in the sanctuary: they might have place in some outrooms, and cleave wood for the altar, and might claim a portion in the holy things; but they might not meddle with the sacred utensils, nor set foot upon the floor of the holy place. It was thy charge, O God, that those sons of Aaron which drew near to thee should be void of blemish; thou, which wouldest have the beasts of thy sacrifice free from bodily imperfection, wouldest much more have thy sacrificers so. The generality of the command was thine; the particularities of the numbers are traditional. And well might the care of these outward observations agree with the pedagogy of that law which consisted in external rites; but we well know it was the inward purity of the heart, and integrity of an unspotted life, that thou meantest to aim at under the figure of these bodily perfections; which if it were wanting, it was not a skin-deep beauty and exquisiteness of shape that could give a son of Aaron an allowed access to thine altar. Hophni and Phinehas, the ill sons of good Eli, were outwardly blemishless, else they had not been capable of so holy an attendance; but their insolencies and beastliness made them more loathsome to thee, than if they had been lepers or monsters of outward deformity. And can we think that thou hast less regard to the purity of the evangelical ministry than thou formerly hadst of the legal? Can we think the spiritual blemishes of thine immediate servants under the Gospel can be a less eyesore to thee than the external blemishes of thy priesthood under the Law! *O that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night* for the enormities of those who profess to wait on thy evangelical sanctuary! Jer. ix. 1. My sorrow and piety cannot but bewail them to thee, though my charity forbids me to blazon them to the world. O thou that art as *the refiner's fire* and the *fuller's sope*, do thou *purify all the sons* of thy spiritual *Levi:* do thou *purge them as gold and silver, that they may offer unto the Lord an offering of righteousness: then shall the offerings of our Judah and Jerusalem be pleasant to the Lord, as in the days of old, and as in former years*, Mal. iii. 2, 4.

LXXVIII.—*The blessed Reward.*

When Paulinus came first into this island to preach the gospel

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to our then pagan ancestors, king Edwin thought good to consult with his priests and nobles whether it were best to give any entertainment to the Christian religion, which was by that stranger preached and recommended to his people[1]. Up starts one Coifi, the arch-priest of those heathen idols, and freely says: "There is no virtue or goodness, O king, in this religion which we have hitherto embraced: there is none of all thy subjects that hath more studiously addicted himself to the service and worship of our gods than myself; yet I am sure there are many that have prospered better, and have received more favours from thee than I have done: and if our gods could do any thing, they would rather have been beneficent to me, that have most carefully served them: it remains, then, if these new doctrines which are preached to us be found upon examination to be better and more available, that without all delay we do readily receive and welcome them." Thus spake a true idol's priest, that knew no ell whereby to measure religion, but profit; no proof of a just cause, but success; no conviction of injustice, but miscarriage. Yea, even thine altars, O righteous God, were never quit of some such mercenary attendants, who seek for only gain in godliness: if the queen of heaven afford them better pennyworths, and more plenty than the King of heaven, she shall have their cakes and their incense, and their hearts to boot, Jer. xliv. 17, 18. I know thee, O Lord, to be a munificent rewarder of all that serve thee; yet, if thou shouldest give me no wages, I will serve thee; if thou shouldest pay me with hunger and stripes, and prisons and death, I will serve thee. Away, base thoughts of earthly remuneration: I will honour and serve thee, O God, for thine own sake, for thy service's sake; yet I have no reason not to regard thine infinite bounty: it is no less than a crown that thou hast promised me; and that I shall humbly aspire unto, and expect from thee, not as in the way of my merit, but of thy mere mercy. My service is free, in a zealous and absolute consecration to thee: thy hand is more free, in my so gracious retribution. If thou be pleased to give thy servant such a weight of glory, the glory of that gift is thine. My service is out of my just duty; thy reward is of thy grace and divine beneficence. Do thou give me to do what thou biddest me, and then deal with me as thou wilt. As the glory of thy name is the drift of all my actions, so the glory that thou givest me cannot but redound to the glory of thine infinite mercy.

[1] Beda Eccles. Hist. l. ii. cap. 13.

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Blessed be thy name in what thou givest, while thou makest me blessed in what I receive from thee.

LXXIX.—*Presages of Judgment.*

Seldom ever do we read of any great mutation in church or state which is not ushered in with some strange prodigies: either raining of blood; or apparitions of comets; or airy armies fighting in the clouds; or sea monsters appearing; or monstrous births of men or beasts; or bloody springs breaking out; or direful noises heard; or some such like uncouth premonitors; which the great and holy God sends purposely to awaken our security, and to prepare us either for expectation or prevention of judgments: wherein the mercy of God marvellously magnifies itself towards sinful mankind, that he wills not to surprise us with unwarned evils, but would have his punishments anticipated by a seasonable repentance. But of all the foretokens of thy fearfullest plagues prepared for any nation, O God, there is none so certain as the prodigious sins of the people committed with an high hand against heaven, against so clear a light, so powerful convictions. The monstrous and unmatchable heresies, the hellish blasphemies, the brutish incests, the savage murders, the horrible sacrileges, perjuries, sorceries of any people, can be no other than the professed harbingers of vengeance: these are our showers of blood: these are our illboding comets: these are our misshapen births; which an easy augury might well construe to portend our threatened destruction. The prophet did not more certainly foretell, when he heard of an handbroad cloud arising from the sea, that a vehement rain was coming, (1 Kings xviii. 44,) than God's seers might foreknow when they saw this dark cloud of our sins mounting up towards heaven, that a tempest of judgment must necessarily follow. But, O thou God of infinite mercy and compassion, *look down from heaven* upon us, *and behold us from the habitation of thy holiness: where is thy zeal, and thy strength, the sounding of thy bowels, and of thy mercies towards* us? *are they restrained?* Isaiah lxiii. 15. If so, it is but just; for surely we are *a sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity,* Isaiah i. 4. We have seen our tokens and have felt thy hand; yet we have not turned to thee from our evil ways: *to us,* therefore, justly *belongeth confusion of faces, because we have sinned against thee;* but to thee, O Lord our God, *belong mercies and*

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forgivenesses, though we have rebelled against thee, Dan. ix. 8, 9. O spare, spare the remnant of thy people: *let thine anger and thy fury be turned away* from thy chosen inheritance. *O my God, hear the prayer of thy servant, and his supplications, and cause thy face to shine upon thy sanctuary that is desolate,* ver. 16, 17. *O Lord, hear; O Lord, forgive; O Lord, hearken, and defer not for thine own sake, O my God,* ver. 19.

LXXX.—*Unwearied motion, and rest eternal.*

I see thy heavens, O God, move about continually, and are never weary of their revolution; whereas all sublunary creatures are soon tired with motions, and seek for ease in their intermissions. Even so, O my soul, the nearer thou growest to celestial, the more constant shall thy courses be, and the freer from that lassitude that hangs upon thine earthly part. As it is now with me; thou seest I soon find an unavoidable defatigation in all things: I am weary of labour; and when that is done, I am no less weary of doing nothing; weary of the day, and more weary of the night; weary of all postures, weary of all places; weary of any one, if never so pleasing, employment; weary, even of varieties; weary of those which some men call recreations; weary of those wherein I find most delight, my studies. But, O my soul, if thou be once soundly heavenized in thy thoughts and affections, it shall be otherwise with thee: then thou shalt be ever, like this firmament, most happily restless: thou shalt then find ever work enough to contemplate that infinite Deity who *dwells in the light inaccessible;* to see, with ravishment of spirit, thy dear Saviour in his glorified humanity, adored by all the powers of heaven; to view the blessed orders of that celestial hierarchy, attending upon the throne of Majesty; to behold and admire the unspeakable and incomprehensible glory of the saints: these are objects with the sight whereof thine eye shall never be satisfied, much less cloyed; besides, that the hopes and desires of enjoying so great felicity, and the care of so composing thyself as that thou mayest be ever readily addressed for the fruition of it, shall wholly take thee up, with such contentment, that all earthly pleasures shall be no better than torments in comparison thereof. O then, my soul, since, as a spark of that heavenly fire, thou canst never be but in motion, fix here above, where thy movings can be no other than pleasing and beatifical. And as thou, O my

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God, hast a double heaven; a lower heaven for motion, and an empyreal heaven for rest; one patent to the eye, the other visible to our faith; so let my soul take part with them both; let it ever be moving towards thee and in thee, like this visible heaven; and since the end of all motion is rest, let it ever rest with thee, in that invisible region of glory. So let it move ever to thee, while I am here, that it may ever rest with thee, in thine eternal glory hereafter!

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THE SOUL'S FAREWELL TO EARTH,

AND

APPROACHES TO HEAVEN.

Section I.

Be thou ever, O my soul, holily ambitious; always aspiring towards thy heaven; not entertaining any thought that makes not towards blessedness. For this cause, therefore, put thyself upon thy wings, and leave the earth below thee; and when thou art advanced above this inferior world, look down upon this globe of wretched mortality, and despise what thou wast and hadst; and think with thyself, "There was I, not a sojourner so much as prisoner for some tedious years; there have I been thus long tugging with my miseries, with my sins; there have my treacherous senses betrayed me to infinite evils, both done and suffered. How have I been there tormented with the sense of others' wickedness, but more of my own! what insolence did I see in men of power! what rage in men of blood! what gross superstition in the ignorant! what abominable sacrilege in those that would be zealous! what drunken revellings, what sodomitical filthiness, what hellish profanations, in atheous ruffians! what perfidiousness in friendship, what cozenage in contracts, what cruelty in revenges! shortly, what an hell upon earth! Farewell then, sinful world, whose favours have been no other than snares, and whose frowns no less than torments; farewell for ever: for if my flesh cannot yet clear itself of thee, yet my spirit shall ever know thee at a distance, and behold thee no otherwise than the escaped mariner looks back upon the rock whereon he was lately splitted. Let thy bewitched clients adore thee for a deity: all the homage thou shalt receive from me shall be no other than defiance; and if thy glorious shows have deluded the eyes of credulous spectators, I know thee for an impostor: deceive henceforth those that trust thee; for me, I am out of the reach of thy fraud, out of the power of thy malice."

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Thus do thou, O my soul, when thou art raised up to this height of thy fixed contemplation, cast down thine eyes contemptuously upon the region of thy former miseries, and be sure ever to keep up in a constant ascent towards blessedness, not suffering thyself to stoop any more upon these earthly vanities.

For tell me seriously, when the world was disposed to court thee most of all, what did it yield thee but unsound joys, sauced with a deep anguish of spirit; false hopes, shutting up in an heartbreaking disappointment; windy proffers, mocking thee with sudden retractions; bitter pills in sugar; poison in a golden cup? It showed thee perhaps stately palaces, but stuffed with cares; fair and populous cities, but full of toil and tumult; flourishing churches, but annoyed with schism and sacrilege; rich treasures, but kept by ill spirits; pleasing beauties, but baited with temptation; glorious titles, but surcharged with pride; goodly semblances, with rotten insides; in short, death, disguised with pleasures and profits.

If therefore heretofore thy unexperience have suffered thy feathers to be belimed with these earthly entanglements, yet now, that thou hast happily cast those plumes and quit thyself of these miserable incumbrances, thou mayest soar aloft above the sphere of mortality, and be still towering up towards thine heaven; and as those that have ascended to the top of some Athos or Teneriffe see all things below them in the valleys small and scarce, in their diminution discernible, so shall all earthly objects, in thy spiritual exaltation, seem unto thee; either thou shalt not see them at all, or at least so lessened, as that they have to thee quite lost all the proportion of their former dimensions.

Section II.

It will not be long, O my soul, ere thou shalt absolutely leave the world in the place of thine habitation, being carried up by the blessed angels to thy rest and glory; but in the mean time thou must resolve to leave it in thy thoughts and affections. Thou mayest have power over these even before the hour of thy separation; and these, rightly disposed, have power to exempt thee beforehand from the interest of this inferior world, and to advance thine approaches to that world of the blessed. While thou art confined to this clay there is naturally a luggage of carnality, that hangs heavy upon thee, and sways thee down to the earth, not suffering thee to mount upward to that bliss whereunto thou

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aspirest: this must be shaken off, if thou wouldest attain to any capacity of happiness; even in this sense, *flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God.* It behoves thee to be, so far as this composition will admit, spiritualized, ere thou canst hope to attain to any degree of blessedness.

Thy conjunction with the body doth necessarily clog thee with an irrational part, which will unavoidably force upon thee some operations of its own; and thy senses will be interposing themselves in all thy intellectual employments, proffering thee the service of their guidance in all thy proceedings; but, if thou lovest eternity of blessedness, shake them off as importunate suitors; gather up thyself into thy own regenerated powers, and do thy work without and above them. It is enough that thou hast at first taken some hint from them of what concerns thee; as for the rest, cast them off as unnecessary and impertinent, the prosecution whereof is too high and too internal for them to intermeddle with. Thou hast now divine and heavenly things in chase, whereof there cannot be the least scent in any of these earthly faculties. Divest thyself therefore, what thou possibly mayest, of all materiality, both of objects and apprehensions; and let thy pure, renewed, and illuminated intellect work only upon matter spiritual and celestial.

And, above all, propose unto thyself, and dwell upon, that purest, perfectest, simplest, blessedest object, the glorious and incomprehensible Deity: there thou shalt find more than enough to take up thy thoughts to all eternity. Be thou, O my soul, ever swallowed up in the consideration of that infinite self-being Essence, whom all created spirits are not capable sufficiently to admire. Behold, and never cease wondering at, the majesty of his glory. The bodily eyes dazzle at the sight of the sun: but if there were as many suns as there are stars in the firmament of heaven, their united splendour were but darkness to their all-glorious Creator. Thou canst not yet hope to see him as he is; but, lo, thou beholdest where he dwells in light inaccessible, the sight of whose very outward verge is enough to put thee into a perpetual ecstasy. It is not for thee as yet to strive to enter within the vail; thine eyes may not be free where the angels hide their faces. What thou wantest in sight, O my soul, supply in wonder. Never any mortal man, O God, durst sue to see thy face, save that one entire servant of thine, whose face thy conference had made shining and radiant; but even he, though inured to thy presence, was not capable to behold such glory and live. Far be it from me, O Lord,

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to presume so high. Only let me see thee as thou hast bidden me; and but so as not to behold thee after thy gracious revelation, were my sin. Let me see, even in this distance, some glimmering of thy divine Power, Wisdom, Justice, Mercy, Truth, Providence, and let me bless and adore thee in what I see.

Section III.

O the infiniteness of thine Almighty power, which thou not hast, but art beyond the possibility of all limitations of objects or thoughts. In us poor finite creatures, our power comes short of our will: many things we fain would do, but cannot; and great pity it were, that there should not be such a restraint upon our unruly appetites, which would otherwise work out the destruction both of others and ourselves. But, O God, thy power is beyond thy will: thou canst do more than thou wilt: thou couldest have made more worlds when thou madest this one; and even this one, which thou hast made, Lord, how glorious a one it is! Lo, there needs no other demonstration of thine omnipotence.

O what a heaven is this, which thou hast canopied over our heads! how immensely capacious! how admirably beautiful! how bestudded with goodly globes of light! some one whereof hath in it such unspeakable glory, as that there have not wanted nations, and those not of the savagest, which have misworshipped it for their god; and if thou hadst made but one of these in thy firmament, thy workmanship had been above our wonder; for even this had surpassed the whole frame of this lower world. But now, as their quality strives with their greatness, so their magnitude strives with their number, which of them shall more magnify the praise of their Almighty Creator: and these three are no less than matched by the constant regularity of the perpetual motion of those mighty bodies, which, having walked their daily rounds about the world above this five thousand six hundred and sixty years, yet are so ordered by thy inviolable decree, that they have not varied one inch from their appointed line, but keep their due course and just distance each from other, although not fixed in any solid orb, but moving singly in a thin and yielding sky, to the very same point whence they set forth.

And if the bodily and visible part of thy heavenly host, O God, be thus unconceivably glorious, where shall we find room to wonder at those spiritual and living powers which inhabit those celestial mansions, and attend upon the throne of thy Majesty; the

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thousand thousands of thy blessed angels, archangels, cherubim, seraphim, thrones, principalities, dominions, which in thy presence enjoy a bliss next to infinite; any one of which, if we could see him, were enough to kill us with his glory? Not one of those millions of mighty spirits but were able to destroy a world. O, then, how infinitely transcendent is that power of thine which hast both created all this heavenly hierarchy, and so movest in them, that only in and by thee they are thus potent!

Yea, Lord, let me but cast mine eyes down to this earth I tread upon, and view thy wonders in the deep, how manifestly do these proclaim thy divine omnipotence! When I see this vast globe of earth and waters dreadfully hanging in the midst of a liquid air, upheld by nothing but by thy powerful word; when I see the rage of the swelling waves, naturally higher than the shores they beat upon, restrained to their bounds by thine overruling command; when I see the earth beautifully garnished with marvellous variety of trees, herbs, flowers, richly stuffed with precious metals, stones, minerals; when I see, besides a world of men, the numberless choice and differences of the substance, forms, colours, dispositions of beasts, fowls, fishes, wherewith these lower elements are peopled; how can I be but dissolved into wonder of thine almighty power!

Section IV.

Neither is thy power, O God, either more, or more thyself, than thy wisdom, which is no less essential to thee than infinite. What have we to do, silly and shallow wretches, with that incomprehensible wisdom which is intrinsical to thy divine nature? The body of that sun is not for our weak eyes to behold; it is enough for me, if I can but see some rays of that heavenly light which shines forth so gloriously upon thy creature, in the framing and governing whereof,- whether thy power or wisdom did and do more exhibit itself, thou only canst judge.

O, the divine architecture of this goodly fabric of heaven and earth, raised out of nothing to this admirable perfection! what stupendous artifice of composition is here! what exquisite symmetry of parts! what exact order of degrees! what marvellous analogy betwixt beasts, fishes, plants, the natives of both elements!

O, what a comprehensive reach is this of thine omniscience, which at once, in one act, beholdest all the actions and events of all the creatures that were, are, or shall be in this large universe! What a contrivance of thine eternal counsel, which hast most

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wisely and holily ordered how to dispose of every creature thou hast made, according to the pleasure of thy most just will! What a sway of providence is this that governs the world; overruling the highest, and stooping to the meanest piece of thy creation; concurring with and actuating the motions and operations of all second causes of whatsoever is done in heaven or in earth!

Yea, Lord, how wonderful are those irradiations of knowledge and wisdom which thou hast beamed forth upon thine intelligent creatures, both angels and men! As for those celestial spirits which see thy face continually, it is no marvel if they be illuminated in a degree far above human apprehension; but that the rational soul of man, even in this woful pilgrimage below, notwithstanding the opacity of that earth wherewith it is encompassed, should be so far enlightened, as that it is able to know all the motions of the heavens; the magnitudes and distances of stars; the natures, properties, influences of the planets; the instant of the eclipses, conjunctions, and several aspects of those celestial bodies; that it can discover the secret treasures of earth and sea, and knows how to unlock all the close cabinets both of art and nature: O God, what is this but some little gleam of that pure and glorious light which breaks forth from thine infiniteness upon thy creature?

Yet were the knowledge of all men on earth and all the angels in heaven multiplied a thousand fold, how unable were it, being united together, to reach unto the height of thy divine counsels, to fathom the bottom of thy most wise and holy decrees! so as they must be forced to cry out, with that saint of thine who was rapt into the third heaven, *O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!* Rom. xi. 33.

Section V.

But with what a trembling adoration, O my soul, must thou needs look upon the infinite justice of thy God, whose inviolable rule is to render to every man according to his works! Alas, the little good thou wert able to do hath been allayed with so many and great imperfections, that it can expect no retribution but displeasure; and for the many evils whereof thou art guilty, what canst thou look for but the wages of sin—death? not temporary and natural only, which is but a separation of thee, a while, from thy load of earth; but the spiritual and eternal separation from

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the presence of thy God, whose very want is the height of torments. Lo, whatever become of thee, God must be himself. In vain shouldest thou hope, that for thyself he will abate aught of his blessed essence of the sacred attributes. That righteous doom must stand, *The soul that sins shall die.* Hell claims his due: justice must be satisfied: where art thou now, O my soul? what canst thou now make account of, but to despair and die? surely in thyself thou art lost; there is no way with thee but utter perdition.

But look up, O my soul, look up *above the hills, whence cometh thy salvation:* see the heavens opening upon thee; see what reviving and comfortable rays of grace and mercy shine forth unto thee from that excellent glory; and out of that heavenly light hear the voice of thy blessed Saviour saying to thee, *O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself, but in me is thy help,* Hos. xiii. 9. Even so, O Jesu, in thee, only in thee, is my help. Wretched man that I am, in myself I stand utterly forfeited to death and hell; it is thou that hast redeemed me with no less ransom than thy precious blood. Death was owing by me; by thee it was paid for me; so as now my debt is fully discharged, and my soul clearly acquitted: *Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth. Who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died, yea rather, that is risen again.* Rom. viii. 33, 34. Lo, now, the rigour of thine inviolable justice is taken off by thine infinite mercy; the sum that I could never pay, is, by the power of that faith which thou hast wrought in me, set off to my all-sufficient surety, and by thy divine goodness graciously accepted as mine; I have paid it in him, he hath paid it for me. Thy justice is satisfied, thy debtor freed, and thy mercy magnified.

Section VI.

There are no bounds to be set unto thy thoughts, O my soul; since whatsoever thy God either is or hath done comes within thy prospect. There, besides the great work of his creation, thou mayest dwell upon the no less almighty work of his administration of this universal world, whereof the preservation and government is no less wonderful than the frame; there, thou shalt see the marvellous subordination of creatures, some made to rule, others to obey; the powerful influence of the celestial bodies upon the inferior, the continual transmutation of elements forsaking their own places and natures to serve the whole; forms dying, matter

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perpetual; all things maintained by a friendly discord of humours, out of which they are raised; the circular revolution of fashions, occurrents, events; the different and opposite dispositions of men, overruled to such a temper, that yet government is continued in the hands of few, society and commerce with all; shortly, all creatures, while they do either naturally or voluntarily act their own part, doing unawares the will of their Creator.

But that which may justly challenge thy longer stay and greater wonder, is, the more than transcendent work of man's redemption, the mysteries whereof the holy angels have desired to look into, 1 Pet. i. 12, but could never yet sufficiently conceive or admire. That the Son of God, the Lord of glory, coeternal, coequal to his Father, *God blessed for ever*, should take upon him an estate lower than their own; should clothe his Deity with the rags of our flesh; should stoop to weak and miserable manhood; and, in that low and despicable condition, should submit himself to hunger, thirst, weariness, temptation of devils, despite of men; to the cruelty of tormentors; to agonies of soul; to the pangs of a bitter, ignominious, cursed death; to the sense of his Father's wrath for us wretched sinners, that had made ourselves the worst of creatures, enemies to God, slaves to Satan—is above the reach of all finite apprehension. O never-to-be-enough-magnified mercy[a]! Thou didst not, O Saviour, when thou sawest mankind utterly lost and forlorn, content thyself to send down one of thy cherubim or seraphim, or some other of thy heavenly angels, to undertake the great work of our deliverance, as well knowing that task too high for any created power; but wouldest, out of thine infinite love and compassion, vouchsafe so to abase thy blessed self, as to descend from the throne of thy celestial glory to this dungeon of earth, and, not leaving what thou hadst and what thou wast, to assume what thou hadst not, man; and to disparage thyself by being one of us, that we might become like unto thee, coheirs of thy glory and blessedness. Thou, that art the eternal son of God, wouldest condescend so low as to be man; that we, who are worms and no men, might be advanced to be the sons of God: thou wouldest, be a servant that we might reign; thou wouldest expose thyself to the shame and disgrace of thy vile creatures here, that thou mightest raise us up to the height of heavenly honour with thee our God and thy holy angels; thou wouldest die for a while, that we might live eternally.

[a] Bernard. Serm. de passione Domini.

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Pause here a while, O my soul, and do not wish to change thy thoughts: neither earth nor heaven can yield thee any of higher concernment, of greater comfort: only, withal, behold the glorious person of that thy blessed Mediator, after his victories over death and hell, sitting triumphant in all the majesty of heaven, adored by all those millions of celestial spirits, in his glorified humanity; and what thou mayest, enjoy the vision of him by faith, till thou shalt be everlastingly blessed with a clear and present intuition. Long after that day; and be ever careful, in the mean time, to make thyself ready for so infinite an happiness.

Section VII.

And now, O my soul, having left below thee all the trivial vanities of earth, and fixed thyself, so far as thy weak eyes will allow thee, upon thy God and Saviour, in his almighty works and most glorious attributes, it will be time for thee, and will not a little conduce to thy further address towards blessedness, to fasten thyself upon the sight of the happy estate of the saints above, who are gone before thee to their bliss, and have, through God's mercy, comfortably obtained that which thou aspirest unto. Thou, that wert guided by their example, be likewise heartened by their success: thou art yet a traveller; they, comprehensors: thou art panting towards that rest which they most happily enjoy: thou art sweating under the cross, while they sit crowned in an heavenly magnificence.

See the place wherein they are, the heaven of heavens, the paradise of God; infinitely resplendent, infinitely delectable; such as no eye can behold and not be blessed. Shouldest thou set thy tabernacle in the midst of the sun, thou couldest not but be encompassed with marvellous light: yet even there it would be but as midnight with thee, in comparison of those irradiations of glory which shine forth above in that imperial region; for thy God is the sun there, Rev. xxi. 23: by how much, therefore, those divine rays of his exceed the brightest beams of his creature; so much doth the beauty of that heaven of the blessed surpass the created light of this inferior and starry firmament. Even the very place contributes not a little to our joy or misery. It is hard to be merry in a gaol: and the great Persian monarch thought it very improper for a courtier to be of a sad countenance within the verge of so great a royalty, Neh. ii. 2. The very devils conceive horror at the apprehension of the place of their torment,

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and can beseech the overruling power of thy Saviour not to command them to go out into the deep, Luke viii. 31. No man can be so insensate to think there can be more dreadfulness in the place of those infernal tortures, than there is pleasure and joy in the height of that sphere of blessedness; since we know we have to do with a God that delights more in the prosperity of his saints than in the cruciation and howling of his enemies. How canst thou then, O my soul, be but wholly taken up with the sight of that celestial Jerusalem, the beauteous city of thy God, the blessed mansions of glorified spirits! Surely, if earth could have yielded any thing more fair and estimable than gold, pearls, precious stones, it should have been borrowed to resemble these supernal habitations; but, alas! the lustre of these base materials doth but darken the resplendence of those divine excellencies. With what contempt now dost thou look down upon those muddy foundations of earth which the low spirits of worldlings are wont to admire! and how feelingly dost thou bless and emulate the spirits of just men made perfect, who are honoured with so blissful an habitation! Heb. xii. 23.

But what were the place, O my soul, how goodly and glorious soever in itself, if it were not for the presence of Him whose being there makes it heaven? Lo there the throne of that heavenly Majesty, which, filling and comprehending the large circumference of this whole, both lower and superior world, yet there keeps and manifests his state, with the infinite magnificence of the King of eternal glory. There he, in an ineffectible manner, communicates himself to blessed spirits, both angels and men; and that very vision is no less to them than beatifical. Surely, were the place a thousand degrees lower in beauty and perfection than it is, yet that presence would render it celestial: the residence of the king was wont to turn the meanest village or castle into a court. The sweet singer of Israel saw this of old, and could say, *In thy presence is the fulness of joy; and at thy right hand are pleasures for evermore.* It is not so in these earthly and finite excellencies. A man may see mountains of treasure, and be never a whit the richer; and may be the witness and agent too in another's honour, as Haman was of Mordecai's, and be so much more miserable; or may view the pomp and splendour of mighty princes, and be yet still a beggar: but the infinite graces of that heavenly King are so communicative, that no man can see him but must be transformed into the likeness of his glory.

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Section VIII.

Even thy weak and imperfect vision of such heavenly objects, O my soul, are enough to lay a foundation of thy blessedness: and how can there choose but be raised thence, as a further degree towards it, a sweet complacency of heart, in an appropriation of what thou seest; without which, nothing can make thee happy? Let the sun shine never so bright, what is this to thee, if thou be blind? Be the God of heaven never so glorious, yet if he be not thy God; be the Saviour of the world never so merciful, yet if he be not merciful to thee; be the heaven never so full of beauty and majesty, yet if thou have not thy portion in that inheritance of the saints in light; so far will it be from yielding thee comfort, that it will make a further addition to thy torment. What an aggravation of misery shall it be to those that were children of the kingdom, that, from that utter darkness whereinto they are cast, they shall see aliens *come from the east and west, and sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven!* Matth. viii. 11. Cease not then, O my soul, till, by a sure and undefeasible application, thou hast brought all these home to thyself; and canst look upon the great God of heaven, the gracious Redeemer of the world, the glory of that celestial paradise, as thine own. Let it be thy bold ambition and holy curiosity to find thy name enrolled in that eternal register of heaven; and if there be any one room in the many mansions of that celestial Jerusalem lower and less resplendent than other, thither do thou find thyself, through the great mercy of thy God, happily designed. It must be the work of thy faith that must do it: that divine grace it is, the power whereof can either fetch down heaven to thee, or carry thee beforehand up to thy heaven; and not affix thee only to thy God and Saviour, but unite thee to him, and, which is yet more, ascertain thee of so blessed an union.

Neither can it be but that, from this sense of appropriation, there must necessarily follow a marvellous contentment and complacency in the assurance of so happy an interest. Lord, how do I see poor worldlings please themselves in the conceit of their miserable proprieties [properties]! One thinks, "Is not this my great Babylon, which I have built?" Dan. iv. 30: another, "Are not these my rich mines?" another, "Is not this my royal and adored magnificence?" And how are those unstable minds transported with the opinion of these great but indeed worthless peculiarities;

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which, after some little time, moulder with them into dust! How canst thou then be but pleasingly affected, O my soul, with the comfortable sense of having a God, a Saviour, and heaven of thine own! for in these spiritual and heavenly felicities our right is not partial and divided, as it useth to be in secular inheritances; so as that every one hath his share distinguished from the rest, and parcelled out of the whole; but here each one hath all; and this blessed patrimony is communicated to all saints, so as that the whole is the property of every one.

Upon the assurance therefore of thy God's gracious promises made to every true believer, find thou thyself happily seised of both the King and kingdom of heaven, so far as thy faith can as yet feoff thee in both; and delight thyself above all things in these unfailing pledges of thine instant blessedness, and say, with the holy mother of thy Redeemer, *My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit rejoiceth in God my Saviour*, Luke i. 46, 47.

Section IX.

From this feeling complacency, in the owning of thy right to glory and happiness, there cannot but arise a longing desire of the full possession thereof; for thou canst not so little love thyself, as what thou knowest thou hast a just title unto, and withal apprehendest to be infinitely pleasing and beneficial, not to wish that thou mayest freely enjoy it. If thou have tasted how sweet the Lord is, thou canst not but long for more of him; yea, for all.

It is no otherwise even in carnal delights; the degustation whereof is wont to draw on the heart to a more eager appetition: much more in spiritual; the pleasures whereof, as thy are more pure, so they are of the heavenly-minded with far greater ardency of spirit affected. The covetous man's heart is in his bags: what he hath doth but augment his lust of more; and the having of more doth not satiate, but enlarge his desires: *He that loveth silver shall not be satisfied with silver; nor he that loveth abundance with increase*, Eccles. v. 10: but these celestial riches are so much more allective, as they are more excellent than those which are delved out of the bowels of the earth.

O my soul, thou hast, through the favour of thy God, sipped some little of the cup of immortality, and tasted of that heavenly manna, the food of angels; and canst thou take up with these slight touches of blessedness? Thou hast, though most unworthy, the honour to be contracted to thy Saviour here below: thou

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knowest the voice of his spouse, *Draw me, and we shall run after thee. Stay me with flagons; comfort me with apples: for I am sick of love. Make haste, my beloved, and be thou like to a roe or to a young hart upon the mountains of spices,* Cant. i. 4; ii. 5; viii. 14. Where is thy love, if thou have not fervent desires of a perpetual enjoyment? if thou do not earnestly wish for a full consummation of that heavenly match?

O my Lord and Saviour, as I am not worthy to love thee, so I were not able to love thee, how amiable soever, but by thee. O thou, that hast begun to kindle this fire of heavenly love in me, raise thou it up to a perfect flame; make me not only sick of thy love, but ready and desirous to die for thee, that I may enjoy thee. O let me not endure that any worldly heart should be more enamoured of these earthly beauties, which are but varnished rottenness, than I am of thee, who art of absolute and infinite perfections, and bestowest them in being loved. O when shall the day be wherein thou wilt make up these blessed nuptials, and endow me with a full participation of that glory wherewith thou art invested from and to all eternity? whereto have all thy sweet favours and gracious lovetokens tended, but to this issue of blessedness? O do thou crown all thy mercies in me, and me with immortality.

Section X.

Upon this desire of fruition, if thou wouldest be truly happy, there must follow a constant prosecution of that desire; for if thy wishes be never so fervent, yet if they be only volatile and transient, they shall be able to avail thee little: slight and flickering motions of good, if they be not followed with due endeavours, sort to no effect.

Content not thyself, therefore, O my soul, that thou hast entertained into thyself some affective thoughts of thy beatitude, but settle thyself in firm resolutions to pursue and perpetuate them; let them not call in as strangers, but dwell in thee as inmates; never to be by any secular occasions dislodged. These morning dews of holy dispositions, which are ready to be exhaled with every gleam of worldly prosperity, as they find little acceptance from God, so they are able to afford small comfort to thee: as whose condition is such, that they leave thee more disconsolate in their vanishing than they yielded thee pleasure in their momentary continuance. Be thou able to say with holy David, *My heart is fixed, O God, my heart is fixed;* and then thou mayest well

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add, *I will sing and give praise*, Psalm lvii. 7: otherwise, thy distracted thoughts will admit no cause of sound joy.

In this case it falls out with thee, O my soul, as with some fond child, who, eagerly following a bee in hope of her bag, sees a gay butterfly cross his way, and thereupon leaves his first chase, and runs after those painted wings: but in that pursuit, seeing a bird fly close by him, he leaves the fly in hope of a better purchase; but in the mean time is disappointed of all, and catcheth nothing. It mainly behoves thee therefore to keep up thy cogitations and affections close to these heavenly objects, and to check them, whensoever thou perceivest an inclination to their wandering; like as the careful huntsman, when he finds his hound offering to follow after a new game, rates him off, and holds him to his first scent.

Whither are ye straying, O my thoughts? What means this sinful and lossful inconstancy? Can ye be happier in a change? Is there any thing in this miserable world that can be worthy to carry you away from the hopes and affectations of blessedness? Have ye not full often complained of the worthlessness and satiety of these poor vanities here below? have ye not found their promises false, their performances unsatisfactory, their disappointment irksome? Away then, ye frivolous temptations, and solicit those minds that are low and empty like yourselves; for me, I disdain your motions; and, being taken up with higher employments, scorn to descend to your base suggestions, which tend to nothing but mere earthliness.

But as there is no fire which will not go out if it be not fed, it cannot be enough that thou hast entertained these gracious resolutions, unless thou do also supply and nourish them with holy meditations, devout prayers, continual ejaculations, and the due frequentation of all the holy ordinances of thy God; without which, if they shall languish through thy neglect, thou shalt find double more work and difficulty in reviving them, than there could have been in maintaining and upholding them in their former vigour. Be not therefore wanting to thyself in the perpetual exercise and improvement of all those holy means that may further and perfect these heavenly longings after salvation: thy God shall not be wanting to thee, in blessing thee with an answerable success.

Section XI.

It is the just praise of the marvellous bounty of thy God, O

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my soul, that *he will fulfil the desires of them that fear him*, Psalm cxlv. 19. If therefore thou canst hunger and thirst after righteousness, if thy heart can yearn after heaven, he shall be sure to satisfy thee with goodness; and not only shall bring thee home at the last, to that land of promised blessedness, but in the mean time also put thee into an inchoate fruition of happiness, which is the next degree of thine ascent to heaven.

That which is complete may be the surest rule of knowing and judging of that which is imperfect. Wherein doth the perfection of heavenly bliss consist, but in a perpetual enjoying the presence of God in a clear vision of the Divine Essence, in a perfect union with God, and an eternal participation of his life and glory? Now as grace is glory begun, and glory is grace consummate, so dost thou, O my soul, being wrought to it by the power of the Spirit of thy God, even in this life, how weakly soever, enter upon all these acts and privileges of beatitude: even here below thou art never out of the presence of thy God, and that presence can never be other than glorious; and that it is not beatifical here, is not out of any deficiency in it, but in thine own miserable incapacity, who, while thou abidest in this vale of tears, and art clogged with this flesh, art no fit subject of so happy a condition.

Yea, that blessed presence is ever comfortably acknowledged by thee, and enjoyed with such contentment and pleasure, that thou wouldest not part with it for a world, and that thou justly accountest all earthly delights but mere vexations to that alone: *Whom have I in heaven but thee? and what do I desire on earth in comparison of thee?* Psalm lxxiii. 25. Bálaam could say, how truly soever, *I shall see him, but not now: I shall behold him, but not nigh*, Num. xxiv. 17: but, Lord, I see thee even now: I behold thee so nigh me, that I live in thee, and would rather die than live without thee. I see thee, though weakly and dimly, yet truly and really: I see thee, as my God all-sufficient, as my powerful Creator, my merciful Redeemer, my gracious Comforter: I see thee the living God, the Father of Lights, the God of Spirits; dwelling in light inaccessible, animating, filling, comprehending this glorious world; and do awfully adore thine infiniteness.

Neither do I look at thee with a trembling astonishment, as some dreadful stranger or terrible avenger; but I behold thy Majesty so graciously complying with my wretchedness, that thou admittest me to a blessed union with thee. I take thee at thy word, O dear Saviour, even that sweet word of impetration which thou wert

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pleased to utter to thy coeternal Father, immediately before thy meritorious passion: *I pray not for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word; that they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they may be one in us. And the glory which thou gavest me I have given them; that they may be one, even as we are one: I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one; and that the world may know that thou hast sent me, and hast loved them as thou hast loved me.* John xvii. 20–23. I know thou couldest not but be heard in all that thou prayedst, and therefore I take what thou suedst for as done. Lord, I do believe in thee; unite thou me to thee; make me one spirit with thee, 1 Cor. vi. 17. It is no presumption to sue and hope for what thou hast prayed for and promised to perform. O make me, according to the capability of my weak humanity, partaker of thy Divine nature, 2 Peter i. 4. Vouchsafe to allow me, even me, poor wretched soul, to say of thee, *I am my Beloved's, and my Beloved is mine*, Cant. vi. 3.

And, by virtue of this indissoluble union, why shouldest thou not, O my soul, find thyself endowed with a blessed participation of that heavenly life and glory which is in and with him? In that thou art united to thy body, thou impartest to it vegetation, sense, motion, and givest it a share in the exercise of all thy noble faculties; how much more entire and beneficial is the spiritual union of thy God and thee! Alas, that bond of natural conjunction is easily dissolved by ten thousand ways of death: this heavenly knot is so fast tied, that all the powers of hell cannot unloose it! And the blessings communicated to thee by this Divine match are so much more excellent, as the Infinite Giver of them is above thy meanness. Lo, now thou art actually interested in all that thy God is or hath: his kingdom is thine, his glory is thine, to all eternity.

Section XII.

And what now can follow, O my soul, upon the apprehension of thus enjoying the presence of thy God, and the vision of so blessed an object, and thine union with him and participation of him, but a sensible ravishment of spirit, with a *joy unspeakable and full of glory?* Heretofore, if some great friend should have brought me to the court, and, having showed me the splendour and magnificence of that seat of majesty, should have brought me into the sight of his royal person, and should have procured me, not only a familiar conference with him, but the entire affection

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of a favourite; and from thence there should have been heaped upon me titles of honour and large revenues, and, yet higher, a consociation of princely dignity; how should I have been transported with the sense of so eminent an advancement! how great and happy should I have seemed, not more in others' eyes than in my own! what big thoughts had hereupon swollen up my heart in the days of my vanity!

But alas, what poor things are these in comparison of those heavenly promotions! I might have been brought into the stateliest court of this world, and have been honoured, not only with the presence, but the highest favours of the best and greatest of kings, and yet have been most miserable. Yea, which of those monarchs that have the command and dispensation of all greatness can secure himself from the saddest infelicities? But these spiritual prerogatives are above the reach of all possible miseries, and can and do put thee, in some degree, into an unfailing possession, both real and personal, of eternal blessedness.

I cannot wonder that Peter, when, with the other two disciples upon mount Tabor, he saw the glorious transfiguration of my Saviour, was out of himself for the time, and knew not what he said; yet, as not thinking himself and his partners any other ways concerned than in the sight of so heavenly a vision, he mentions only three tabernacles, for Christ, Moses, Elias, none for themselves, Mark ix. 6; Luke ix. 33. It was enough for him, if without doors he might be still blessed with such a prospect; but how had he been rapt from himself, if he had found himself taken into the society of this wondrous transformation, and interested in the communion of this glory!

Thy renovation, and the power of thy faith, O my soul, puts thee into that happy condition: thou art spiritually transfigured into the similitude of thy blessed Saviour, shining with his righteousness and holiness, Rom. xii. 2; Eph. iv. 24: so as he is glorified in thee and thou in him, John xvii. 10; 2 Thess. i. 12: glorified, not in the fulness of that perfection which will be, but in the pledge and earnest of what shall and must be hereafter.

O then, with what unspeakable joy and jubilation dost thou entertain thy happiness! How canst thou contain thyself any longer within these bounds of my flesh, when thou feelest thyself thus initiated into glory? Art thou in heaven and knowest it not? knowest thou not that he who is within the entry or behind the screen, is as truly within the house as he that walks in the hall

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or sits in the parlour? and canst thou pretend to be within the verge of heaven, and not rejoice? What is it that makes heaven, but joy and felicity? Thy very thought cannot separate these two, no more than it can sever the sun and light; for both these are equally the originals and fountains of light and joy, from whence they both flow, and in which both are complete. There is no light which is not derived from the sun, no true joy but from heaven: as therefore the nearer to the body of the sun, the more light and heat; so, the nearer to heaven, the more excess of joy. And certainly, O my soul, there is nothing but infidelity can keep thee from an exuberance of joy and delight in the apprehension of heaven.

Can the weary traveller, after he hath measured many tedious miles, and passed many dangers both by sea and land, and felt the harsh entertainments of a stranger, choose but rejoice to draw near, in his return, to a rich and pleasant home? Can the ward, after an hard pupillage, choose but rejoice that the day is coming wherein he shall freely enjoy all his lordly revenues and royalties? Can a Joseph choose but find himself inwardly joyed when out of the dungeon he shall be called up, not to liberty only, but to honour, and shall be arrayed with a vesture of fine linen, and graced with Pharaoh's ring and chain, and set in his second chariot, and in the next chair to the throne of Egypt? And canst thou apprehend thyself now approaching to the glory of the heaven of heavens, a place and state of so infinite contentment and happiness, and not be ecstasied with joy?

There, there shalt thou, O my soul, enjoy a perfect rest from all thy toils, cares, fears: there shalt thou find a true vital life, free from all the incumbrances of thy miserable pilgrimage; free from the dangers of either sins or temptations; free from all anxiety and distraction; free from all sorrow, pain, perturbation; free from all the possibility of change or death: a life wherein there is nothing but pure and perfect pleasure; nothing but perpetual melody of angels and saints, singing sweet Hallelujahs to their God: a life which the most glorious Deity both gives and is: a life, wherein thou hast the full fruition of the ever-blessed Godhead, the continual society of the celestial spirits, the blissful presence of the glorified humanity of thy dear Saviour: a life, wherein thou hast ever consort with the glorious company of the apostles, the goodly fellowship of the patriarchs and prophets, the noble army of martyrs and confessors, the celestial synod of all

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the holy fathers and illuminated doctors of the Church; shortly, the blessed assembly of all the faithful professors of the name of the Lord Jesus, that, having finished their course, sit now shining in their promised glory. See there that yet unapproachable light, that divine magnificence of the heavenly King: see that resplendent crown of righteousness which decks the heads of every of those saints, and is ready to be set on thine, when thou hast happily overcome those spiritual powers wherewith thou art still conflicting; see the joyful triumphs of these exulting victors; see the measures of their glory different, yet all full, and the least unmeasurable: lastly, see all this happiness, not limited to thousands nor yet millions of years, but commeasured by no less than eternity.

And now, my soul, if thou have received the infallible engagement of thy God, in that having believed thou art sealed with that holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of thine inheritance, until the full redemption of thy purchased possession, Eph. i. 13, 14; if through his infinite mercy thou be now upon the entering into that blessed place and state of immortality; forbear, if thou canst, to be raised above thyself with *the joy of the Holy Ghost*, 1 Thess. i. 6: to be enlarged towards thy God with a joy unspeakable and glorious. See, if thou canst now breathe forth any thing but praises to thy God, and songs of rejoicing; bearing evermore a part in that heavenly ditty of the angels; *Blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honour, and power, and might be unto our God, for ever and ever*, Rev. vii. 12.

Section XIII.

And now what remains, O my soul, but that thou do humbly and faithfully wait at the gate of heaven for an happy entrance, at the good pleasure of thy God, into those everlasting mansions?

I confess, should thy merits be weighed in the balance of a rigorous justice, another place, which I cannot mention without horror, were more fit for thee, more due to thee: for, alas! thou hast been above measure sinful; and thou knowest the wages of sin, death. But *the God of my mercy hath prevented* thee, with infinite compassion, Psalm lix. 10: and in the multitudes of his tender mercies hath not only *delivered* thee *from the nethermost hell*, Ps. lxxxvi. 13, but hath also vouchsafed to *translate* thee *to the kingdom of his dear Son*, Col. i. 13. In him, thou hast boldness of access to the throne of grace; thou who, in thyself,

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art worthy to be a child of wrath, art in him adopted to be a co-heir of glory; and hast the livery and seisin given thee beforehand of a blessed possession; the full estating wherein I do, in all humble awfulness, attend.

All the few days therefore of my appointed time will I wait at the threshold of grace until my changing come, with a trembling joy, with a longing patience, with a comfortable hope.

Only, Lord, I know there is something to be done ere I can enter: I must die ere I can be capable to enjoy that blessed life with thee: one stroke of thine angel must be endured in my passage into thy paradise. And, lo, here I am before thee, ready to embrace the condition: even, when thou pleasest, let me bleed once to be ever happy. Thou hast, after a weary walk through this roaring wilderness, vouchsafed to call up thy servant to mount Nebo; and from thence, aloof off, to show me the land of promise, a land that flows with milk and honey. Do thou but say, "Die thou on this hill," with this prospect in mine eye; and do thou mercifully take my soul from me, who gavest it to me; and dispose of it where thou wilt, in that region of immortality. Amen, Amen. Come, Lord Jesu, come quickly.

Behold, Lord, I have, by thy providence, dwelt in this house of clay more than double the time wherein thou wert pleased to sojourn upon earth: yet I may well say, with thine holy patriarch, *Few and evil have been the days of the years of my pilgrimage*, Gen. xlvii. 9: few, in number; evil, in condition.

Few, in themselves; but none at all to thee, with whom a thousand years are but as one day. But had they been double to the age of Methuselah, could they have been so much as one minute to eternity? Yea, what were they to me, now that they are past, but as a tale that is told and forgotten?

Neither yet have they been so few, as evil. Lord, what troubles and sorrows hast thou let me see, both my own and others'! what vicissitudes of sickness and health! what ebbs and flows of condition! how many successions and changes of princes, both at home and abroad! what turnings of times! what alteration of governments! what shiftings and downfalls of favourites! what ruins and desolations of kingdoms! what sacking of cities! what havocks of war! what frenzies of rebellions! what underminings of treachery! what cruelties and barbarisms in revenges! what anguish in the oppressed and tormented! what agonies in tempta-

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tions! what pangs in dying! These I have seen; and in these I have suffered. And now, Lord, how willing I am to change time for eternity; the evils of earth for the joys of heaven; misery for happiness; a dying life for immortality!

Even so, Lord Jesu: take what thou hast bought: receive my soul to thy mercy; and crown it with thy glory: Amen, Amen, Amen.

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THE

GREAT MYSTERY OF GODLINESS,

LAID FORTH

BY WAY OF AFFECTUOUS AND FEELING

MEDITATION.

Section I.

Let no man go about to entertain the thoughts of the *great mystery of godliness* but with a ravished heart; an heart filled with a gracious composition of love and joy and wonder: such a one, O Saviour, I desire, through thy grace, to bring with me to the meditation of that thine infinitely glorious work of our redemption.

1 Tim. iii. 16. *Great is the mystery of godliness—*

It was as possible for thy Chosen Vessel, who was by a divine ecstasy caught up into paradise, and there heard unutterable words, to express what he saw and heard above, as to set forth what was acted by thee here below; as, therefore, unable either to comprehend or utter things so far above wonder, he contents himself with a pathetical intimation of that which he saw could never be enough admired: great is the mystery of godliness.

There are great mysteries of art, which the wit and experience of skilful men have discovered: there are greater mysteries of nature, some part whereof have been described by art and industry, but the greater part lies hidden from mortal eyes; but these are less than nothing to the great mystery of godliness. For what are these but the deep secrets of the creature? mean, therefore, and finite, like itself: but the other are the unfathomable depths of an infinite Deity; fitter for the admiration of the highest angels of heaven, than for the reach of human conception.

Great were the mysteries of the Law; neither could the face of Moses be seen without his veil: but what other were these but the shadows of this great mystery of godliness? What did that

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golden ark overspread with glorious cherubims, that gorgeous temple, those perfumed altars, those bleeding sacrifices, that sumptuous priesthood, but prefigure thee, O blessed Saviour, which in the fulness of time shouldest be revealed to the world, and make up this great mystery of godliness?

There is nothing, O dear Jesu, that thou either didst or sufferedst for mankind which is other than mysterious and wonderful: but the great and astonishing mystery of godliness is thyself, God manifested in the flesh. Lo, faith itself can never be capable to apprehend a mystery like this. Thou, who art a Spirit, and therefore immaterial, invisible, to expose thyself to the view of earthen eyes: thou, who art an infinite Spirit, to be enwrapped in flesh: thou, an all-glorious eternal Spirit, to put on the rags of human mortality: thou, the great Creator of all things, to become a creature: thou, the omnipotent God, to subject thyself to miserable frailty and infirmity: O mystery, transcending the full apprehension of even glorified souls! If but one of thy celestial spirits have, upon thy gracious mission, assumed a visible shape, and therein appeared to any of thy servants of old; it hath been held a spectacle of so dreadful astonishment, that it could not be consistent with life: even so much honour was thought no less than deadly; neither could the patient make any other account, than to be killed with the kindness of that glory: what shall we say then, that thou, who art the God of those spirits, and therefore infinitely more glorious than all the hierarchy of heaven, vouchsafedst, not in a vanishing apparition, but in a settled state of many years' continuance, to show thyself in our flesh, and to converse with men in their own shape and condition? O great mystery of godliness, God manifested in the flesh: so great, that the holy ambition of the heavenly angels could not reach higher than the desire to look down into it, 1 Pet. i. 12.

Section II.

—*God manifested*— But, O Saviour, that which raised the amazement at the appearance of thine angels, was their resplendent glory; whereas, that which heightens the wonder of thy manifestation to men, is the depth of thine abasement. Although thou wouldest not take the nature of angels, yet why wouldest thou not appear in the lustre and majesty of those thy best creatures? Or, since thou wouldest be a man, why wouldest thou not come as the chief of men, commanding kings and princes of the

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earth to attend thy train? Thou, whose the earth, is and the fulness thereof, why wouldest thou not raise to thyself a palace comprised of all those precious stones which lie hid in the close coffers of that thine inferior treasury? Why did not thy court glitter with pearl and gold, in the rich furnitures and gay suits of thy stately followers? why was not thy table furnished with all the delicacies that the world could afford? O Saviour, it was the great glory of thy mercy, that, being upon earth, thou wouldest abandon all earthly glory; there could not be so great an exaltation of thy love to mankind, as that thou wouldest be thus low abased. Manifested then thou wert, but manifested in a despicable obscurity: whether shall I more wonder, that, being God blessed for ever, thou wouldest become man; or that, condescending to be man, thou wouldest take upon thee the shape of a servant; a servant to those whose Lord, whose God thou wert?

What proportion could there be, O blessed Jesu, betwixt a God —*in the flesh*— and a man, betwixt finite and infinite? The only power of thy everlasting and unmeasurable love hath so reduced one of these to the other, that both are united in that glorious person of thine to make up an absolute Saviour of mankind. O the height and depth of this supercelestial mystery, that the infinite Deity and finite flesh should meet in one subject! yet so, as the humanity should not be absorbed of the Godhead, nor the Godhead coarcted by the humanity, but both inseparably united: that the Godhead is not humanized, the humanity is not deified; both are indivisibly conjoined; conjoined so as without confusion; distinguished so as with union. So wert thou, O God, manifested in the flesh, that thou, the Word of thine eternal Father, wert *made flesh, and dwelledst amongst us, (and we* men *beheld thy glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father,) full of grace and truth,* John i. 14. Yet so wert thou made flesh, as not by conversion into flesh, but as by assumption of flesh to thine eternal Deity; assumption, not into the nature of the Godhead, but into the person of thee who art God everlasting. O mystery of godliness, incomprehensibly glorious! Cease, cease, O human curiosity, and where thou canst not comprehend, wonder and adore.

Section III.

But, O Saviour, was it not enough for thee to be manifested in flesh? did not that elementary composition carry in it abasement enough, without any further addition? since, for God to become

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man, was more than for all things to be redacted to nothing; but that in the rank of miserable manhood thou wouldest humble thyself to the lowest of humanity, and become a servant? Shall I say more? I can hear Bildad the Shuhite say, *Man is a worm*, Job xxv. 6: and I hear him who was a noble type of thee say, as in thy person, *I am a worm, and no man; a reproach of men, and despised of the people*, Psalm xxii. 6. O Saviour, in how despicable a condition do I find thee exhibited to the world! lodged in a stable; cradled in a manger; visited by poor shepherds; employed in an homely trade; attended by mean fishermen; tempted by presumptuous devils; persecuted by the malice of envious men; exposed to hunger, thirst, nakedness, weariness, contempt! How many slaves, under the vassalage of an enemy, fare better than thou didst from ingrateful man, whom thou camest to save! Yet all these were but a mild and gentle preface to those thy last sufferings, wherewith thou wert pleased to shut up this scene of mortality: there I find thee sweating blood in thine agony; crowned with thorns; bleeding with scourges; buffeted with cruel hands; spat upon by impure mouths; laden with thy fatal burden; distended upon that torturing cross; nailed to that tree of shame and curse; reviled and insulted upon by the vilest of men; and, at last, that no part of thy precious blood might remain unshed, pierced to the heart by the spear of a late and impertinent malice.

Thus, thus, O God and Saviour, wouldest thou be manifested in the flesh, that the torments of thy flesh and thy spirit might be manifested to that world which thou camest to redeem: thus wast thou *wounded for our transgressions;* thus wast thou *bruised for our iniquities;* thus *were the chastisements of our peace upon thee;* and thus *with thy stripes are we healed*, Isaiah liii. 5. O blessed, but still incomprehensible mystery of godliness; God thus manifested in the flesh, in weakness, contempt, shame, pain, death!

Once only, O blessed Jesu, while thou wert wayfaring upon this globe of earth, didst thou put on glory; even upon mount Tabor, in thy heavenly transfiguration: then and there did thy face shine as the sun, and thy raiment was white as the light, Matt. xvii. 2; Mark ix. 2, 3; Luke ix. 29. How easy had it been for thee to have continued this celestial splendour to thy humanity all the whole time of thy sojourning upon earth, that so thou mightest have been adored of all mankind! how would all the

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nations under heaven have flocked unto thee, and fallen down at the feet of so glorious a Majesty! what man in all the world would not have said, with Peter, Lord, it is good for us to be here? Or if it had pleased thee to have commanded Moses and Elias to wait upon thee in thy mediatory perambulation, and to attend thee at Jerusalem, on the mount of Sion, as they did in the mount of Tabor, whom hadst thou not in a zealous astonishment drawn after thee? But it was thy will, and the pleasure of thy heavenly Father, that this glorious appearance should soon be overshadowed with a cloud; and as those celestial guests, now in the midst of thy glory, spent their conference about thy bitter sufferings, and thine approaching departure out of the world, so wert thou, for the great work of our redemption, willing to be led from the mount Tabor to mount Calvary, from the height of that glory to the lowest depth of sorrow, pain, exinanition.

Thus vile wert thou, O Saviour, in the flesh; but, in this vileness of flesh, manifested to be God. How did all thy creatures, in this extremity of thine abasement, agree to acknowledge and celebrate thine infinite Deity! The angels came down from heaven, to visit and attend thee: the sun pulled in his head, as abhorring to look upon the sufferings of his Maker: the earth was covered over with darkness, and quaked for the horror of that indignity which was offered to thee in that bloody passion: the rocks rent; the graves opened themselves, and sent up their long since putrified tenants, to wait upon thee, the Lord of life, in thy glorious resurrection: so as thou, in thy despised and crucified flesh, wert abundantly manifested to be the Almighty God of heaven and earth.

Section IV.

O blessed Saviour, thou, the true God manifested in the flesh, be thou pleased to manifest unto the soul of thy servant the unspeakable riches of thy love and mercy to mankind in that great work of our redemption. Vouchsafe to affect my heart with a lively sense of that infinite goodness of thine towards the wretchedest of thy creatures; that, for our sake, thou camest down, and clothedst thyself in our flesh; and clothedst that pure and holy flesh with all the miseries that are incident to this sinful flesh of ours; and wast content to undergo a bitter, painful, ignominious death from the hands of man; that by dying thou mightest overcome death, and ransom him from that hell to which he was, without thee, irrecoverably forfeited, and fetch him forth to life,

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liberty, and glory. O let me not see only, but feel, this thy great mystery of godliness effectually working me to all hearty thankfulness for so inestimable a mercy; to all holy resolutions to glorify thee, in all my actions, in all my sufferings. Didst thou, O Saviour, being God eternal, take flesh for me; and shall not I, when thou callest, be willing to lay down this sinful flesh for thee again? Wert thou content to abridge thyself for the time, not only of thy heavenly magnificence, but of all earthly comforts, for my sake; and shall not I, for thy dear sake, renounce all the wicked pleasures of sin? Didst thou wear out the days of thy flesh in poverty, toil, reproach, and all earthly hardship; and shall I spend my time in pampering this flesh in wanton dalliance, in the ambitious and covetous pursuit of vain honours and deceivable riches? Blessed Lord, thou wert manifested in the flesh, not only to be a ransom for our souls, but to be a precedent for our lives; far, far be it from me, thus to imitate the great pattern of holiness. O Jesu, the Author and Finisher of my faith and salvation, teach me to tread in thy gracious steps; to run with patience the race that is set before me; to endure the cross, to despise the shame; to be crucified to the world; to work all righteousness.

SECTION V.

How easily could I be drawn to envy the privilege of those eyes which saw thee here walking upon earth, O God and Saviour, in the days of thy manifesting thyself in flesh! O what an happy spectacle was this, to see the face of him in whom the Godhead dwelt bodily! All the world is not worth such a sight. Whither could I not wish to go, to see but a just portraiture of that shape wherein thou wert pleased to converse with men?

But thine holy apostle checks this useless curiosity in me, while he says, *If we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him so no more,* 2 Cor. v. 16. It is not the outside of thine human form, the view whereof can make us more holy or more happy. Judas saw thee, as well as he that lay in thy bosom: those saw thee, that maligned and persecuted thee, and shall once again see thee to their utmost horror; see him whom they pierced. They saw that flesh in which God was manifested; they saw not God manifested in the flesh. It is our great comfort and privilege, that it was flesh wherein God was manifested; but it is not in the flesh, but in the Deity, to render us blessed.

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O Saviour, I dare not beg of thee so to manifest thyself to me as thou didst to thy Chosen Vessel in his way to Damascus; or to thy first martyr, in the storm of his lapidation: these miraculous manifestations are not for my meanness to sue for. But let me never cease to crave of thee a double manifestation of thyself to me: be pleased to manifest thyself to me in the clear illuminations of thy Spirit; let me by the eyes of my faith clearly see thee both sprawling in the manger, and walking upon earth, and tempted in the wilderness, and arraigned in the judgment-hall, and suffering upon Calvary, and rising out of thy tomb, and ascending from thy Olivet, and reigning in heaven, and there interceding for me: and, after my approaching dissolution, let my soul see thee in that glorified flesh wherein thou wert manifested to the world, and in the majesty of that all-glorious Deity, which assumed it to that ever blessed society of glory.

Section VI.

It was thy mercy, O God, that thou wouldest not keep up thyself close in thine eternal, spiritual, and incomprehensible essence, unknown to thy creatures upon earth, but that thou wouldest be manifested to the world. It was yet thy further mercy, that thou wert not only pleased to manifest thyself to man, in the wonderful works of thy creation, (since those invisible things of thine are understood and clearly seen by the things that are made, even thine eternal power and Godhead, Rom. i. 20:) but to manifest thyself yet more clearly to us in thy sacred word, the blessed oracles of thine eternal truth. But it was the highest pitch of thy mercy, that thou wouldest manifest thyself yet more to us in the flesh: thou mightest have sent us thy gracious messages by the hands of thine angels, those glorious ministering spirits that do continually attend thy throne: this would not content thee; but such was thy love to us forlorn wretches, that thou wouldest come thyself to finish the work of our redemption. Neither didst thou think it enough to come to us in a spiritual way, imparting thyself to us by secret suggestions and inspirations, by dreams and visions, but wouldest vouchsafe openly to be manifested in our flesh.

How then, O my God, how wert thou manifested in the flesh? was not the flesh thy veil? Heb. x. 20; and wherefore serves a veil, but to hide and cover? Did not thy Deity then lie hid and obscured, while thou wert here on earth, under the veil of thy

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flesh? How then wert thou manifested in that flesh wherein thou didst lie obscured? Surely thou wert certainly manifested in respect of thy presence in that sacred flesh of thine, though, for the time, thy power and majesty lay hid under the veil. Sometimes thou wert pleased that this sun of thy Deity should break forth in the glorious beams of Divine operations; to the dazzling of the eyes of men and devils; to the full eviction of thine omnipotent power against thy envious gainsayers: at other times, thou wert content it should be clouded over with the dim and dusky appearances of human infirmity. The more thou wert obscured, the more didst thou manifest thy most admirable humility, and unparallelable love to mankind, whose weakness thou disdainedst not to take up; and the more thou didst exert thy power in thy miraculous works, the more didst thou glorify thyself, and vindicate thine Almighty Deity thus manifested in the flesh. O that thou wouldest enable me to give thee the due praise, both of thine infinite mercy in this thine humble obscurity, and of thy Divine omnipotence; who, as thou wert manifested in the flesh, so wast also justified in the Spirit.

Section VII.

—justified in the Spirit—

He that should have seen thee, O Saviour, working in Joseph's shop, or walking in the fields or streets of Nazareth, or journeying towards Jerusalem, would have looked upon thee as a mere man; neither did thy garb or countenance bewray any difference in thee from the ordinary sort of men. So did thy Godhead please to conceal itself for a time in that flesh wherein thou wouldest be manifested: it was thine all-working and coessential Spirit, by whose evident testimonies and mighty operations thy Deity was irrefragably made good to the world.

If the doubtful sons of men shall, in their peevish infidelity, be apt to renew the question of John's disciples, Art thou he that should come, or shall we look for another? thine ever blessed and coeternal Spirit hath fully justified thee, for that only true, absolute, perfect Mediator, by whom the great work of man's redemption is accomplished. While the gates of hell want neither power, nor malice nor subtlety, it is not possible that thy Divine person should want store of enemies. These, in all successions of times, have dared to open their blasphemous mouths against thy blessed Deity; but against all their hellish oppositions, thou wert still and

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shalt be ever justified by thy co-omnipotent Spirit; in those convictive wonders which thou wroughtest upon earth; in those miraculous gifts and graces which thou pouredst out upon men; in that glorious resurrection and ascension of thine, wherein thou didst victoriously triumph over all the powers of death and hell.

Lo, then, ye perverse Jews and scoffing Gentiles, that are still ready to upbraid us with the impotency and sufferings of a despised Redeemer; and to tell us of the rags of his manger, of the homeliness of his education, of his temptation and transportation by the devil, of his contemptible train, of his hunger and thirst, of his weariness and indigence, of his whips and thorns, of his agony in the garden of Gethsemane, of his opprobrious crucifixion in Calvary, of his parted garments and his borrowed grave: is not this He, to whose homely cradle a glorious and supernatural star guided the sages of the east for their adoration? is not this He, whose birth, declared by one glorious angel, was celebrated by a multitude of the heavenly host with that divine anthem of, *Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men?* Luke ii. 9–14; is not this He, that filled the world with his divine and beneficial miracles; healing all diseases by his word, restoring limbs to the lame, giving eyes to the born blind, casting out devils, raising the dead, commanding winds and seas, acknowledged by an audible voice from heaven? is not this He, whom the very ejected devils were forced to confess to be the Son of the everliving God? whom the heaven and all the elements owned for their almighty Creator? whose sufferings darkened the sun, and shook the earth, and rent the rocks in pieces? and lastly, whom the dead saints and the heavenly angels attended in his powerful resurrection and glorious ascension? O Saviour, abundantly justified in the Spirit against all the malignances of men and devils!

Section VIII.

If thy malicious persecutors, whose hand was in thy most cruel crucifixion, shall, for the covering of their own shame, blazon thee for a deceiver of the people; how convincingly wert thou justified in the Spirit, by the dreadful and miraculous descent of the Holy Ghost in the cloven and fiery tongues, and that sudden variety of language, for the spreading of the glory of thy name over all the nations of the earth!

If the unbelieving world, bewitched with their former superstition, shall furiously oppose thy name and Gospel in the times im-

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mediately succeeding; how notably art thou justified in the Spirit, by the sudden stopping of the mouths of their hellish oracles, by the powerful predications of thine holy apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and doctors; seconded by such undeniable miracles as shamed and astonished if not won the gainsayers!

But, O Saviour, being thus clearly justified in the Spirit against the old spite of hell, with what shame and horror do I see thine eternal Godhead called into question by the misgoverned wits of certain late misnamed Christians! who, as if they would raise up cursed Arius from his hateful grave, have dared to renew those blasphemous cavils against thy sacred person, which, with so great authority and full evidence of the Spirit, were long since cried down to that hell, whence, to the great contumely of heaven, they were most wickedly sent up into the world. Woe is me, their damned founder did not send down his soul into that fatal draught in a more odious way, than these his followers vent themselves upward in most unsavory and pestilent contradictions to thee, the Lord of life and glory. But even against these art thou justified in the Spirit, speaking in thy divine scriptures; whose evident demonstrations do fully convince their calumnies and false suggestions, and vindicate thy holy name and blessed Deity from all their devilish and frivolous argutations.

Is there any weak soul, that makes doubt of thy plenary satisfaction for his sin, of the perfect accomplishment of the great work of man's redemption? how absolutely art thou justified, O blessed Jesu, in the Spirit, in that thou raisedst thyself from the dead; quitting that prison of the grave, whence thou couldest not have come till thou hadst paid the utmost farthing, wherein we stood indebted to heaven!

O Saviour, not more concealed in the flesh than manifestly justified in the Spirit for my all-sufficient Redeemer, not more meekly yielding to death *for our offences* than powerfully *raised up again for our justification*, Rom. iv. 25: how should I bless and praise thee, both for thine humble self-dejection in respect of thine assumed flesh, and for thy powerful justification in thine infinite and eternal Spirit! that Holy Ghost, whereby thou wert conceived in the womb of the Virgin, justified thee in thy life, death, resuscitation. Now, then, how confidently can I trust thee with my soul, who hast approved thyself so complete and almighty a Redeemer! O blessed Jesu, with what assurance do I cast myself upon thee for thy present protection, for my future

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salvation! how boldly can I defy all the powers of darkness, while I am in the hand of so gracious and omnipotent a Mediator! *Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth*, Rom. viii. 33. Even thou, the God who wast manifested in the flesh and justified in the Spirit, shalt justify and save my spirit, soul, and body, in the day of our appearance before thee.

Section IX.

—seen of angels—

O Saviour, it is no mystery, that, being manifested in the flesh, thou wert seen of men; but it is no small part of the great mystery of godliness, that thou, who art the God of spirits, wert seen by those heavenly spirits, clothed in flesh. It could not be but great news to the angels to see their God born, and conversing as man with men. For a man to see an angel, is a matter of much wonder, but for an angel to see God become man, is a far greater wonder: since in this, the change concerns an infinite subject; in the other, a finite though incorporeal.

But pause here a while, O my soul, and inquire a little into these strange spectators. *Seen of angels?* who or what might those be? Are there any such real, incorporeal, permanent substances; or are they only things of imagination, and extemporary representations of the pleasure of the Almighty? Woe is me, that no error may be wanting to this prodigious age, do we live to see a reviction of the old Sadduceism, so long since dead and forgotten? Was Gabriel, that appeared and spake to Daniel, (Dan. viii. 16, 17,) nothing but a supernatural phantasm? And what then was the Gabriel, that appeared, with the happy news of a Saviour, to the blessed Virgin? What are the angels of those little ones, whereof our Saviour speaks, which do always behold the face of his Father in heaven? Matt. xviii. 10. What were those angels that appeared to the shepherds with the tidings and gratulations of the Saviour born at Bethlehem? Luke ii. 9–15. What was that beneficent spirit that visited Peter in the prison; smote him on the side, to wake him from his sleep; shook off his chains; threw open the iron gate, and rescued him from the bloody hands of Herod? Acts xii. 7–10. What are those spirits who shall be God's reapers at the end of the world; to cut down the tares, and gather the wheat into his barn? Shortly, what were all those spirits, whereof both Testaments are full, which God was pleased to employ in his frequent missions to the earth? were these phantasms too? Certainly, though there may be many orders, yet

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there is but one general condition of those angelical attendants on the throne of the Almighty. Even in the Old Testament, was it a supernatural apparition of fancy, that, in one night, smote all the firstborn in the land of Egypt? was it a supernatural apparition of fancy, that, in one night, laid an hundred fourscore and five thousand Assyrians dead upon the ground? Could these be any other than the acts of living and powerful agents? It is not for us to contend about words: those that are disposed to devise paradoxes may frame to themselves what senses they please of their own terms: this we are sure of, that the angels are truly existing, spiritual, intelligent, powerful, eviternal creatures; whose being is not exposed to our sense, but evidenced both to our faith and reason; not circumscribed in any gross locality, but truly being where they are, and acting according to their spiritual nature.

Of these angels, O blessed Saviour, wert thou seen manifested in the flesh, to their wonder and gratulation. That thou, who hadst taken our flesh, wert visible, was no whit strange; herein thou wert a plain and happy object to all eyes: but how the angels, being merely spiritual substances, could see thee, may be part of this great mystery. Doubtless, they saw thee, both before and ever since thou camest into the world, with eyes, like themselves, spiritual: and not seldom saw thee, being incarnate, with the assumed eyes of those bodies wherein they appeared. Thus they saw and adored and proclaimed thee in thy first salutation of the world; when thou layest in that homely posture in the manger at Bethlehem, singing that sweet and celestial carol at thy nativity, *Glory be to God in the highest:* they saw thee in the wild desert, where no creatures appeared to thee, but either beasts or devils: there they saw thee, pined with fasting, conflicted with the prince of darkness: they saw thee foiling that presumptuous enemy; not without wonder, doubtless, at the boldness of that daring spirit, and joyful applause at thy happy victory: they saw thee, but, as knowing there was no use of seconds in this duel of thine, unseen of thee, till the full end of that great combat; then they showed themselves to thee, as willing to be known to have been the secret witnesses of the fight, and glad congratulators of thy triumph; then they came and ministered unto thee. Never were they but ready to have visibly attended thee, hadst thou been pleased to require so sensible a service; but the state of a servant, which thou choosedst to undergo, suited not with the perpetuity of so glorious a retinue. Whether, therefore,

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they were seen to thee, or not seen, it was their great honour and happiness, and a main part of the great mystery of godliness, that thou, who art the true God manifested in the flesh, wert seen of angels.

They saw thee in the garden, in thy sad agony; and if angels could have been capable of passion in that state of their glory, could have been, no doubt, content to suffer in and with thee. With what eyes do we think they looked upon thy bloody sweat, and the frowns of thine heavenly Father which they saw bent against thee in our persons, for the sin of mankind which thou camest to expiate? Now in this doleful condition, so wert thou seen of angels, that the angels were seen of thee: for, lo, *there appeared an angel from heaven strengthening* thee, Luke xxii. 43: O the deep humiliation of God manifested in the flesh, that thou, O Jesu, the God and Lord of all the angels of heaven, shouldest, in this bloody conflict with thy Father's wrath for our sins, need and receive comfort from a created angel, thy servant!

Whilst thou wert grappling with the powers of darkness, there was no need of aid: only, after the fight, angels came and ministered to thee: but now that thou must struggle under the wrath of thy Father for man's sin, there was use of the consolation of one of those angels, whereof thou commandedst millions. O blessed Saviour, had not the face of thy heavenly Father been clouded to thee, standing in the stead of our guiltiness, it had been no less than presumption, in any finite power, to tender thee any suggestions of comfort; but now, alas! those beatifical beams were so, for the time, hid from thine eyes; and the sweet influences of light and joy arising therefrom were, for that sad instant, suspended; so as nothing appeared to thee, that while, but the darkness of displeasure and horror: now, therefore, the comforts of a creature could not be but seasonable and welcome; so that thou disdainedst not to be strengthened by an angel. Extreme distress looks not so much to the hand that brings supply, as to the supply it brings. If but one of thy three drowsy clients could have shaken off his sleep, and have let fall to thee some word of consolation in that heavy fit of thine, thou hadst not refused it; how much less the cordial intimations of an heavenly monitor! Neither was it improper for thee, who was content to be made *a little inferior to the angels*, (Heb. ii. 9,) to receive some spiritual aid from the hands of an angel.

What then, O Saviour, was the strengthening which thou re-

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ceivedst from this officious spirit in this pang of thine agony? Doubtless it was not any communication of an additional power to bear up under that heavy pressure of the sins of the whole world, which drew from thee those sweats of blood: no angel in heaven was able to contribute that to the Son of God: but it was a sweet and forcible representation to thy disconsolate humanity of the near approach of an happy eluctation out of those torments of thy sufferings, and of the glorious crown of thy victory, immediately succeeding.

SECTION X.

And now, soon after, those angels, that saw thee sweating in thine agony, and bleeding on thy cross, saw thee also triumphing over death in thy resurrection: they attended thee joyfully in the vault of thy sepulchre, and saw thee trampling upon the last enemy; being then suitably habited to so blessed an occasion, in white shining vestures.

How gladly were they employed about that most glorious solemnity; both as actors in the service, and as the first heralds of thy victories over death! I find one of them obsequiously making ready for thy coming out of those chambers of death upon thine Easter morning: rolling away that massy stone, which the vain care of thine adversaries had laid, curiously sealed, upon the mouth of that cave, for the prevention of thy forethreatened resurrection; and sitting upon it with a countenance like lightning, and his garment white as snow: the terror of whose presence made the guard to shake, and to become as dead men, Matth. xxviii. 2–4: I find two of them no less glorious, sitting the one at the head, the other at the feet of that bed of earth whereon thou hadst newly slept, John xx. 12. By these angels wert thou both seen and attended; and, no doubt, but as at thy first coming into the world, when but one angel published thy birth, he was seconded by a multitude of the heavenly host, praising God with hymns of rejoicing for thy nativity; so, when but one or two angels were seen at thy second birth, which was thy glorious resurrection, there were more of that heavenly company invisibly celebrating the joyful triumph of that blessed day; wherein, having conquered death and hell, thou showedst thyself, in a glorified condition, to the redeemed world of men.

After this, when, for the securance of thy resurrection, upon which all our faith justly dependeth, thou hadst spent forty days

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upon earth, I find thee upon mount Olivet, at thy most glorious ascension, not seen only, but proclaimed and forepromised, in thy certain and at least equally-glorious return, by the blessed angels: *And, behold, while they looked stedfastly toward heaven as he went up, two men stood by them in white apparel; which also said, Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven? this same Jesus, which is taken from you into heaven, shall so come again as ye have seen him go into heaven,* Acts i. 10, 11.

But, O Saviour, these views of thee by thine angels hitherto were but special, and visible even by bodily eyes: how do I, by the eyes of my soul, see thee both attended up in that heavenly progress, and welcomed into thine empyreal heaven by all the host of those celestial spirits! no small part of whose perpetual happiness it is to see thee in thy glorified humanity sitting at the right hand of Majesty: there they enjoy thee; there they sing continual Hallelujahs *to him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb, for ever and ever.*

Section XI.

If thine angels, O blessed Jesu, desired to look into this great and deep mystery of the gospel, 1 Pet. i. 12, their longing is satisfied in the sight of thy blessed incarnation, and the full accomplishment of the great office of thy Mediatorship; since, *now unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places is made known the manifold wisdom of God,* in this wonderful work of man's redemption, Eph. iii. 10: *which from the beginning of the world hath been hid in God, who created all things by* thee, Eph. iii. 9. But that *the unsearchable riches of Christ should be preached to the Gentiles,* (Eph. iii. 8,) how marvellous an accession is it to the greatness of this divine mystery of godliness! Of old, *in Judah was God known: his name was great in Israel: in Salem was his tabernacle, and his dwellingplace in Sion,* Psalm lxxvi. 1, 2: but, in the mean while, we miserable Gentiles sat in darkness and in the shadow of death, *without God in the world;* exposed to the displeasure of heaven; tyrannized over by the powers of hell; *strangers from the covenants of promise;* forlorn, *without hope* of mercy, Eph. ii. 12. That, therefore, O Saviour, thou vouchsafedst, in the tender bowels of thine infinite compassion, to look down from heaven

— preached unto the Gentiles—

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upon us; and, at the last, graciously to visit us in the clear revelation of the saving truth of thy gospel; to break down the partition-wall, whereby we were excluded from any participation with thee; to own us for thy people, and to admit us unto the fellowship of thy saints: O the wonderful mystery of godliness, effectually manifested to us outcast Gentiles, to our conversion, to our eternal salvation!

What *a veil*, O God, was *spread over all nations!* Isaiah xxv. 7: a dark veil of ignorance, of error, of impiety. How did our forefathers walk in their own ways; following the sinful lusts of their own hearts; worshipping dumb idols; sacrificing to all the host of heaven; offering, not their substance only, but their sons and daughters to devils! It was thine own infinite goodness that moved thee to pity our woful and despaired condition; and to send thine eternal Son into the world, to be no less *a light to lighten the Gentiles*, than *to be the glory of thy people Israel*, Luke ii. 32.

How fully hast thou made good thy gracious promises, long since published by thy holy prophets! *It shall come, that I will gather all nations and tongues; and they shall come and see my glory*, Isaiah lxvi. 18. And again, *It shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow to it: and many people shall go, and say, Come ye, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us his ways, and we will walk in his paths*, Isaiah ii. 2, 3. And again, *Behold, thus saith the Lord, I will lift up my hand to the Gentiles, and set up my standard to the people; and they shall bring thy sons in their arms, and thy daughters shall be carried upon their shoulders*, Isaiah xlix. 22. And again, *Behold, thou shalt call a nation, that thou knowest not, and nations that know not thee shall run unto thee, because of the Lord thy God, and for the Holy One of Israel; for he hath glorified thee*, Isaiah lv. 5. O blessed then, ever blessed be thy name, O God, that thou wouldest vouchsafe to be made known among us Gentiles: *Give unto the Lord, O ye kindreds of the people, give unto the Lord glory and strength: give unto the Lord the glory due unto his name*, Psalm xcvi. 7, 8. *All the earth shall worship thee, and shall sing unto thee; they shall sing unto thy name*, Psalm

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lxvi. 4. *All the ends of the world shall remember, and turn unto the Lord; and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before thee*, Psalm xxii. 27.

How did we, O Saviour, of old lie under the pity and contempt of those thy people which challenged a peculiarity of thy favour! *We have a little sister*, said thy Jewish spouse, *and she hath no breasts: what shall we do for our sister when she shall be spoken for?* Cant. viii. 8. Take no thought for us, O thou once beloved synagogue of the Jews: thy little sister is not only spoken for, but contracted; but happily married to her Lord and Saviour; having been *betrothed to* him *for ever, in righteousness, and in judgment, and in lovingkindness, and in mercies*, Hosea ii. 19: so as we can now return our pity to thee, and say, "We had an elder sister, which had breasts; but her breasts are long since wrinkled and dried up: what shall we do for our sister in these days of her barrenness and just neglect? We shall surely pray for our sister, that God would be pleased to return to her in his compassion of old, and restore her to the happy state of her former fruitfulness." We follow them with our prayers; they us, with malice and despite. With how envious eyes did they look upon those first heralds of the gospel, who carried the glad tidings of salvation to the despised Gentiles! What cruel storms of persecution did they raise against those blessed messengers whose feet deserved to be beautiful! wherein their obstinate unbelief turned to our advantage: for, after they had made themselves unworthy of that gospel of peace, that blessing was instantly derived upon us Gentiles, and we happily changed conditions with them. The natural branches of the good olive tree being cut off, we, that were of the wild olive, contrary to nature, are graffed in, Rom. xi. 17. *O the goodness and severity of God! on them which fell, severity;* on us, which succeeded, *goodness*, ver. 22. They were once the children, and we the dogs under the table; the crumbs were our lot, the bread was theirs. Now is the case, through their wilful incredulity, altered: they are the dogs, and we the children; we sit at a full table while their hunger is not satisfied with scraps. *The casting away of them* was *the reconciling of the world*, ver. 15; their fall, our exaltation. It is not for us to be highminded, but to fear, ver. 20.

The great sheet with four corners is let down from heaven with all manner of fourfooted beasts of the earth, and creeping things,

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and fowls of the air: we may kill and eat without any difference of clean or unclean, but even of clean meats we may surfeit, Acts x. 11, 12. O Saviour, it is thy great mercy that thou hast been thus long preached amongst us Gentiles; that we, in the remote ends of the world, have seen the salvation of our God: but if we shall abuse thy graces to wantonness, and walk unanswerably to this freedom of thy gospel, how both just and easy is it for thee to withdraw these blessings from us, and to return us to the woful condition of our old forlornness! O, let it not be enough that thou art preached amongst us Gentiles, but do thou work us to an holy obedience of thy blessed gospel: reclaim us from our abominable licentiousness of life, from our hellish heresies of opinion, and teach us to walk worthy of that great salvation which thou hast held forth unto us: so shall it be our happiness that thou wert preached to us Gentiles; otherwise our condemnation shall be so much the deeper, as our light hath been more clear and our means more powerful.

Section XII.

So poor and despicable, O Saviour, wouldest thou have thy coming in the flesh, that it is no marvel if the vain world utterly disregarded thee; for what is the misjudging world led by, but by outward pomp and magnificence? Yea, thy very domestic followers, after so long acquaintance with thy person and doctrine, even when thou wert risen from the dead, could think of the royalty of a temporal kingdom to be restored to Israel; and still the perverse generations of Jewish infidels, after the conviction of so many hundred years, gape for an earthly monarchy of their expected Messiah. That therefore appearing to the world in so contemptible means, so born, so living, so dying, thou shouldest be universally *believed on in the world*, is the just wonder of the mystery of godliness.

—believed on in the world—

It was the largeness of thy divine bounty, to allow thy gospel preached to every creature; but, alas! it is liberally preached, sparingly received: *Who hath believed our report, and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed?* Isaiah liii. 1. It was the complaint of thy Chosen Vessel, the doctor of the Gentiles, *We preach Christ crucified, to the Jews a stumblingblock, to the Greeks foolishness*, 1 Cor. i. 23. What a power therefore is there in the mystery of godliness, that thou art not preached only, but *believed on in the world!*

Hadst thou exhibited thyself in the magnificence and majesty

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of the Son of God, attended either with the glorious angels of heaven or the mighty monarchs of the earth, scattering honours and riches upon thy followers in abundance, how large a train wouldest thou have had, how would all the earth have rung with hosannas to the Highest! Matt. xxi. 9: but now, that thou wouldest come as the Son of man, in the homeliest condition of birth, education, life, and death; not having so much as an house wherein to put thy head, or a grave wherein to lay thy dead body; now that thou wouldest suffer thyself to be spat upon, scourged, crucified, reviled; that the stubborn hearts of men should be so convinced by the truth and power of thy Deity, that thou art *believed on in the world,* is the great mystery of godliness.

The powers of darkness could not but see their kingdom shaken by thy coming down to the earth upon this errand of thy mediation: how busy and violent, therefore, were those gates of hell in opposing so glorious a work! How did they stir up cruel tyrants in the first dawning of thy gospel furiously to persecute this way unto death! What exquisite torments of all kinds did they devise for the innocent professors of thy name! How drunken was the earth with the blood of thy martyrs in all parts! And when they saw how little force could prevail, since this palm tree grew the more by depression, how did they set their wits on work in attempting by fraud to bring about their cursed designs! How cunningly did they go about to undermine that wall which they could not batter! Now whole troops of the skilfullest engineers of hell are sent up by damned heresies to blow up and overthrow that truth which they could not beat down. One while thine eternal Deity, another while thy sacred humanity is impugned by those who yet style themselves Christians: one while either of thy natures, another while thy entire person is laid at by those that profess themselves thy friends and clients: one while thine offices, another while thy scriptures, are opposed by those who yet would seem thine. And though their insinuations have been so craftily carried and their colours so well laid, that no small part of the world hath been for the time beguiled by them, and drawn into a plausible misbelief; yet still great hath the truth ever been, and ever prevailed; happily triumphing over those damnable heresies that have dared to lift up their head against her, and chasing them into their hell; so as, in spite of men and devils, the great mystery of godliness is gloriously vindicated, and *God manifested in* weak *flesh* is *believed on in the world.*

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Section XIII.

The world is not all of one making: there is a world of creatures not capable of belief; there is a *world* of men that *lieth in wickedness*, (1 John v. 19,) refusing to believe; there is a world of faithful souls that do believe, and, in believing, are saved: and O, blessed Saviour, that thou wouldest graciously enlarge this world of believers!

Woe is me, what a world of this world of men lies still under the damnable estate of unbelief! Alas, for those poor savage Indians that know knothing of a God; which, out of their fear and tyrannical superstition, worship devils that they may not hurt them: for those ignorant and wofully blindfolded Mahometans, that are not allowed to see any more than one blink of thee as a great Prophet, being taught to blaspheme thy Deity, and to enslave their faith to a wretched impostor: for those obstinate Jews, that are wilfully blind, and will not see the light of that truth concerning thee their Messiah, which shineth forth clearly to them in the writings of the prophets, in the undeniable accomplishment of all former predictions, in the powerful conviction of miraculous works. What Christian is there whose bowels do not yearn, whose heart doth not bleed, at the thought of so many millions of miserable unbelievers!

O thou, the God of infinite mercy and compassion, in whose hands are all the hearts of the sons of men, look graciously from heaven upon the dark souls of these poor infidels, and enlighten them with the saving knowledge of the great mystery of godliness: let the beams of thy gospel break forth unto them, and work them to a sound belief in thee their *God, manifested in the flesh.* Fetch home into thy fold all those that belong to thy merciful election: bring in *the fulness of the Gentiles*, Rom. xi. 25: *gather together the outcasts of Israel*, Psalm cxlvii. 2, and glorify thyself in completing a world of believers.

And for us, on whom the ends of the world are come, as we have been graciously called to the comfortable notice of this mystery of godliness, and have professed and vowed a steadfast belief in thy Name; so keep us, by thy good Spirit, in an holy and constant avowance of all those main truths concerning thy sacred Person, Natures, and Offices, unto our last end: for thou seest, O blessed Jesu, that there is now such an hell of the spirits of error broken loose into the world, as if they meant to evacuate this part of the

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mystery of godliness, Christ *believed on in the world*. O do thou, by thy mighty power, restrain and quell these pernicious heresies, and send down these wicked spirits back to their chains; so as our most holy faith may ever remain inviolable till the day of thy glorious return.

Neither let us sit down contented that we hold fast and believe the mere history of thy life, death, and resurrection; without which as we cannot be saved, so with it alone we cannot: but do thou, by thy good Spirit, work and settle in our souls a sound, lively, operative, justifying faith in thee, whereby we may not only believe on thee as a common Saviour, but believe in thee as ours; bringing thee home to our hearts, and confidently relying upon thee for the acquittance of all our sins and for our eternal salvation. O that thou mightest be thus *believed on in the world:* and if not by them, in the notion of their universality, yet by us, who profess thy Name, to thy great glory and our everlasting comfort.

Section XIV.

In these occurrences on the earth, *great is the mystery of godliness;* but the highest pitch of this great mystery, O Saviour, is, that thou, thus manifested in our flesh, wert *received up into glory;* even that celestial glory which thou enjoyest in the highest heavens, sitting on the right hand of Majesty; seen and adored by all that blessed company of the souls of just men made perfect, and the innumerable troops of glorious angels, Heb. xii. 22, 23.

—received up into glory.

If some erroneous fancies have placed their heaven here below upon earth, ours is above; and so is thine, O blessed Jesu, who wert taken up in glory. Thou couldest not be taken up to any earthly ascent, since thou tookest thy farewell on the top of mount Olivet; but from this globe of earth thou ascendedst through the skies to that empyreal heaven; there thou remainest in glory infinite and incomprehensible. The many and intentive beholders of thy last parting did not cast their eyes down into the valley, neither did see cause with the fifty sons of the prophets, to seek for thee, as they would needs do for Elijah, in valleys and mountains, 2 Kings ii. 16: they saw and worshipped thee, leisurely ascending up through the region of this lower heaven, till a cloud intercepted thee from their sight; neither then could easily be taken off, either by the interposition of that dark body or by the interpellation of angels.

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And now, O blessed Saviour, how is my soul ravished with the meditation of thy glorious reception into thy heaven! Surely, if the inhabitants of those celestial mansions may be capable of any increase of joy, they then both found and showed it when they saw and welcomed thee, entering in thy glorified humanity into that thy eternal palace of blessedness; and if there could be any higher or sweeter ditty of Hallelujah, it was then sung by the choir of angels and saints. And may thy poor servants, warfaring and wandering here upon earth, even second them in those heavenly songs of praise and gratulations: for wherein stands all our safety, hope, comfort, happiness, but in this, that thou, our Jesus, art *received up into glory*; and, having conquered all diverse powers, sittest on the right hand of God the Father, crowned with honour and majesty?

O Jesu, thou art our head, we are thy body: how can the body but participate of the glory of the head? As for thyself therefore, so for us, art thou possessed of that heavenly glory: as thou sufferedst for us, so for us thou also reignest. Let every knee therefore bow unto thee, *of things in heaven, and things on earth, and things under the earth*, Phil. ii. 10. O blessed be thy name for ever and ever: *Thine, O Lord, is the greatness, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty: for all that is in the heaven and in the earth is thine; thine is the kingdom, O Lord, and thou art exalted as head over all*, 1 Chron. xxix. 11.

And now, O Saviour, what a superabundant amends is made to thy glorified humanity for all thy bitter sufferings upon earth! Thine agony was extreme, but thy glory is infinite; thy cross was heavy, but thy crown transcendently glorious; thy pains were unconceivably grievous, but short; thy glory everlasting; if thou wert scorned by men, thou art now adored by angels; thou, that stoodest before the judgment seat of a Pilate, shalt come, in all heavenly magnificence, to judge both the quick and the dead; shortly, thou which wouldest stoop to be a servant upon earth, rulest and reignest for ever in heaven, as the King of eternal glory.

O then, my soul, seeing thy Saviour is *received up into* this infinite *glory*, with what intention and fervour of spirit shouldest thou fix thine eyes upon that heaven where he lives and reigns. How canst thou be but wholly taken up with the sight and thought of that place of blessedness? How canst thou abide to

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grovel any longer on this base earth, where is nothing but vanity and vexation, and refrain to mind the things above, where is all felicity and glory? With what longings and holy ambition shouldest thou desire to aspire to that place of eternal rest and beatitude, into which thy Saviour is ascended, and with him to partake of that glory and happiness which he hath provided for all that love him! O Saviour, it is this clog of wretched infidelity and earthliness that hangs heavy upon my soul, and keeps me from mounting up into thy presence, and from a comfortable fruition of thee. O do thou take off this sinful weight from me, and raise up my affections and conversation unto thee; enable me constantly to enjoy thee by a lively faith here, till by thy mercy I shall be received into glory.

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THE

INVISIBLE WORLD

DISCOVERED TO SPIRITUAL EYES,

AND

REDUCED TO USEFUL MEDITATION.

IN THREE BOOKS.

THE PREFACE.

As those that flit from their old home, and betake themselves to dwell in another country where they are sure to settle, are wont to forget the faces and fashions whereto they were formerly inured, and to apply themselves to the knowledge and acquaintance of those with whom they shall afterwards converse; so it is here with me: being to remove from my earthly tabernacle, wherein I have worn out the few and evil days of my pilgrimage, to an abiding city above, I have desired to acquaint myself with that invisible world to which I am going; to inter-know my good God, and his blessed angels and saints, with whom I hope to pass an happy eternity: and if, by often and serious meditation, I have attained, through God's mercy, to any measure of lightsome apprehension of them and their blissful condition, I thought it could be no other than profitable to my fellow-pilgrims to have it imparted unto them. And as knowing we can never be sensible enough of our happiness, unless we know our own dangers and the woful miscarriages of others; nor so fully bless our eyes with the sight of heaven, if we cast not some glances upon hell; I have held it requisite to bestow some thoughts upon that dreadful region of darkness and confusion; that by the former of these our desires may be whetted to the fruition of their blessedness, and by the other we may be stirred up to a care of avoiding those paths that lead down to that second death, and to a continual thankfulness unto that merciful God, whose infinite goodness hath delivered us from that pit of horror and perdition.

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To all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, grace and peace.

Dear Brethren,—If I have in a sort taken my leave of the world already, yet not of you, whom God hath chosen out of the world, and endeared to me by a closer interest; so as ye may justly expect from me a more special valediction, which I do now, in all Christian affection, tender unto you. And as dear friends, upon a long parting, are wont to leave behind them some tokens of remembrance where they most affect; so have I thought good, before my setting forth on my last journey, to recommend unto you these my two final Meditations; than which, I suppose, nothing could be more proper for me to give, or more like to merit your acceptation; for if we were half way in heaven already, what can be a more seasonable employment of our thoughts than the Great Mystery of Godliness, which the angels desire to look into? And now, when our bodily eyes are glutted with the view of the things that are seen—a prospect which can afford us nothing but vanity and vexation—what can be more meet than to feed our spiritual eyes with the light of invisible glories? Make your use of them, both to the edifying of yourselves in your most holy faith, and aspire with me towards that happiness which is laid up above for all those that love the appearance of our Lord Jesus. Withal, as the last words of friends are wont to bear the greatest weight, and to make the deepest impression, so let these lines of holy advice, wherewith, after many well meant discourses, I shall close up the mouth of the press, find the like respect from you.

O that I might, in the first place, effectually recommend to you the full recovery of that precious legacy of our blessed Saviour, peace; peace with God, peace with men; next to grace, the best of all blessings: yet woe is me, too too long banished from the Christian world, with such animosity, as if it were the worst of enemies, and meet to be adjudged to a perpetual migration! O for a fountain of tears, to bewail the slain of God's people in all the coasts of the earth! How is Christendom become an universal Aceldama! How is the earth every where drenched with

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human blood, poured out, not by the hands of cruel infidels, but of brethren! Men need not go so far as Euphrates for the execution of Turks and Pagans: Christians can make up an Armageddon with their own mutual slaughter. Enough, my dear brethren, enough; yea, more than too much, hath been the effusion of that blood for which our Saviour hath shed his. Let us now, at the last, dry up these deadly issues which we have made, and with sovereign balms bind up the wounds we have given. Let us now be not more sparing of our tears to wash off the memory of these our unbrotherly dimications, and to appease the anger of that God whose offended justice hath raised war out of our own bowels. As our enmity, so our peace, begins at heaven: had we not provoked our longsuffering God, we had not thus bled, and we cannot but know and believe him that said, *When a man's ways please the Lord, he maketh his enemies to be at peace with him,* Prov. xvi. 7. O that we could throughly reconcile ourselves to that great and holy God whom we have irritated by our crying sins; how soon would he, who is the commander of all hearts, make up our breaches, and calm and compose our spirits to an happy peace and concord!

In the next place, give me leave earnestly to exhort you, that as we have been heretofore palpably faulty in abusing the mercies of our God, for which we have soundly smarted; so that now, we should be so much the more careful to improve the judgments of God to our effectual reformation. We have felt the heavy hand of the Almighty upon us to purpose; O that our amendment could be no less sensible than our sufferings! But, alas! my brethren, are our ways any whit holier, our obedience more exact, our sins less and fewer, than before we were thus heavily afflicted? May not our God too justly take up that complaint which he made once by his prophet Jeremiah, *Ye have transgressed against me, saith the Lord. In vain have I smitten your children; they received no correction,* Jer. ii. 29, 30. Far be it from us that, after so many sad and solemn mournings of our land, any accuser should be able to charge us, as the prophet Hosea did his Israel—*By swearing, and lying, and killing, and stealing, and committing adultery, they break out, and blood toucheth blood,* Hos. iv. 2. Woe be to us, if, after so many veins opened, the blood remaining should not be the purer!

Let me have leave, in the third place, to excite you to the practice of Christian charity, in the mutual constructions of each

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other's persons and actions; which, I must tell you, we have heedlessly violated in the heat of our holy intentions: while those which have varied from us in matter of opinion, concerning some appendances of religion and outward forms of administration, we have been apt to look upon with such disregard, as if they had herein forfeited their Christian profession, and were utter aliens from the commonwealth of Israel; though, in the mean time, sound at the heart, and endeavouring to walk close with God in all their ways: whereas the Father of all mercies allows a gracious latitude to his children, in all not-forbidden paths; and in every nation and condition of men, *he that feareth God, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him*, Acts x. 35. Beware we, my dear brethren, lest, while we follow the chase of zeal, we outrun charity; without which, piety itself would be but unwelcome. As for matter of opinion in the differences of religion, wherewith the whole known world, not of Christians only, but of men, is wofully distracted, to the great prejudice of millions of souls, let this be our sure rule, "Whosoever he be, that holds *the faith, which was once delivered to the saints*, (Jude 3,) agreeing therefore with us in all fundamental truths, let him be received as a brother:" for there is but *one Lord, one faith, one baptism;* and *other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ*, 1 Cor. iii. 11. Let those, which will be a devising a new creed, look for a new Saviour, and hope for another heaven: for us, we know whom we have believed. If any man be faulty in the doctrines of superstructure, let us pity and rectify his error, but not abandon his person. The communion of saints is not so slight, that it should be violated by weak mistakings. If any man, through ignorance or simplicity, shall strike at the foundation of faith, let us labour, by all gentle means and brotherly conviction, in the spirit of meekness, to reclaim him: if after all powerful endeavours he will needs remain obstinate in his evil way, let us disclaim his fellowship, and not think him worthy of a God-speed. But if he shall not only wilfully undermine the groundwork of Christian faith, by his own damnable opinions, but diffuse his heretical blasphemies to the infection of others, let him be cut off by spiritual censures; and so dealt with, by public authority, that the mischief of his contagion may be seasonably prevented, and himself be made sensible of his heinous crime. In all which proceedings, just distinction must be made betwixt the seduced soul and

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the pestilent seducer; the one calls for compassion, the other for severity. So then, my brethren, let us pity and pray for all that have erred and are deceived: let us instruct the ignorant, convince the gainsaying, avoid the obstinate, restrain the infectious, and punish the self-convicted heresiarch.

In the fourth place, let us, I beseech you, take heed of being swayed with self-interests in all our designs. These have ever been the bane of the best undertakings, as being not more plausibly insinuative than pernicious: for that partial self-love, that naturally lodges in every man's breast, is ready to put us upon those projects which under fair pretences may be extremely prejudicial to the public weal; suggesting, not how lawful or expedient they may be for the common, but how beneficial to ourselves; drawing us, by insensible degrees, to sacrifice the public welfare to our own advantage, and to underwork and cross the better counsels of more faithful patriots: whereupon, many flourishing churches, kingdoms, states, have been brought to miserable ruin. O that we could remember, that as all things are ours, so we are not our own; that we have the least interest in ourselves, being infinitely more considerable as parts of a community than as single persons; that the main end of our being, next to the glory of our Maker, is an universal serviceableness to others, in the attaining whereof we shall far more eminently advance our own happiness than by the best of our private self-seeking endeavours. But withal, it will be meet for us to consider, that as we are made to serve all, so only in our own station: there can be no hope of a continued well-being, without order: there can be no order, without a due subordination of degrees and diversity of vocations: and in vain shall divers vocations be ordained if all professions shall interfere with each other. It is the prudent and holy charge of the apostle, *Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he is called,* 1 Cor. vii. 20. We are all members of the same body; every one whereof hath his proper employment: the head is to direct and govern, the feet to walk, the eyes to see, the ears to hear. How mad would we think that man that should affect to walk on his head, to hear with his eye, to see with his ear! Neither, surely, is it less incongruous for men in divine and civil administrations to offer to undertake and manage each other's functions, in their nature and quality no less desperate. So then let us endeavour to advance the common good, as that a pious zeal may not draw in confusion; and that

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we may not mistakingly rear up the walls of Babel while we intend Jerusalem. Not religion only, but policy calls us to encouragement of all useful professions; and of the sacred so much more, as the soul is more precious than all the world beside. Heed therefore must be taken, to avoid all means whereby the study of learning and knowledge may be any way disheartened; as without which the world would soon be overrun with ignorance and barbarism. All arts, therefore, as being in their kind excellent, may justly challenge their own rights, and if they shall want those respects which are due to them will suddenly languish. But, above all, as divinity is the queen of sciences, so should it be our just shame, that while her handmaids are mounted on horseback she should wait on them on foot.

Fifthly, as it is our greatest honour that the name of Christ is called upon us; so let it, I beseech you, be our care, that our profession be not formal, empty, and barren, like the Jewish fig-tree, abounding with leaves, void of fruit; but real, active, fruitful of all good works, and exemplary in an universal obedience to the whole will of God: for it is a scandal never to be enough lamented, that any of those who are saints by calling (such we all are or should be) should hug some darling sin in their bosom, which at last breaks forth to the shame of the gospel and to the insultation of Gath and Ascalon. Woe be to us, if we shall thus cause the name of our God to be evil spoken of! There are too many of those whom I am loath and sorry to style *heathen-Christians;* Christians in name, heathens in conversation: these, as they come not within the compass of my dedication, (for, alas! how should they love the Lord Jesus when they know him not?) so I can heartily bewail their condition, who, like Gideon's fleece, continue altogether dry under so many sweet showers of grace; wishing unto their souls, even thus late, a sense of the efficacy of that water which was once poured on their faces. These, if they run into all excess of riot, what can be other expected from them? but for us, that have learned to know the great mystery of godliness, and have given up our name to a strict covenant of obedience, if we shall suffer ourselves to be miscarried into any enormous wickedness, we shall cause heaven to blush and hell to triumph. O, therefore, let us be so much the more watchful over our ways, as our engagements to the name of our God are greater, and the danger of our miscarriages more deadly.

Lastly, let me beseech and adjure you, in the name of the Lord

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Jesus, to be careful in matter of religion; to keep within the due bounds of God's revealed will: a charge, which I would to God were not too needful in these last days; wherein, who sees not what spirits of error are gone forth into the world for the seducing of simple and ungrounded souls? Woe is me, what throngs are carried to hell by these devilish impostors! One pretends visions and revelations of new verities, which the world was not hitherto worthy to know: another boasts of new lights of uncouth interpretations, hidden from all former eyes. One despises the dead letter of the scriptures; another distorts it to his own erroneous sense. O the prodigies of damnable, heretical, atheous fancies, which have hereupon infested the Christian church; for which, what good soul doth not mourn in secret? the danger whereof ye shall happily avoid, if ye shall keep close to the written word of our God, which is only able to make you wise to salvation. As our Saviour repelled the devil, so do ye the fanatic spirits of these brainsick men, with, *It is written:* let those who would be wiser than God justly perish in their presumption. My soul for yours, if ye keep you to St. Paul's guard, *not to be wise above that which is written.* I could easily, out of the exuberance of my Christian love, overcharge you with multiplicity of holy counsels; but I would not take a tedious farewell. May the God of Heaven bless these and all other wholesome admonitions, to the furtherance of your souls in grace: and may his good Spirit ever lead and guide us in all such ways as may be pleasing to him, till we happily meet in the participation of that incomprehensible glory which he hath prepared for all his saints. Till when, farewell; from your fellow pilgrim in this vale of tears,

JOS. HALL.

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THE INVISIBLE WORLD.

THE FIRST BOOK:—OF GOD AND HIS ANGELS.

SECT. I.—*That there is an Invisible World.*

WHO can think other, but that the great God of heaven loseth much glory by our ignorance? for how can we give him the honour due to his Name while we conceive too narrowly of him and his works? To know him as he is, is past the capacity of our finite understanding: we must have other eyes to discern that incomprehensible essence: but, to see him in his divine emanations and marvellous works, which are the back parts of that glorious Majesty, is that whereof we may be capable and should be ambitious. Neither is there any thing in this world that can so much import us; for wherefore serves the eye of sense, but to view the goodly frame and furniture of the creation? wherefore serves the eye of reason and faith, but to see that lively and invisible power which governs and comprehends it?

Even this sensible and material world, if we could conceive aright of it, is enough to amaze the most enlightened reason: for if this globe of earth, in regard of the immense greatness of it, is wont, not unjustly, to be accounted a world, what shall we say of so many thousand stars, that are, for the most part, bigger than it? How can we but admire so many thousand worlds of light rolling continually over our heads, all made by the omnipotent power, all regularly guided by the infinite providence of the great God? How poorly must that man needs think of the workmanship of the Almighty, that looks upon all these but as so many torches, set up in the firmament every evening, only so big as they seem! and with what awful respects must he needs be carried to his Creator, that knows the vastness and perpetually-constant movings of those lightsome bodies, ruled and upheld only by the mighty Word that made them!

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There is store of wonders in the visible, but the spiritual and intelligible world is that which is more worthy to take up our hearts; both as we are men, endued with reason, and as regenerate, enlightened by faith, being so much more excellent than the other, by how much more it is removed from all earthly means of apprehension. Brute creatures may behold these visible things perhaps with sharper eyes than we; but spiritual objects are so utterly out of their reach, as if they had no being. Nearest, therefore, to beasts are those men who suffer themselves to be so altogether led by their senses, as to believe nothing but what is suggested by that purblind and unfaithful informer. Let such men doubt whether they have a soul in their body, because their eye never met with it[a]; or that there are any stars in the firmament at noonday, because they appear not; or that there is any air wherein they breathe, because nothing appears to them but an insensible vacuity.

Of all other, the Sadducees had been the most dull and sottish heretics that ever were, if, as some have construed them, they had utterly denied the very being of any spirits. Sure, as learned Cameron[b] pleads for them, they could not be so senseless: for believing the books of Moses, and being conscious of their own animation, their bosoms must needs convince them of their spiritual inmate; and what but a spirit could enable them to argue against spirits? and how could they hold a God, and no spirit? It was bad enough that they denied the immortality and constant subsistence of those angelical, immaterial substances: an opinion long since hissed out, not of the school of Christianity only, but of the very stalls and sties of the most brutish paganism: although that, very long since, as is reported by Hosius and Prateolus, that cursed glazier of Ghent, David George[c], durst wickedly rake it out of the dust; and of late some sceptics of our own have let fall some suspicious glances this way.

Surely, all that know they have souls must needs believe a world of spirits, which they see not; if from no other grounds, yet out of that analogy which they cannot but find betwixt this lesser and that greater world. For as this little world, man, consists of an outward visible body and an inward spiritual soul,

[a] "Nulla visibilia nisi per invisibilia videntur: tolle mentem, quæ non videtur; et incassum patebit oculus." *Greg.*

[b] Camer. in Act. xxiii. 8.

[c] [Born at Delft; gave name to a sect which he afterwards established at Basle, 1544.]

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which gives life and motion to that organical frame, so possessing all parts, that it is wholly in all and in each part wholly: so must it also be in this great universe, the sensible and material part whereof hath being and moving from those spiritual powers, both supreme and subordinate, which dwell in it, and fill and actuate it. Every illuminated soul, therefore, looks about him with no other than St. Paul's eyes; whose profession it is, *We look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen: for the things which are seen are temporal; but the things which are not seen are eternal,* 2 Cor. iv. 18.

SECT. II.—*The Distribution of the Invisible World.*

I cannot quite mislike the conceit of Reuchlin and his Cabala, seconded by Galatinus, that as in an egg the yolk lies in the midst encompassed round with the white, and that again by a film and shell; so the sensible world is inclosed within the intelligible: but, withal, I must add, that here is not a mere involution only, but a spiritual permeation and inexistence; yet without all confusion. For those pure and simple natures are not capable of mingling with gross, material substances: and the God of order hath given them their own separate essences, offices, operations; as for the managing of their own spiritual commonwealth within themselves, so for the disposing, governing, and moving of this sensible world. As, therefore, we shall foully misconceive of a man, if we shall think him to be nothing but a body, because our eyes see no more; so we shall no less grossly err, if, beholding this outward fabric, we shall conceive of nothing to be in this vast universe but the mere lifeless substance of the heavens and elements, which runs into our sight: those lively and active powers that dwell in them could not be such if they were not purely spiritual.

Here then, above and beyond all worlds, and in this material and intelligible world, our illuminated eyes meet first with the God of spirits; the Deity, incomprehensible; the Fountain of all life and being; the infinite and self-existing Essence; one most pure, simple, eternal Act; the absolute, omnipotent, omnipresent Spirit: who in himself is more than a world of worlds; filling and comprehending both the spiritual and sensible world; in comparison of whom, this All is nothing, and but from him had been and were nothing. Upon this blessed object, O my soul, may thy thoughts ever dwell: where the more they are fixed, the more

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shall they find themselves ravished from the regard of all sensible things, and swallowed up with an admiration of that which they are still farther off from comprehending[d].

Next to this All-glorious and Infinite Spirit, they meet with those immaterial and invisible powers, who receive their original and continuance, their natures and offices, from that King of Glory: each one whereof is so mighty, as to make up a world of power alone; each one so knowing, as to contain a world of wisdom; and all of them so innumerably many, that their number is next to infinite; and all this numberless number is so perfectly united in one celestial policy, that their entire communion, under the laws and government of their sovereign Creator, makes them a complete world of spirits, invisibly living and moving both within and above this visible globe of the material world.

After these, we meet with the glorified souls of the just; who, now let loose from this prison of clay, enjoy the full liberty of heaven; and, being at last reunited to their then immortal bodies and to their most glorious Head, both are and possess a world of everlasting bliss.

Last of all, may thy thoughts fall upon those infernal powers of darkness, *the spiritual wickednesses in heavenly places;* whose number, might, combination, makes up a dreadful world of evil angels, conflicting where they prevail not, and tormenting where they overcome.

These, together with the reprobate souls whom they have captived, are the most horrible and woful prospects of mischief and misery which either world is subject unto.

Now all and every of these, howsoever in respect of largeness they may well pass for so many several worlds; yet, as we are wont to account the whole globe of heaven and earth, and the other inclosed elements, though vast in their several extents, to make up but one sensible world; so shall we consider all the entire specifications of spirits but as ranked in so many regions of one immaterial and intelligible world.

Wherefore, let us first silently adore that *mundum archetypum,* that one transcendent, self-being, and infinite essence, in three most glorious persons, the blessed Deity, which filleth heaven and earth with the majesty of his glory, as veiled with

[d] "Omne tempus quo de Deo non cogitat, perdidisse se computat."—*Bern. de spec. mon.* [Arnulfi Monachi de Boeriis, Oper. Bern. t. v. p. 817. Ed. Ben. Paris. 1719.]

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the beams of infiniteness, and hid in an inaccessible light: and let us turn our eyes to the spiritual guard, the invisible attendants of that Divine Majesty; without the knowledge and right apprehension whereof, we shall never attain to conceive of their God and ours as we ought.

But, O ye blessed, immortal, glorious spirits, who can know you, but he that is of you? Alas! this soul of mine knows not itself, how shall it know you? Surely, no more can our minds conceive of you, than our eyes can see you: only, since he that made you hath given us some little glimpse of your subdivine natures, properties, operations, let us weakly, as we may, recount them to his glory in yours.

Sect. III.—*The Angels of Heaven: their Numbers.*

The good Lord forgive me, for that, amongst my other offences, I have suffered myself so much to forget, as his divine presence, so the presence of his holy angels. It is, I confess, my great sin, that I have filled mine eyes with other objects, and have been slack in returning praises to my God, for the continual assistance of those blessed and beneficent spirits, which have ever graciously attended me, without intermission, from the first hour of my conception to this present moment; neither shall ever, I hope, absent themselves from my tutelage and protection, till they shall have presented to my poor soul her final glory. O that the dust and clay were so washed out of my eyes, that I might behold, together with the presence, the numbers, the beauties, and excellencies of those my ever-present guardians!

When we are convinced of the wonderful magnitude of those goodly stars which we see moving in the firmament, we cannot but acknowledge, that if God had made but one of them, he could never have been enough magnified in his power; but when our sense joins with our reason, to force upon us, withal, an acknowledgment of the infinite numbers of those great luminaries, now, we are so far to seek of due admiration, that we are utterly lost in the amazement at this stupendous proof of omnipotence.

Neither is it otherwise with the invisible host of heaven. If the power of one angel be such, that he were able, at his Maker's appointment, to redact the world to nothing; and the nature of any one so eminent, that it far surmounts any part of the visible creation; what shall we say to those next-to-infinite numbers of

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mighty and majestical spirits wherewith the great God of heaven hath furnished his throne and footstool?

I know not upon what grounds that (by some, magnified) prophetess[e], could so precisely compute, that if all men should be reckoned up, from the first Adam to the last man that shall stand upon the earth, there might be to each man assigned more than ten angels. Ambrose's account is yet fuller; who makes all mankind to be that one lost sheep in the parable, and the angels (whose choir the great Shepherd left for a time, to come down to this earthly wilderness) to be the ninety and nine. Lo here, well near a hundred for one. Yet even that number is poor, in comparison of the reckoning of him[f] who pretends to fetch it from the Chosen Vessel rapt into paradise; who presumes to tell us there are greater numbers of angels in every several rank, than there is of the particular of whatsoever material things in this world. The bishop of Herbipolis[g] instanceth boldly in stars, in leaves, in spires of grass. But sure I am, had that Dennis of Areopagus been in St. Paul's room, and supplied his rapture, he could no more have computed the number of angels, than the best arithmetician, standing upon an hill, and seeing a huge Xerxes-like army swarming in the valley, can give a just reckoning of the number of those heads.

Surely, when our Saviour speaks of more than twelve legions of angels (Matt. xxvi. 53.), he doth not say, how many more: if those twelve, according to Jerome's (though too short) computation, amount to seventy two thousand, the more than twelve were doubtless more than many millions. He that made them can tell us. The beloved disciple in Patmos, as by inspiration from that God, says, *I beheld, and I heard the voice of many angels round about the throne and the beasts and the elders: and the number of them was ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands,* Rev. v. 11. Now the elders were but twenty-four, and the beasts were but four: all those other thousands were angels: and if so many were about his throne, how many do we think were about his missions! Before him, the prophet Daniel (betwixt whom and the evangelist there is so perfect correspondence, that we may well say, Daniel was the John of the Old Testament, and John the Daniel of the New) hath made the like

[e] Brigit. l. Revelat. iv. [f] Dionys. Areopag. [De cælest. Hierarch. l. i. c. 14.]
[g] Forner. de Cust. Angel. Serm. IV.

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reckoning: *Thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him,* Dan. vii. 10. But Bildad the Shuhite in one word says more than all, *Is there any number of his armies?* Job xxv. 3.

Lo, his armies are past all number: how much more his several soldiers! So as it may not perhaps seem hard to believe Dionysius, that the angels but of one rank are more than can be comprehended by any arithmetical number; or Gregory, who determines them numerable only to God that made them, to men innumerable.

O great God of heaven, how doth this set forth the infinite Majesty of thine Omnipotent Deity, to be thus attended! We judge of the magnificence of princes according to the number and quality of their retinue and guard, and other their military powers; and yet each one of these hath an equally absolute life and being of his own, receiving only a pay from his sovereign: what shall we then think of thee, the great King of eternal glory, that hast before thy throne innumerable hosts of powerful and glorious spirits, of thine own making and upholding?

And how safe are we under so many and so mighty protectors! It might be perhaps well meant, and is confessed to be seconded with much reverend antiquity, the conceit, that each man hath a special angel designed for his custody[h]: and if but so, we are secure enough from all the danger of whatsoever hostile machinations; however this may seem some scanting of the bountiful provision of the Almighty, who hath pleased to express his gracious respects to one man in the allotment of many guardians: for, if Jacob speak of one angel, David speaks of more; *He shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways,* Psalm xci. 11. And even those which have thought good to abet this piece of platonic divinity concerning the single guardianship of angels, have yet yielded, that, according to several relations, each one hath many spiritual keepers. Insomuch as the forecited Fornerus[i], late bishop of Wurtzburg, durst assure his auditors, that each of them had ten angels at least assigned to his custody, according to the respects of their subordinate interests; besides their own person, of their family, parish,

[h] "Cuique electo ordinarie certum propriumque angelum, qui perpetuus sit ejus custos et comes."—Zanch. de Operibus creat. l. iii. c. 15. [Thesis, Hanov. 1697. p. 186.]

[i] "Ex quo facile colligitur, ex vobis unumquemque habere plus quam decem Angelos."—Forner. de Custod. Ang. Serm. V. p. 56.

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fraternity, city, diocese, country, office, church, world. Yet even this computation is niggardly and pinching[j], since the abundant store and bounty of the Almighty can as well afford centuries as decades of guardians.

Howsoever, why should it not be all one to us: since there is no less safety in the hands of one than many; no less care of us from many than from one? Should but one angel guard millions of men, his power could secure them no less than a single charge; but now that we are guarded with millions of angels, what can the gates of hell do?

But what number soever be employed about us, sure I am, that, together with them, those that attend the throne of their Maker make up no less, as Nazianzen justly accounts them, than a world of spirits: a world, so much more excellent than this visible, by how much it is more abstracted from our weak senses.

O ye blessed spirits, ye are ever by me, ever with me, ever about me: I do as good as see you; for I know you to be here: I reverence your glorious persons; I bless God for you; I walk awfully, because I am ever in your eyes; I walk confidently, because I am ever in your hands. How should I be ashamed, that in this piece of theology I should be outbid by very Turks; whose priests shut up their devotions with an apprecatory mention of your presence[k], as if this were the upshot of all blessings! I am sure it is that wherein, next to my God and Saviour, I shall ever place my greatest comfort and confidence; neither hath earth or heaven any other besides that looks like it.

Sect. IV.—*The Power of Angels.*

Multitudes, even of the smallest and weakest creatures have been able to produce great effects: the swarms but of flies and lice could amate the great and mighty king of Egypt; and all his forces could not free him and his peers from so impotent adversaries. But when a multitude is seconded with strength, how

[j] How scant then is the account of the great and voluminous Abulensis, who, upon Matt. xviii. 10, determines that the Blessed Virgin had two angel-keepers; one, the most noble of the angelical order, which guarded her all her life; the other, Gabriel, an archangel of the second order, who attended her from the time of Christ's conception until his passion!—Bernard. l. vi. c. 10. As also that of Degrassalius, that the French king hath two angel-guardians; one, in regard of his private person; another, in respect to his royal dignity!—Degrassal. l. 1. Jure 20. Regal. Franciæ.

[k] Mr. Blunt's Voyage to the Levant.

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must it needs be irresistible! so it is in these blessed spirits: even their omnipotent Maker, who best knows what is derived from him, styles them by his apostle *powers*, Eph. iii. 10; Col. ii. 10: and by his Psalmist, *mighty ones in strength*, Psalm ciii. 20. A small force seems great to the weak; but that power which is commanded by the Almighty must needs be transcendently great.

We best judge of powerfulness by the effects: how suddenly had one angel despatched every firstborn in Egypt; and, after them, the hundred fourscore and five thousand of the proud Assyrian army! 2 Kings xix. 35: and, if each man had been a legion, with what ease had it been done by that potent spirit! Neither are they less able to preserve than to destroy. That of Aquinas is a great word: "One angel is of such power, that he were able to govern all the corporeal creatures of the world." Justly was it exploded, as the wild heresy of Simon Magus and his clients the Menandrians, that the angels made the world. No; this was the sole work of him that made them: but if we say that it pleases God by their ministration to sway and order the marvellous affairs of this great universe, we shall not, I suppose, vary from truth. If we look to the highest part thereof, philosophers have gone so far as to teach us, that which is seconded by the allowance of some great divines, that these blessed intelligences are they, by whose agency, under their Almighty Creator, the heavens and the glorious luminaries thereof continue their ever-constant and regular motions. And if there fall out any preternatural immutations in the elements, any strange concussations of the earth, any direful prodigies in the sky, whither should they be imputed, but to these mighty angels; whom it pleaseth the most high God to employ in these extraordinary services? That dreadful magnificence which was in the delivering of the Law on mount Sinai, in fire, smoke, thunderings, lightnings, voices, earthquakes; whence was it, but by the operation of angels? and indeed, as they are the nearest, both in nature and place, to the majesty of the Highest; so it is most proper for them to participate most of his power, and to exercise it in obedience to his sovereignty. As therefore he is that infinite Spirit who doth all things, and can do no more than all; so they, as his immediate subordinates, are the means whereby he executeth his illimited power in and upon this whole created world, Joel iii. 11. Whence it is, that in their glorious appear-

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ances, they have been taken for Jehovah himself; by Hagar; by Manoah and his wife; yea, by the better eyes of the father of the faithful, Gen. xvi. 13; Judges xiii. 22; Gen. xxii. 14.

Now, Lord, what a protection hast thou provided for thy poor worms, and not men, creeping here on thine earth! and what can we fear, in so mighty and sure hands? He that passeth with a strong convoy through a wild and perilous desert scorns the danger of wild beasts or robbers, no less than if he were in a strong tower at home: so do we the onsets of the powers of darkness, while we are thus invincibly guarded.

When God promised Moses that an angel should go before Israel, and yet withal threatened the subduction of his own presence; I marvel not, if the holy man were no less troubled than if they had been left destitute and guardless; and that he ceased not his importunity, till he had won the gracious engagement of the Almighty for his presence in that whole expedition. For what is the greatest angel in heaven without his Maker? But let thy favour, O God, order and accompany the deputation of the lowest of thine angels, what can all the troops of hell hurt us? As soon may the walls of heaven be scaled, and thy throne disturbed, as he can be foiled that is defended with thy power. Were it possible to conceive that the Almighty should be but a looker on in the conflict of spirits, we know that the good angels have so much advantage of their strength, as they have of their station; neither could those subdued spirits stand in the encounter: but now, he that is strong in our weakness is strong in their strength for us. Blessed be God for them, as the Author of them, and their protection; blessed be they under God, as the means used by him for our protection and blessings.

Sect. V.—*The Knowledge of Angels.*

If Samson could have had his full strength in his mill, when he wanted his eyes, it would have little availed him; such is power without knowledge; but where both of these concur in one, how can they fail of effect? Whether of these is more eminent in the blessed spirits it is not easy to determine.

So perfectly knowing are they, as that the very heathen philosophers have styled them by the name of *intelligences;* as if their very being were made up of understanding. Indeed, what is there in this whole compass of the large universe that is hid from their eyes? Only the closet of man's heart is locked up from

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them, as reserved solely to their Maker; yet so, as that they can, by some insensible chinks of those secret notifications which fall from us, look into them also. All other things, whether secrets of nature or closest counsels or events, are as open to their sight as the most visible objects are to ours.

They do not, as we mortals are wont, look through the dim and horny spectacle of senses; or understand by the mediation of phantasms: but rather, as clear mirrors, they receive at once the full representations of all intelligible things; having, besides that connatural light which is universally in them all, certain special illuminations from the Father of lights.

Even we men think we know something; neither may our good God lose the thank of his bounty this way: but, alas! he that is reputed to have known most of all the heathen[l], whom some[m] have styled the genius of nature, could confess, that the clearest understanding is to those things which are most manifest but as a bat's eyes to the sun. Do we see but a worm crawling under our feet, we know not what that is which in itself gives it a being: do we hear but a bee humming about our ears, the greatest naturalist cannot know whether that noise come from within the body, or from the mouth, or from the wings of that fly[n]: how can we then hope or pretend to know those things which are abstruse and remote? But these heavenly spirits do not only know things as they are in themselves and in their inward and immediate causes, but do clearly see the first and universal cause of all things, and that in his glorious essence: how much more do they know our shallow dispositions, affections, inclinations, which peer out of the windows of our hearts; together with all perils and events that are incident unto us!

We walk, therefore, amidst not more able than watchful overseers: and so are we looked through, in all our ways, as if heaven were all eyes. Under this blessed vigilancy, if the powers of hell can either surprise us with suddenness, or circumvent us with subtlety, let them not spare to use their advantage.

But, O ye tutelar spirits, ye well know our weakness and their strength, our silliness and their craft, their deadly machinations and our miserable obnoxiousness; neither is your love to mankind and fidelity to your Maker any whit less than your

[l] Arist. Metaphys. l. ii. [c. i.]
[m] Bonavent. Vulcan. præf. in lib. De Mundo.
[n] Lord Bacon, in his Natural Hist. [Cent. ii. p. 175.]

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knowledge; so as your charge can no more miscarry under your hands and eyes than yourselves. As you do always enjoy the beatifical vision of your Maker, so your eye is never off from his little ones; your blessedness is no more separable from our safety, than you from your blessedness.

Sect. VI.—*The Employments and Operations of Angels.*

Even while we see you not, O ye blessed spirits, we know what ye do. He that made you hath told us your task. As there are many millions of you attending the all-glorious throne of your Creator, and singing perpetual hallelujahs to him in the highest heavens: so there are innumerable numbers of you employed in governing and ordering the creature, in guarding the elect, in executing the commands which ye receive from the Almighty.

What variety is here of your assistance! One while, ye lead us in our way, as ye did Israel; another while, ye instruct us, as ye did Daniel: one while, ye fight for us, as ye did for Joshua; another while, ye purvey for us, as for Elijah: one while, ye fit us to our holy vocation, as ye did to Isaiah; another while, ye dispose of the opportunities of our calling for good, as ye did of Philip's to the eunuch: one while, ye foretell our danger, as to Lot, to Joseph and Mary: another while, ye comfort our affliction, as to Hagar: one while, ye oppose evil projects against us, as to Balaam; another while, ye will be striven with for a blessing, as with Jacob: one while, ye resist our offensive courses, as to Moses, Exod. iv.; another while, ye encourage us in our devotions, as ye did Paul and Silas and Cornelius: one while, ye deliver from durance, as Peter; another while, ye preserve us from danger and death, as the Three Children: one while, ye are ready to restrain our presumption, as the cherub before the gate of paradise; another while, to excite our courage, as to Elias and Theodosius: one while, to refresh and cheer us in our sufferings, as to the apostles; another while, to prevent our sufferings, as to Jacob in the pursuit of Laban and Esau, to the sages in pursuit of Herod: one while, ye cure our bodies, as at the pool of Bethesda; another while, ye carry up our souls to glory, as ye did to Lazarus. It were endless to instance in all the gracious offices which ye perform.

Certainly, there are many thousand events wherein common eyes see nothing but nature, which yet are effected by the ministration of angels. When Abraham sent his servant to procure a

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wife for his son from amongst his own cognation, the messenger saw nothing but men like himself, but Abraham saw an angel forecontriving the work; *God,* saith he, *shall send his angel before thee, that thou mayest take a wife thence,* Gen. xxiv. 7. When the Israelites forcibly, by dint of sword, expelled the Canaanites and Amorites, and the other branded nations, nothing appeared but their own arms; but the Lord of hosts could say, *I will send mine angel before thee, by whom I shall drive them thence.* Balaam saw his ass disorderly starting in the path: he that formerly had seen visions, now sees nothing but a wall and a way; but in the mean time his ass, who for the present had more of the prophet than his master, could see an angel and a sword. The Sodomites went groping in the street for Lot's door, and miss it; they thought of nothing but some sudden dizziness of brain, that disappointed them; we know it was an angel that struck them with blindness. Nothing appeared when the Egyptians' firstborn were struck dead in one night: the astrologers would perhaps say they were planetstruck; we know it was done by the hand of an angel. Nothing was seen at the pool of Bethesda but a moved water, when the sudden cures were wrought; which perhaps might be attributed to some beneficial constellation; we know that an angel descended, and made the water thus sanative. Gehazi saw his master strangely preserved from the Aramite troops; but had not his eyes been opened by the prophet's prayers, he had not seen whence that aid came.

Neither is it otherwise in the frequent experiments of our life. Have we been raised up from deadly sicknesses when all natural helps have given us up? God's angels have been our secret physicians. Have we had instinctive intimations of the death of some absent friends, which no human intelligence hath bidden us to suspect? who, but our angels, hath wrought it? Have we been preserved from mortal dangers, which we could not tell how by our providence to have evaded? our invisible guardians have done it.

I see no reason to dislike that observation of Gerson: "Whence is it," saith he, "that little children are conserved from so many perils of their infancy; fire, water, falls, suffocations, but by the agency of angels[o]?" Surely, where we find a probability of second

[o] "Qualiter pueri, inter tot infantiæ discrimina, [nisi eis agentibus conservantur."] Gers. Serm. de Angel. [Pars. iv. 2. N.]

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causes in nature, we are apt to confine our thoughts from looking higher: yet even there, many times, are unseen hands. Had we seen the house fall upon the heads of Job's children, we should perhaps have attributed it to the natural force of a vehement blast, when now we know it was the work of a spirit. Had we seen those thousands of Israel falling dead of the plague, we should have complained of some strange infection in the air, when David saw the angel of God acting in that mortality. Human reason is apt to be injuriously saucy in ascribing those things to an ordinary course of natural causes, which the God of nature doth by supernatural agents.

A master of philosophy, travelling with others on the way, when a fearful thunderstorm arose, checked the fear of his fellows, and discoursed to them of the natural reasons of that uproar in the clouds, and those sudden flashes wherewith they seemed, out of the ignorance, of causes, to be too much affrighted: in the midst of his philosophical discourse, he was stricken dead with that dreadful eruption which he slighted: what could this be but the finger of that God, who will have his works rather entertained with wonder and trembling, than with curious scanning.

Neither is it otherwise in those violent hurricanes, devouring earthquakes, and more than ordinary tempests, and fiery apparitions, which we have seen and heard of: for, however there be natural causes given of the usual events of this kind; yet nothing hinders, but that the Almighty, for the manifestation of his power and justice, may set spirits, whether good or evil, on work to do the same things sometimes with more state and magnificence of horror. Like as we see frogs bred ordinarily both out of putrefaction and generation; and yet, when it was for a plague to Egypt they were supernaturally produced: hail, an ordinary meteor; murrain of cattle, an ordinary disease; yet, for a plague to obdured Pharaoh, miraculously wrought.

Neither need there be any great difficulty in discerning when such like events run in a natural course and when spirits are actors in them; the manner of their operation, the occasions and effects of them, shall soon descry them to a judicious eye: for when we shall find that they do manifestly deviate from the road of nature, and work above the power of secondary causes, it is easy to determine them to be of a higher efficiency. I could instance irrefragably, in several tempests and thunderstorms, which, to the unspeakable terror of the inhabitants, were in time seen,

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heard, felt, in the western parts[p]; wherein, the translocation and transportation of huge massy stones and irons of the churches, above the possibility of natural distance, together with the strange preservation of the persons assembled, with other accidents sensibly accompanying those astonishing works of God, still fresh in the minds of many, showed them plainly to be wrought by a stronger hand than nature's[q].

And whither else should we ascribe many events which ignorance teacheth us to wonder at in silence? If murderers be descried by the fresh bleeding of cold and almost putrefied carcasses: if a man by some strong instinct be warned to change that lodging which he constantly held for some years, and finds his wonted sleepingplace that night crushed with the unexpected fall of an unsuspected contignation: if a man, distressed with care for the missing of an important evidence, (such a one have I known[r],) shall be informed in his dream in what hole of his dovecot he shall find it hid: if a man, without all observation of physical criticisms, shall receive and give intelligence, many days before, what hour shall be his last: to what cause can we attribute these, but to our attending angels? If a man shall in his dream, as Marcus Aurelius Antoninus[s] professes, receive the prescript of the remedy of his disease, which the physicians, it seems, could not cure; whence can this be, but by the suggestion of spirits?

And surely, since I am convinced that their unfelt hands are in many occurrences of my life, I have learned so much wit and grace, as rather to yield them too much than too little stroke in ordering all my concernments. O ye blessed spirits, many things I know ye do for me, which I discern not while yet you do them, but after they are done; and many things ye may do more which I know not. I bless my God and yours, as the Author of all ye do: I bless you, as the means of all that is done by you for me.

[p] In the churches of Foye, Totness, and Withycomb. Of the same kind were those prodigious tempests at Milan, an. 1521. and at Mechlin, Aug. 7, an. 1527.

[q] Histoires Prodigieuses de P. Boaistuan, c. 8. Of the same kind was that fearful tempest, which, in the fourth year of king William Rufus, blew down six hundred houses in London; and, reaving Bow Church, carried away six beams of twenty-seven foot long, and struck them into the earth, the streets being then unpaved, so deep, that only four foot remained above ground.—Chron. of Sir Robert Baker, of the reign of Will. II.

[r] Mr. William Cook, senior, of Waltham Holy Cross.

[s] Marc. Aurel. Antoninus his Meditat. concerning himself, l. i. cap. 17. The like he reports of Chryses, ibid.

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Sect. VII.—*The Degrees and Orders of Angels.*

Heaven hath nothing in it but perfection; but even perfection itself hath degrees. As the glorified souls, so the blessed angels, have their heights of excellency and glory. He who will be known for the God of order, observeth, no doubt, a most exact order in his court of heaven, nearest to the residence of his Majesty. Equality hath no place, either in earth or in hell: we have no reason to seek it in heaven. He that was rapt into the third heaven can tell us of thrones, dominions, principalities, angels, and archangels, in that region of blessedness.

We cannot be so simple as to think these to be but one class of spirits; doubtless, they are distinctions of divers orders: but what their several ranks, offices, employments are, he were not more wise that could tell, than he is bold that dare speak.

What modest indignation can forbear stamping at the presumption of those men, who, as if upon Domingo Gonsales's engine, they had been mounted by his Gansaes from the moon to the empyreal heaven, and admitted to be the heralds or masters of ceremonies in that higher world, have taken upon them to marshal these angelical spirits into their several rooms; proportioning their stations, dignities, services, according to the model of earthly courts; disposing them into ternions of three general hierarchies, the first relating to the immediate attendance of the Almighty, the other two to the government of the creature, both general and particular?

In the first, of assistants, placing the seraphim as lords of the chamber; cherubim, as lords of the cabinet-council; thrones, the entire favourites, in whom the Almighty placeth his rest[t].

In the second, of universal regency, finding dominions to be the great officers of state, who, as counsellors, marshals, treasurers, govern the affairs of the world; mights, to be generals of the heavenly militia; powers, as the judges itinerant, that serve for general retributions of good and evil.

In the third, of special government, placing principalities as rulers of several kingdoms and provinces; archangels, as guardians to several cities and countries; and lastly, angels, as guardians of several persons.

And withal, presuming to define the differences of degrees in

[t] "Ut Commensales Deo:" Forner. Serm. IV. de Cust. Ang. or, as Cassaneus, "Cubicularii et servitutes throni:" Glor. Mund. 4. part.

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each order above other, in respect of the goodness and excellency of their nature[u]: making the archangels no less than ten times to surpass the beauty of angels; principalities, twenty times above the archangels; powers, forty times more than principalities; mights, fifty more than powers; dominions, sixty above mights; thrones, seventy above dominions; cherubim, eighty above thrones; seraphim, ninety times exceeding the cherubim.

For me, I must crave leave to wonder at this boldness, and profess myself as far to seek whence this learning should come as how to believe it. I do verily believe there are divers orders of celestial spirits; I believe they are not to be believed that dare to determine them; especially when I see him that was rapt into the third heaven varying the order of their places in the several mentions of them[x].

Neither can I trust to the revelation of that sainted prophetess[y], who hath ranged the degrees of the beatitude of glorified souls into the several choirs of these heavenly hierarchies, according to their dispositions and demeanours here on earth; admitting those who have been charitably helpful to the poor, sick, strangers, into the orb of angels; those who have given themselves to meditation and prayer, to the rank of archangels; those who have vanquished all offensive lusts in themselves, to the order of principalities; to the height of powers, those whose care and vigilance hath restrained from evil and induced to good such as have been committed to their oversight and governance; to the place of mights, those who, for the honour of God, have undauntedly and valiantly suffered, and whose patience hath triumphed over evils; to the company of dominions, those who prefer poverty to riches, and devoutly conform their wills in all things to their Maker's; to the society of thrones, those who do so inure themselves to the continual contemplation of heavenly things, as that they have disposed their hearts to be a fit restingplace for the Almighty; to the honour of cherubim, those who convey the benefit of their heavenly meditations unto the souls of others; lastly, to the highest eminence of seraphim, those who love God with their whole heart, and their neighbour for God, and their enemies in God, and feel no wrongs but those which are done to their Maker.

I know not whether this soaring conceit be more seemingly

[u] Forner. de Custod. Ang. Serm. V.
[x] Compare Eph. i. 21. with Col. i. 16.
[y] S. Matild. l. Revel. c. 54. citat. etiam a Forner.

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pious than really presumptuous, since it is evident enough that these graces do incur into each other, and are not possible to be severed. He that loves God cannot choose but be earnestly desirous to communicate his graces unto others, cannot but have his heart taken up with divine contemplation: the same man cannot but overlook earthly things, and courageously suffer for the honour of his God: shortly, he cannot but be vigilant over his own ways, and helpful unto others. Why should I presume to divide those virtues or rewards which God will have inseparably conjoined? And what a strange confusion were this, instead of an heavenly order of remuneration! Sure I am, that the least degree, both of saints and angels, is blessedness: but, for those stairs of glory, it were too ambitious in me to desire either to climb or know them. It is enough for me to rest in the hope that I shall once see them: in the mean while let me be learnedly ignorant and incuriously devout; silently blessing the power and wisdom of my Infinite Creator, who knows how to honour himself by all these glorious and unrevealed subordinations.

Sect. VIII.—*The Apparitions of Angels.*

Were these celestial spirits, though never so many, never so powerful, never so knowing, never so excellently glorious, mere strangers to us, what were their number, power, knowledge, glory unto us? I hear of the great riches, state, and magnificence of some remote eastern monarchs; what am I the better, while, in this distance, their port and affairs are not capable of any relation to me? To me it is all one, not to be, and not to be concerned. Let us therefore diligently inquire what mutual communion there is or may be betwixt these blessed spirits and us.

And first, nothing is more plain than that the angels of God have not always been kept from mortal eyes under an invisible concealment; but sometimes have condescended so low as to manifest their presence to men in visible forms, not natural, but assumed.

I confess I have not faith enough to believe many of those apparitions that are pretended. I could never yet know what other to think of Socrates's[z] genius; which, as himself reports, was wont to check him when he went about any unmeet enterprise, and to forward him in good. For the modern times, it is too

[z] "Ad nutum et arbitrium sibi assistentis [assidentis sibi] dæmonis, declinabat negotia, vel petebat."—*Minut. Felicis Octav.*

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hard to credit the report of Douay Letters[a] concerning our busy neighbour Père Cotton, that he had ordinary conference and conversation with angels, both his own tutelar and those general of provinces: if so, what need was there for him to have propounded fifty questions, partly of divinity, partly of policy, to the resolution of a demoniac? Who can be so fondly credulous as to believe that Jo. Carera[b], a young father of the society, had a daily companion of his angel, in so familiar a fashion, as to propound his doubts to that secret friend; to receive his answers; to take his advice upon all occasions; to be raised by him every morning from his bed to his early devotions, till once delaying caused for a time an intermission? Or, that the aged capuchin Franciscus de Bergamo, noted for the eleven precious stones which were found in his gall, had, for eight years together before his death, the assistance of an angel in the human shape for the performing of his canonical hours? Or, that the angels helped their St. Gudwal, and St. Oswald bishop of Worcester, to say his mass? Or, that Isidore, the late Spanish peasant, newly sainted amongst good company by Gregory the Fifteenth, serving an hard master, had an angel to make up his daily task at his plough, while the good soul was at his public devotions; like as another angel supplied Felix, the lay capuchin, in tending his cattle[c]? Or, that Francisca Romana, lately canonized, had two celestial spirits visibly attending her; the one, of the order of archangels, which never left her; the other, of the fourth order of angels, who frequently presented himself to her view; their attire sometimes white, sometimes blue, purple more rarely; their tresses of hair long and golden, as the overcredulous bishop of Wurtzburg reports from Gulielmus Baldesanus, not without many improbable circumstances.

These, and a thousand more of the same brain, find no more belief with me than that story which Franciscus Albertinus relates out of Baronius, as done here at home; that in the year 1601, in England, there was an angel seen upon one of our altars, (and therefore more likely to be known in our own island than beyond the Alps,) in a visible form, with a naked sword in his hand, which he glitteringly brandished up and down, foining sometimes, and sometimes striking; thereby threatening, so long

[a] Duac. 18. Feb. 1627. ex literis Pet. Rav.

[b] Forn. Serm. V.

[c] Ignat. Loyol. Xavier. Theresia. Isidor. Philippus Nerius. 4 Id. Martii. anno 1602.

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ago, an instant destruction to this kingdom. And indeed why should we yield more credit to these pretenders of apparitions than to Adelbertus the German heresiarch, condemned in a council of Rome by Pope Zachary, who gave no less confidently out, that his angel-guardian appeared daily to him, and imparted to him many divine revelations and directions? or if there be a difference pleaded in the relations, where or how shall we find it?

This we know, that so sure as we see men, so sure we are that holy men have seen angels. Abraham saw angels in his tent-door; Lot saw angels in the gate of Sodom; Hagar, in the wilderness of Beersheba; Jacob, in the way; Moses, in the bush of Horeb; Manoah and his wife, in the field; Gideon, in his threshingfloor; David, by the threshingfloor of Araunah. What should I mention the prophets Elijah, Elisha, Isaiah, Daniel, Zechariah, Ezekiel, and the rest? In the New Testament, Joseph, Mary, Zachariah the father of John Baptist, the shepherds, Mary Magdalen, the gazing disciples at the Mount of Olives, Peter, Philip, Cornelius, Paul, John the evangelist, were all blessed with the sight of angels.

In the succeeding times of the church primitive, I dare believe that good angels were no whit more sparing of their presence, for the comfort of holy martyrs and confessors, under the pressure of tyranny for the dear name of their Saviour. I doubt not, but constant Theodorus saw and felt the refreshing hand of the angel no less than he reported to Julian his persecutor[d]. I doubt not but the holy virgins, Theophila, Agnes, Lucia, Cecilia, and others, saw the good angels protectors of their chastity. As one that hath learned in these cases to take the midway betwixt distrust and credulity, I can easily yield that those retired saints of the prime ages of the Church had sometimes such heavenly companions for the consolation of their forced solitude; but withal, I must have leave to hold, that the elder the Church grew, the more rare was the use of these apparitions, as of other miraculous actions and events: not that the arm of our God is shortened, or his care and love to his beloved ones any whit abated; but for that his Church is now in this long process of time settled, through his gracious providence, in an ordinary way. Like as it was with the Israelites, who, while they were in their longsome passage, were miraculously preserved and protected; but when they came once to be fixed in the land of promise, their angelical sustenance

[d] Theodoret. l. iii. c. 11.

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ceased: they then must purvey for their own food, and either till or famish.

Now then, in these latter ages of the Church, to have the visible apparition of a good angel, it is a thing so geason and uncouth, that it is enough for all the world to wonder at.

Some few instances our times have been known to yield. Amongst others, that is memorable which Phil. Melanchton, as an eyewitness, reports. Simon Grynæus, a learned and holy man, coming from Heidelburg to Spires, was desirous to hear a certain preacher in that city, who in his sermon, it seems, did then let fall some erroneous propositions of popish doctrine, much derogatory from the majesty and truth of the Son of God: wherewith Grynæus, being not a little offended, craved speedy conference with the preacher; and, laying before him the falsehood and danger of his doctrines, exhorted him to an abandoning and retraction of those misopinions. The preacher gave good words and a fair semblance to Grynæus, desirous of further and more particular conference with him, each imparting to other their names and lodgings; yet inwardly, as being stung with that just reproof, he resolved a revenge, by procuring the imprisonment, and, if he might, the death of so sharp a censurer. Grynæus, misdoubting nothing, upon his return to his lodging, reports the passages of the late conference to those who sat at the table with him; amongst whom, Melanchton, being one, was called out of the room to speak with a stranger newly come into the house: going forth accordingly, he finds a grave old man of a goodly countenance, seemly and richly attired; who in a friendly and grave manner tells him, that within one hour there would come to their inn certain officers, as from the king of the Romans, to attach Grynæus and to carry him to prison; willing him to charge Grynæus with all possible speed to flee out of Spires, and requiring Melanchton to see that this advantage were not neglected; which said, the old man vanished out of his sight. Instantly Melanchton, returning to his companions, recounted unto them the words of this strange monitor, and hastened the departure of Grynæus accordingly; who had no sooner boated himself on the Rhine, than he was eagerly searched for at his said lodging. That worthy divine, in his Commentary upon Daniel, both relates the story and acknowledges God's fatherly providence in sending this angel of his for the rescue of his faithful servant. Other, though not many of this kind, are reported by Simon Goulartius,

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in his collection of admirable and memorable histories of our time; whither for brevity's sake I refer my reader[e].

But more often hath it fallen out, that evil spirits have visibly presented themselves in the glorious forms of good angels; as to Simeon Stylites, to Pachomius, to Valens the monk, to Ratbodus duke of Friezland, to Macarius, to Gertrude in Westphalia, with many others, as we find in the reports of Ruffinus, Vincentius, Cæsarius, Palladius; and the like delusions may still be set on foot, while Satan, who loves to transform himself into an angel of light, laboureth by these means to nursle silly souls in superstition; too many whereof have swallowed the bait, though others have descried the hook. Amongst the rest, I like well the humility of that hermit, into whose cell when the devil presented himself in a goodly and glittering form, and told him that he was an angel sent to him from God, the hermit turned him off with this plain answer, "See thou whence thou comest: for me, I am not worthy to be visited with such a guest as an angel[f]."

But the trade that we have with good spirits is not now driven by the eye, but is like to themselves, spiritual; yet not so, but that even in bodily occasions we have many times insensible helps from them in such manner, as that by the effects we can boldly say, Here hath been an angel, though we saw him not.

Of this kind was that no less than miraculous cure, which, at St. Maderne's[g] in Cornwall, was wrought upon a poor cripple[h]; whereof, besides the attestation of many hundreds of the neighbours, I took a strict and personal examination in that last visitation[i] which I either did or ever shall hold. This man, that for sixteen years together was fain to walk upon his hands by reason of the close contraction of the sinews of his legs, was, upon three monitions in his dream to wash in that well, suddenly so restored to his limbs, that I saw him able both to walk and to get his own maintenance. I found here was neither art nor collusion; the thing done, the author invisible. The like may we say of John Spangenberg, pastor of Northeuse[k]: no sooner was that man stept out of his house with his family to go to the bains, than the house fell right down in the place. Our own experience at home is able to furnish us with divers such instances. How many

[e] Goulart. Hist. memor. ex Melanct. in Dan. c. 20.

[f] Bromiard. Sum. prædicant. v. *Humilitas.* [H. VI. 22.]

[g] S. Maternus.

[h] One John Trelille.

[i] At Whitsuntide.

[k] Sim. Goular. ex J. Manlio.

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have we known that have fallen from very high towers and into deep pits, past the natural possibility of hope, who yet have been preserved, not from death only, but from hurt! Whence could these things be, but by the secret aid of those invisible helpers? It were easy to fill volumes with particulars of these kinds. But the main care and most officious endeavours of these blessed spirits are employed about the better part, the soul: in the instilling of good motions, enlightening the understanding, repelling of temptations, furthering our opportunities of good, preventing occasions of sin, comforting our sorrows, quickening our dulness, encouraging our weakness, and, lastly, after all careful attendance here below, conveying the souls of their charge to their glory, and presenting them to the hands of their faithful Creator.

It is somewhat too hard to believe that there have been ocular witnesses of these happy convoys. Who lists, may credit that which Jerome tells us, that Anthony the hermit saw the soul of his partner in that solitude (Paul) carried up by them to heaven; that Severinus, bishop of Cologne, saw the soul of St. Martin thus transported, as Gregory reports in his Dialogues; that Benedict saw the soul of Germanus, in the form of a fiery globe, thus conveyed. What should I speak of the souls of the holy martyrs, Tiburtius, Valerian, Maximus, Marcellinus, Justus, Quintinus, Severus, and others? we may if we please, we need not unless we list, give way to these reports, to which our faith obliges us not: in these cases we go not by eyesight: but we are well assured the soul of Lazarus was by these glorious spirits carried up into the bosom of Abraham; neither was this any privilege of his above all other the saints of God; all which, as they land in one common harbour of blessedness, so they all participate of one happy means of portage.

Sect. IX.—*The Respects which we owe to the Angels.*

Such are the respects of good angels to us: now what are ours to them?

It was not amiss said of one, that the life of angels is political; full of intercourse with themselves and with us. What they return to each other in the course of their theophanies is not for us to determine; but, since their good offices are thus assiduous unto us, it is meet we do inquire what duties are requirable from us to them.

Devout Bernard is but too liberal in his decision, that we owe

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to these beneficent spirits reverence for their presence, devotion for their love, and trust for their custody[l]. Doubtless, we ought to be willing to give unto them so much as they will be willing to take from us: if we go beyond these bounds, we offend and alienate them: to derogate from them is not so heinous in their account as to over-honour them. St. John proffers an humble geniculation to the angel, and is put off with a—*See thou do it not: I am thy fellowservant*, Rev. xix. 10. The excesses of respects to them have turned to abominable impiety; which howsoever Jerome seems to impute to the Jews ever since the prophets' time[m], yet Simon Magus was the first that we find guilty of this impious flattery of the angels, who, fondly holding that the world was made by them, could not think fit to present them with less than divine honour. His cursed scholar, Menander, whose error Prateolus wrongfully fathers upon Aristotle, succeeding him in that wicked heresy, as Eusebius tells us, left behind him Saturnius, not inferior to him in this frenzy; who, as Tertullian and Philastrius report him, fancied, together with his mad fellows, that seven angels made the world, not acquainting God with their work. What should I name blasphemous Cerinthus, who durst disparage Christ in comparison with angels? Not altogether so bad were those heretics[n], though bad enough, which took their ancient denomination from the angels: who professing true Christianity and detestation of idolatry, as having learned that God only is to be worshipped properly, yet reserved a certain kind of adoration to the blessed angels[o]. Against this opinion and practice the great doctor of the Gentiles seems to bend his style, in his Epistle to the Colossians, forbidding a voluntary humility in worshipping of angels: whether grounded upon the superstition of ancient Jews, as Jerome and Anselm; or upon the ethnic philosophy of some Platonic, as Estius and Cornelius à Lapide imagine; or upon the damnable conceits of the Simonians and Cerinthians, as Tertullian; we need not much to inquire: nothing is more clear than the apostle's inhibition, afterward seconded by the synod of Laodicea. Whereto yet Theodoret's[p] noted Commentary would seem to give more light; who

[l] Bern. in Psal. "Qui habitat." [Serm. xii. § 6.]

[m] Hieron. quæst. 10. ad Algasiam, [Ed. Bened. Paris. 1706. tom. iv. p. 205.]

[n] Angelici.

[o] Prateolus Elench. v. *Angelici*. [Hæres. l. i. 38.]

[p] "Rejecta expositio a pontificiis, ut non modo periculosa sed et falsa, [præterquam quod periculosa sit vera non est.]" Vid. Binium in notis in Pium Pap. in tom. i. p. 123.

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tells us, that upon the ill use made of the giving of the Law by the hands of angels, there was an error of old maintained, of angel worship, which still continued in Phrygia and Pisidia: so that a synod was hereupon assembled at Laodicea, the chief city of Phrygia, which, by a direct canon, forbad praying to angels; a practice, saith he, so settled amongst them, that even to this day there are to be seen amongst them and their neighbours the oratories of St. Michael. Here then was this mishumility, that they thought it too much boldness to come immediately to God, but that we must first make way to his favour by the mediation of angels: a testimony so pregnant, that I wonder not if Caranza flee into corners, and all the fautors of angel-worship be driven to hard[q] shifts to avoid it.

But what do I with controversies? This devotion we do gladly profess to owe to good angels, that though we do not pray unto them, yet we do pray to God for the favour of their assistance and protection, and praise God for the protection that we have from them. That faithful patriarch, of whom the whole Church of God receives denomination, knew well what he said when he gave this blessing to his grandchildren: *The Angel that redeemed me from all evil, bless the children,* Gen. xlviii. 19: whether this were an interpretative kind of imploration, as Becanus and Lorichius contend; or whether, as is no less probable, this angel were not any created power, but the great Angel of the Covenant, the same which Jacob wrestled with before for a blessing upon himself, as Athanasius and Cyril well conceive it, I will not here dispute: sure I am, that if it were an implicit prayer, and the angel mentioned, a creature; yet the intention was no other than to terminate that prayer in God, who blesseth us by his angel.

Yet further: we come short of our duty to these blessed spirits, if we entertain not in our hearts a high and venerable conceit of their wonderful majesty, glory, and greatness, and an awful acknowledgment and reverential awe of their presence; an holy joy and confident assurance of their care and protection; and, lastly, a fear to do aught that might cause them to turn away their faces in dislike from us. All these dispositions are copulative: for certainly, if we have conceived so high an opinion of their excellency and goodness as we ought, we cannot but be

[q] Reading it *angulos* instead of *angelos*.

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bold upon their mutual interest, and be afraid to displease them. Nothing in the world but our sins can distaste them; they look upon our natural infirmities, deformities, loathsomeness, without any offence or nauseation; but our spiritual indispositions are odious to them, as those which are opposite to their pure natures. The story[r] is famous of the angel and the hermit walking together: in the way, there lay an ill-scented and poisonous carrion: the hermit stopt his nose, and turned away his head, hasting out of that offensive air; the angel held on his pace, without any show of dislike: straightway they met with a proud man, gaily dressed, strongly perfumed, looking high, walking stately; the angel turned away his head and stopt his nostrils, (while the hermit passed on not without reverence to so great a person,) and gave this reason, that the stench of pride was more loathsome to God and his angels than that of the carcass could be to him.

I blush to think, O ye glorious spirits, how often I have done that whereof ye have been ashamed for me. I abhor myself to recount your just dislikes; and do willingly profess how unworthy I shall be of such friends, if I be not hereafter jealous of your just offence. Neither can I, without much regret, think of those many and horrible nuisances which you find every moment from sinful mankind. Woe is me, what odious scents arise to you perpetually from those bloody murders, beastly uncleannesses, cruel oppressions, noisome disgorgings of surfeits and drunkennesses, abominable idolatries, and all manner of detestable wickednesses, presumptuously committed every where; enough to make you abhor the presence and protection of debauched and deplored mortality!

But for us, that are better principled, and know what it is to be overlooked by holy and glorious spirits, we desire and care to be more tender of your offence than of a world of visible spectators: and if the apostle found it requisite to give such charge, for but the observation of an outward decency, not much beyond the lists of indifferency, *because of the angels*, 1 Cor. xi. 10; what should our care be, in relation to those blessed spirits, of our deportment in matter of morality and religion! Surely, O ye invisible guardians! it is not my sense that shall make the difference; it shall be my desire to be no less careful of displeasing you, than

[r] Jo. Bromiar. Sum. Prædic. v. *Superbia.* [S. xiv. § 2.]

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if I saw you present by me, clothed in flesh; neither shall I rest less assured of your gracious presence and tuition, and the expectation of all spiritual offices from you, which may tend towards my blessedness, than I am now sensible of the animation of my own soul.

THE SECOND BOOK.—OF THE SOULS OF MEN.

Sect. I.—*Of their Separation and Immortality.*

Next to these angelical essences, the souls of men, whether in the body or severed from it, are those spirits which people the invisible world; next to them, I say; not the same with them, not better. Those of the ancients, which have thought that the ruin of angels is to be supplied by blessed souls, spake doubtless without the book: for he that is the Truth itself hath said, they be *ἰσάγγελοι, like,* not the same. And justly are those exploded, whether Pythagoreans, or Stoics, or Gnostics, or Manichees, or Almaricus, or, if Lactantius himself were in that error as Ludovicus Vives construes him, who falsely dreamed that the souls of men were of the substance of that God which inspired them: these errors are more fit for hellebore than for theological conviction. Spiritual substances doubtless they are, and such as have no less distant original from the body than heaven is from earth. Galen was not a better physician than an ill divine, while he determines the soul to be the complexion and temperament of the prime qualities, no other than that harmony which the elder naturalists dreamed of; an opinion no less brutish than such a soul: for how can temperament be the cause of any progressive motion; much less of a rational discourse? Here is no materiality, no physical composition, in this inmate of ours; nothing but a substantial act, an active spirit, a spiritual form of the King of all visible creatures.

But as for the essence, original derivation, powers, faculties, operations of this human soul as it is lodged in this clay, I leave them to the disquisition of the great secretaries of nature: my way lies higher, leading me from the common consideration of this spirit as it is clogged with flesh, unto the meditation of it as it is divested of this earthly case, and clothed with an eternity whether of joy or torment.

We will begin with happiness, our fruition whereof, I hope,

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shall never end, if first we shall have spent some thoughts upon the general condition of this separation.

That the soul, after separation from the body, hath an independent life of its own, is so clear a truth, that the very heathen philosophers, by the dim light of nature, have determined it for irrefragable: insomuch as Aristotle himself, who is wont to hear ill for his opinion of the soul's mortality, is confidently reported to have written a book of the soul separate; which Thomas Aquinas, in his so late age, professes to have seen. Sure I am, that his master Plato, and that heathen martyr Socrates, related by him, are full of divine discourses of this kind: insomuch as this latter, when Crito was asking him how he would be buried; "I perceive," said he, "I have lost much labour; for I have not yet persuaded my Crito that I shall fly clear away, and leave nothing behind me:" meaning, that the soul is the man; and would be ever itself, when his body should have no being. And in Xenophon, as Cicero[a] cites him, Cyrus is brought in saying thus, *Nolite arbitrari, &c.* "Think not, my dear sons, that when I shall depart from you, I shall then cease to have any being: for even while I was with you, ye saw not that soul which I had; but yet ye well saw, by those things which I did, that there was a soul within this body; believe ye, therefore, that though ye shall see no soul of mine, yet that it still shall have a being." Shortly, all but an hateful Epicurus have astipulated to this truth: and if some have fancied a transmigration of souls into other bodies; others, a passage to the stars which formerly governed them; others to I know not what Elysian fields; all have pitched upon a separate condition.

And indeed, not divinity only, but true natural reason will necessarily evince it: for the intellective soul, being a more spiritual substance, and therefore having in it no composition at all, and, by consequence, nothing that may tend towards a not-being, can be no other, supposing the will and concurrence of the Infinite Creator, than immortal. Besides, as our best way of judging aught is wont to be by the effects; certainly, all operations are from the forms of things, and all things do so work as they are. Now the body can do nothing at all without the help of the soul; but the soul hath actions of its own[b]: as, the acts of understanding, think-

[a] Cicero de Senectute. [l. xxii.]

[b] "Quicquid est illud quod sentit, quod sapit, quod vult, quod viget, cœleste et divinum est, ob eamque rem æternum sit necesse est." *Tull. Tusc. quæst.* l. 1. [c. xxvii.]

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ing, judging, remembering, ratiocination; whereof, if while it is within us, it receives the first occasions by our senses and phantasms, yet it doth perfect and accomplish the said operations by the inward powers of its own faculties: much more, and also more exactly, can it do all these things when it is merely itself; since the clog that the body brings with it cannot but pregravate and trouble the soul in all her performances. In the mean time, they do justly pass for mental actions; neither do so much as receive a denomination from the body: we walk, move, speak, see, feel, and do other human acts; the power that doth them is from the soul; the means or instrument, whereby they are done, is the body; no man will say the soul walks or sees, but the body by it; but we can no more say that the soul understands or thinks by the aid of the body, than we can say the body thinks or understands by means of the soul. These, therefore, being distinct and proper actions, do necessarily evince an independing and self-subsisting agent. O my soul, thou couldest not be thyself, unless thou knewest thine original, heavenly; thine essence, separable; thy continuance, eviternal.

But what do we call in reason and nature to this parle, where faith, by which Christianity teacheth us to be regulated, finds so full and pregnant demonstrations? No less than half our creed sounds this way, either by expression or inference; wherein, while we profess to believe our Saviour rose from the dead and ascended, we imply that his body was not more dead than his soul living and active: that was it whereof he said, *Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit.* Now, we cannot imagine one life of the head, and another of the body: his state, therefore, is ours; every way are we conform to him: as our bodies shall be then once like to his, glorious; so our souls cannot be but as his, severed by death, crowned with immortality. And if he shall come to judge both the quick and the dead; those dead, whom he shall judge, must be living: for, as our Saviour said in the like case, God is not the Judge of the dead, as dead; but the Judge of the living, that were dead, and therefore living in death and after death. And whereof doth the church catholic consist, but of some members warfaring on earth, others triumphant in heaven? and what doth that triumph suppose, but both a being, and a being glorious? What communion were there of saints, if the departed souls were not, and the soul, when it begins to be perfect, should cease to be? To what purpose were the resurrec-

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tion of the body, but to meet with his old partner, the soul? and that meeting only, implies both a separation and existence. Lastly, what life can there be properly, but of the soul? and how can that life be everlasting which is not continued? or that continued that is not? If then he may be a man, certainly a Christian he cannot be, who is more assured that he hath a soul in his body, than that his soul shall once have a being without his body. Death may tyrannize over our earthly parts, the worst he can do to the spiritual is to free it from a friendly bondage.

Cheer up thyself, therefore, O my soul, against all the fears of thy dissolution: thy departure is not more certain than thy advantage; thy being shall not be less sure, but more free and absolute. Is it such a trouble to thee to be rid of a clog? or art thou so loath to take leave of a miserable companion for a while, on condition that he shall ere long meet thee happy?

Sect. II.—*Of the Instant Vision of God upon the Egression of the Soul, and the Present Condition till then.*

But if in the mean while we shall let fall our eyes upon the present condition of the soul, it will appear how apt we are to misknow ourselves, and that which gives us the being of men.

The most men, however they conceive they have a soul within them, by which they receive their animation, yet they entertain but dull and gloomy thoughts concerning it, as if it were no less void of light and activity than it is of materiality and shape; not apprehending the spiritual agility and clearly-lightsome nature of that whereby they are enlived.

Wherein it will not a little avail us to have our judgments throughly rectified; and to know, that as God is light, so the soul of man, which comes immediately from him and bears his image, is justly, even here, dignified with that glorious title.

I speak not only of the regenerate soul, illuminated by divine inspirations and supernatural knowledge; but also even of that rational soul which every man bears in his bosom[c]: *The spirit of man*, saith wise Solomon, *is the candle of the Lord, searching*

c "Lumen aliquod substantiale animas habere haud improbe videmur advertere, quando in Evangelio legitur [lumen], quod illuminat omnem hominem venientem in mundum: deinde, quod [quando] in cogitatione positi nescio quid tenue, volubile, clarum in nobis inesse sentimus, quod respicit sine sole, quod videt sine extraneo lumine: nam si ipsum in se lucidum non esset, rerum tantam conspicientiam non haberet: tenebrosis ista non data sunt; omnia cæca torpescunt."—*Cassiodor. de Anima.* c. 3. [Ed. Bened. 1679. tom. ii. p. 631.]

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all the inward parts of the belly, Prov. xx. 27; and the dear apostle, *In him was life; and the life was the light of men*, John i. 4; and more fully soon after, *That was the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world*, ver. 9. No man can be so fondly charitable as to think every man that comes into the world enlightened by the Spirit of regeneration. It is then that intellectual light of common nature[d], which the great Illuminator of the world beams forth into every soul in such proportion as he finds agreeable to the capacity of every subject.

Know thyself, therefore, O man, and know thy Maker. God hath not put into thee a dark soul, or shut up thy inward powers in a dungeon of comfortless obscurity; but he hath set up a bright shining lamp in thy breast, whereby thou mayest sufficiently discern natural and moral truths, the principles and conclusions whether of nature or art; herein advancing thee above all other visible creatures, whom he hath confined, at the best, to a mere opacity of outward and common sense. But if our natural light shall through the blessing of God be so happily improved as freely to give place to the spiritual, reason to faith; so that the soul can now attain to see him that is invisible, and in his light to see light, Psalm xxxvi. 9; now, even while it is overshaded with the interposition of this earth, it is already entered within the verge of glory; but so soon as this veil of wretched mortality is done away, now it enjoys a clear heaven for ever, and sees as it is seen.

Amongst many heavenly thoughts, wherewith my ever-dear and most honoured, and now blessed friend, the late Edward earl of Norwich, had wont to animate himself against the encounter with our last enemy death, this was one, not of the meanest, that in the very instant of his soul's departing out of his body it should immediately enjoy the vision of God. And certainly so it is. The spirits of just men need not stand upon distances of place or space of time for this beatifical sight; but so soon as ever they are out of their clay-lodging they are in their spiritual heaven, even while they are happily conveyed to the local, 2 Cor. v. 1; for since nothing hindered them from that happy sight but the interposition of this earth which we carry about us, the spirit, being once free from that impediment, sees as it is seen, being instantly passed into a condition like unto the angels. Well therefore are these coupled together by the blessed apostle, who, in his divine rapture,

[d] Calvin in loc.

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had seen them both: *Ye are come,* saith he, *unto mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, and to the spirits of just men made perfect,* Heb. xii. 22. As, then, the angels of God, whersoever they are, though employed about the affairs of this lower world, yet do still see and enjoy the vision of God, so do the souls of the righteous, when they are once eased of this earthly load.

Doubtless, as they passed through degrees of grace while they took up with these homely lodgings of clay, so they may pass through degrees of bliss when they are once severed. And if, as some great divines[e] have supposed, the angels themselves shall receive an augmentation of happiness at the day of the last judgment, when they shall be freed from all charge and employments; since their perfection of blessedness consists in rest, which is the end of all motion; how much more shall the saints of God then receive an enlargement of their felicity! but, in the mean time, they are entered into the lists of their essential beatitude, over the threshold of their heaven.

How full and comfortable is that profession of the great apostle, who, when he had sweetly diverted the thoughts of himself and his Corinthians from their light afflictions to an eternal weight of excelling glory; from things temporal, which are seen, to those everlasting, which are not seen; adds, *For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building, not made with hands, eternal in the heavens,* 2 Cor. v. 1; more than implying, that our eye is no sooner off from the temporal things than it is taken up with eternal objects; and that the instant of the dissolution of these clay cottages is the livery and seisin of a glorious and everlasting mansion in heaven.

Canst thou believe this, O my soul, and yet recoil at the thought of thy departure? Wert thou appointed, after a dolorous dissolution, to spend some hundreds of years at the foregates of glory, though in a painless expectation of a late happiness, even this hope were a pain alone; but if sense of pain were also added to the delay, this were more than enough to make the condition justly dreadful: but now that one minute shuts our eyes and opens them to a clear sight of God, determines our misery and begins our blessedness, O the cowardice of our unbelief, if we shrink at so momentary a purchase of eternity! How many have

[e] Bp. Andrewes in his answer to Bellarmine.

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we known, that, for a false reputation of honour, have rushed into the jaws of death, when we are sure they could not come back to enjoy it; and do I tremble at a minute's pain, that shall feoff me in that glory which I cannot but for ever enjoy? How am I ashamed to hear an heathen Socrates encouraging himself against the fears of death, from his resolution of meeting with some famous persons in that other world; and to feel myself shrugging at a short brunt of pain, that shall put me into the bliss-making presence of the all-glorious God, into the sight of the glorified humanity of my dear Redeemer, into the society of all the angels and saints of heaven!

Sect. III.—*Of the Soul's perpetual Vigilancy, and Fruition of God.*

It is no other than a frantic dream of those erroneous spirits that have fancied the sleep of the soul; and that, so long and deep a sleep, as from the evening of the dissolution till the morning of the resurrection; so as all that while the soul hath no vision of God, no touch of joy or pain. An error wickedly raked up out of the ashes of those Arabic heretics whom Origen is said to have reclaimed; and since that time taken up, if they be not slandered, by the Armenians and Fratricelli; and once countenanced and abetted by Pope John the XXIInd, as Pope Adrian witnesseth; yea, so enforced by him upon the university of Paris, as that all access to degrees was barred unto any whosoever refused to subscribe and swear to that damnable position.

The Minorites began to find relish in that poison; which, no doubt, had proceeded to further mischief, had not the interposition of Philip, the then French king, happily quelled that uncomfortable and pernicious doctrine, so as we might have hoped it should never have dared more to look into the light.

But, woe is me, these prodigious times, amongst a world of other uncouth heresies, have not stuck to fetch even this also (well-worsted) back from the region of darkness, whither it was sent.

Indeed, who can but wonder that a Christian can possibly give entertainment to so absurd a thought, while he hears his Saviour say, *Father, I will that they also, whom thou hast given me, be with me where I am;* and *that*, not in a safe sleep, *they may behold my glory, which thou hast given me*, John xvii. 24. Behold it? yea, but when? at last perhaps, when the body shall be resumed? Nay, to choke this cavil, the bliss is present, even

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already possessed: *The glory which thou gavest me, I have given to them,* ver. 22. It was accordingly his gracious word to the penitent thief, *This day shalt thou be with me in paradise.*

How clear is that of the Chosen Vessel, opposing our present condition to the succeeding; *For now we see through a glass darkly; but then,* that is, upon our dissolution, *face to face,* 1 Cor. xiii. 12; the face of the soul to the face of God! the infinite amiableness whereof was that which inflamed the longing desire of the blessed apostle to depart and to be with Christ, as knowing these two inseparable, the instant of his departure, and his presence with Christ; else the departure were no less worthy of fear, as the utmost of evils, than now it is of wishing for, as our entrance into blessedness.

Away then with that impious frenzy of the soul's whether mortality or sleep in death. No, my soul, thou dost then begin to live; thou dost not awake till then. Now, while thou art in the bed of this living clay, thine eyes are shut; thy spiritual senses are tied up; thou art apt to snore in a sinful security; thou dreamest of earthly vanities: then, only then, are thine eyes opened, thy spiritual faculties freed, all thy powers quickened, and thou art perpetually presented with objects of eternal glory. And if at any time, during this pilgrimage, thine eyelids have been some little raised by divine meditations, yet how narrowly, how dimly art thou wont to see! now, thine eyes shall be so broadly and fully opened, that thou shalt see whole heaven at once; yea, which is more, the face of that God whose presence makes it heaven.

O glorious sight! O most blessed condition! Wise Solomon could truly observe, that the eye is not satisfied with seeing; neither indeed can it be here below. Nothing is so great a glutton as the eye; for when we have seen all that we can, we shall still wish to see more; and that more is nothing, if it be less than all. But this infinite object, which is more than all, shall so fill and satisfy our eyes, that we cannot desire the sight of any other nor ever be glutted with the sight of this. Old Simeon, when once he had lived to see the Lord of life clothed in flesh, could say, *Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.* If he were so full of the sight of his Saviour in the weakness of human flesh, and in the form of a servant; how is he more than sated with the perfection of joy and heavenly delectation, to see the Saviour clothed with majesty;

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to see his all-glorious Godhead; and so to see, as to enjoy them; and so enjoy them, as that he shall never intermit their sight and fruition to all eternity.

Sect. IV.—*Of the Knowledge of the Glorified.*

As concerning all other matters, what the knowledge is of our souls, separated and glorified, we shall then know when ours come to be such: in the mean time, we can much less know their thoughts than they can know ours. Sure we are, they do not know in such manner as they did when they were in our bosoms; by help of senses and phantasms, by the discursive inferences of ratiocination: but that they were elevated to a condition suitable to the blessed angels, so that they know like them: though not by the means of a natural knowledge, as they; yet by that supernatural light of intimation which they receive by their glorified estate.

Whether by virtue of this divine illumination they know the particular occurrences which we meet with here below, he were bold that would determine; only this we may confidently affirm, that they do clearly know all those things which do any way appertain to their state of blessedness.

Amongst which, whether the knowledge of each other in that region of happiness may justly be ranked, is not unworthy of our disquisition.

Doubtless, as in God there is all perfection eminently and transcendently; so, in the sight and fruition of God, there cannot be but full and absolute felicity; yet this is so far from excluding the knowledge of those things which derive their goodness and excellency from him, as that it compriseth and supposeth it. Like as it is also in our affections: we love God only as the chief good; yet so, as that we love other things, in order to God. Charity is no more subject to loss than knowledge: both these shall accompany our souls to and in that other world. As then we shall perfectly love God, and his saints in him; so shall we know both: and though it be a sufficient motive of our love in heaven, that we know them to be saints; yet it seems to be no small addition to our happiness, to know that those saints were once ours. And if it be a just joy to a parent here on earth to see his child gracious, how much more accession shall it be to his joy above, to see the fruits of his loins glorious;

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when both his love is more pure, and their improvement absolute! Can we make any doubt that the blessed angels know each other? How senseless were it to grant that no knowledge is hid from them but of themselves! Or can we imagine that those angelical spirits do not take special notice of those souls which they have guarded here and conducted to their glory? If they do so, and if the knowledge of our beatified souls shall be like to theirs, why should we abridge our souls more than them of the comfort of our interknowing? Surely, our dissolution shall abate nothing of our natural faculties; our glory shall advance them, so as what we once knew we shall know better: and if our souls can then perfectly know themselves, why should they be denied the knowledge of others?

Doubt not then, O my soul, but thou shalt once see, besides the face of thy God, whose glory fills heaven and earth, the blessed spirits of the ancient patriarchs and prophets; the holy apostles and evangelists; the glorious martyrs and confessors; those eminent saints, whose holiness thou wert wont to magnify; and, amongst them, those in whom nature and grace have especially interested thee: thou shalt see them, and enjoy their joy, and they thine. How oft have I measured a long and foul journey to see some good friend; and digested the tediousness of the way, with the expectation of a kind entertainment, and the thought of that complacency which I should take in so dear a presence! and yet, perhaps, when I have arrived, I have found the house disordered, one sick, another disquieted, myself indisposed: with what cheerful resolution should I undertake this my last voyage, where I shall meet with my best friends, and find them perfectly happy, and myself with them!

Sect. V.—*Of the Glory of Heaven enjoyed by Blessed Souls.*

How often have I begged of my God, that it would please him to show me some little glimpse of the glory of his saints! It is not for me to wish the sight, as yet, of the face of that divine Majesty: this was too much for a Moses to sue for: my ambition only is, that I might, if but as it were through some cranny or keyhole of the gate of heaven, see the happy condition of his glorious servants.

I know what hinders me; my miserable unworthiness, my spiritual blindness. O God, if thou please to wash off my clay with

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the waters of thy Siloam, I shall have eyes; and if thou anoint them with thy precious eyesalve, those eyes shall be clear, and enabled to behold those glories which shall ravish my soul.

And now, Lord, what pure and resplendent light is this, wherein thy blessed ones dwell! How justly did thine ecstatical apostle call it *the inheritance of the saints in light!* Col. i. 12: light unexpressible, light unconceivable, light inaccessible! Lo, thou that hast prepared such a light to this inferior world, for the use and comfort of us mortal creatures, as the glorious sun, which can both enlighten and dazzle the eyes of all beholders; hast proportionally ordained a light to that higher world, so much more excellent than the sun, as heaven is above earth, immortality above corruption. And if wise Solomon could say, *Truly the light is sweet, and a pleasant thing it is for the eyes to see the sun,* Eccl. xi. 7: how infinitely delectable is it, in thy light to see such light, as may make the sun, in comparison thereof, darkness! *In thy presence is the fulness of joy, and at thy right hand are pleasures for evermore.* What can be wished more, where there is fulness of joy? and behold, thy presence, O Lord, yields it.

Could I neither see saint nor angel in that whole empyreal heaven, none but thine infinite Self, Thyself alone were happiness for me more than enough. But as thou, in whom here below we live and move and have our being, detractest nothing from thine all-sufficiency, but addest rather to the praise of thy bounty, in that thou furnishest us with variety of means of our life and subsistence; so here it is the praise of thy wonderful mercies, which thou allowest us, besides thine immediate presence, the society of thy blessed angels and saints, wherein we may also enjoy thee.

And if the view of any of those single glories be enough to fill my soul with wonder and contentment, how must it needs run over at the sight of those worlds of beauty and excellency which are here met and united! Lo here, the blessed hierarchy of innumerable angels; there, the glorious company of the apostles; here, the goodly fellowship of the patriarchs and prophets; there, the noble army of martyrs; here, the troops of laborious pastors and teachers; there, the numberless multitudes of holy and conscionable professors. Lord, what exquisite order is here, what perfection of glory!

And if, even in thine eyes, thy poor despised Church upon earth be so beautiful and amiable, *fair as the moon, clear as the*

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sun, Cant. vi. 10, which yet, in the eyes of flesh, seems but homely and hardfavoured; how infinite graces and perfections shall our spiritual eyes see in thy glorified spouse above! what pure sanctity! what sincere charity! what clear knowledge! what absolute joy! what entire union! what wonderful majesty! what complete felicity! All shine alike in their essential glory, but not without difference of degrees. All are adorned with crowns, some also with coronets: some glister with a sky-like, others with a star-like clearness: the least hath so much as to make him so happy that he would not wish to have more; the greatest hath so much, that he cannot receive more.

O divine distribution of bounty, where is no possibility of either want or envy! O transcendent royalty of the saints! One heaven is more than a thousand kingdoms, and every saint hath right to all: so as every subject is here a sovereign, and every sovereign is absolute, under the free homage of an infinite Creator. Lo here crowns, without cares; sceptres, without burden; rule, without trouble; reigning, without change. O the transitory vanity of all earthly greatness! Gold is the most during metal, yet even that yields to age; Solomon's rich diadem of the pure gold of Ophir is long since dust; these crowns of glory are immarcessible, incorruptible, beyond all the compass of time, without all possibility of alteration. O the pressing and unsatisfying contentments of earth! How many poor great ones below have that which they call honour and riches, and enjoy them not; and if they have enjoyed them, complain of satiety and worthlessness! Lo here, a free scope of perfect joy, of constant blessedness, without mixture, without intermission: each one feels his own joy, feels each other's; all rejoice in God, *with a joy unspeakable and full of glory*, and most sweetly bathe themselves in a pure and complete blissfulness. This very sight of blessed souls is happiness; but O, for the fruition!

Go now, my soul, and after this prospect dote upon those silly profits and pleasures which have formerly bewitched thee; and, if thou canst, forbear to long after the possession of this blessed immortality, and repine at the message of this so advantageous a translation, and pity and lament the remove of those dear pieces of thyself which have gone before thee to this unspeakable felicity.

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SECT. VI.—*Wherein the Glory of the Saints above consisteth, and how they are employed.*

Such is the place, such is the condition, of the blessed. What is their employment? How do they spend, not their time, but their eternity?

How but in the exercise of the perpetual acts of their blessedness—vision, adhesion, fruition?

Who knows not that there is a contract passed betwixt God and the regenerate soul here below? Out of the engagement of his mercy and love, he endows her with the precious graces of faith, of hope, of charity: faith, whereby she knowingly apprehends her interest in him; hope, whereby she cheerfully expects the full accomplishment of his gracious promises; charity, whereby she is feelingly and comfortably possessed of him, and clings close unto him. In the instant of our dissolution, we enter into the consummation of this blessed marriage. Wherein it pleaseth our bountiful God to endow his glorified spouse with these three privileges and improvements of her beatitude answerable to these three divine graces: vision answers to faith; for what our faith sees and apprehends here on earth, and afar off, as travellers, our estate of glorification exhibits to us clearly and at hand, as comprehensors; the object is the same, the degrees of manifestation differ: adhesion answers to our hope; for what our hope comfortably expected and longed for, we do now lay hold on as present, and are brought home to it indissolubly: fruition, lastly, answers to charity; for what is fruition, but a taking pleasure in the thing possessed, as truly delectable, and as our own? and what is this but the perfection of love? Shortly, what is the end of our faith, but sight? what the end of our hope, but possession? what the end of our love, but enjoying?

Lo, then, the inseparable and perpetual sight, possession, enjoyment, of the infinitely amiable and glorious Deity is not more the employment than the felicity of saints.

And what can the soul conceive matchable to this happiness?

The man after God's own heart had one boon to ask of his Maker: it must be, sure, some great suit wherein a favourite will set up his rest: *One thing have I desired of the Lord, which I will require; even that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, to behold the fair beauty of the Lord, and*

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to visit his holy temple, Psalm xxvii. 4. Was it so contenting an happiness to thee, O David, to behold, for a moment of time, the fair beauty of the Lord in his earthen temple, where he meant not to reveal the height of his glory? How blessed art thou now, when thy soul lives for ever in the continual prospect of the infinite beauty and majesty of God, in the most glorious and eternal sanctuary of heaven! It was but in a cloud and smoke wherein God showed himself in his material house; above, thou seest him clothed in an heavenly and incomprehensible light: and if a little glimpse of celestial glory, in a momentary transfiguration, so transported the prime apostle, that he wished to dwell still in Tabor; how shall we be ravished with the full view of that all-glorious Deity, whose very sight gives blessedness! What a life doth the presence of the sun put into all creatures here below! yet the body of it is afar off; the power of it, created and finite. O then, how perfect and happy a life must we needs receive from the Maker of it, when the beams of his heavenly glory shall shine in our face! Here below, our weak senses are marred with too excellent objects; our pure spirits above cannot complain of excess, but by how much more of that divine light they take in are so much the more blessed. There is no other thing wherein our sight can make us happy: we may see all other objects, and yet be miserable: here, our eyes convey into us influences of bliss.

Yet not our eyes alone; but, as the soul hath other spiritual senses also, they are wholly possessed of God; our adhesion is, as it were, an heavenly touch, our fruition, as an heavenly taste of the ever blessed Deity; so the glorified soul in seeing God feelingly apprehends him as its own; in apprehending, sweetly enjoys him to all eternity, finding in him more absolute contentment than it can be capable of, and finding itself capable of so much as to make it everlastingly happy. Away with those brutish paradises of Jews and Turks, and some Judaizing Chiliasts, who have placed happiness in the full feed of their sensual appetite, inverting the words of the epicurean in the gospel: he could say, *Let us eat and drink, for to morrow we shall die;* they, "Let us die, for we shall eat and drink:" men, whose belly is their god, their kitchen, their heaven. The soul that hath had the least smack how sweet the Lord is, in the weak apprehension of grace here below, easily contemns these dunghill felicities, and cannot but long after those true and satisfying delights above, in comparison whereof

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all the pleasures of the paunch and palate are but either savourless or noisome.

Feast thou thyself onwards, O my soul, with the joyful hope of this blessed vision, adhesion, fruition. Alas! here thy dim eyes see thy God through clouds and vapours, and not without manifold diversions: here, thou cleavest imperfectly to that absolute goodness but with many frail interceptions; every prevalent temptation looseth thy hold, and makes thy God and thee strangers: here, thou enjoyest him sometimes in his favours, seldom in himself; and when thou dost so, how easily art thou robbed of him by the interpositions of a crafty and bewitching world! There, thou shalt so see him, as that thou shalt never look off; so adhere to him, as never to be severed; so enjoy him, that he shall ever be all in all to thee, even the soul of thy soul: thy happiness is then essential, thy joy as inseparable as thy being.

Sect. VII.—*In what Terms the departed Saints stand to us, and what respects they bear to us.*

Such is the felicity wherein the separate souls of God's elect ones are feoffed for ever. But, in the mean time, what terms do they stand in to their once-partners, these human bodies? to these, the forlorn companions of their pilgrimage and warfare? Do they despise these houses of clay wherein they once dwelt? or have they, with Pharaoh's courtier, forgotten their fellow-prisoner? Far be it from us to entertain so injurious thoughts of those spirits whose charity is no less exalted than their knowledge.

Some graces they do necessarily leave behind them. There is no room for faith, where there is present vision; no room for hope, where there is full fruition; no room for patience, where is no possibility of suffering: but charity can never be out of date; charity, both to God and man.

As the head and body mystical are undivided, so is our love to both: we cannot love the head and not the body; we cannot love some limbs of the body, and not others. The triumphant part of the Church then, which is above, doth not more truly love each other glorified, than they love the warfaring part beneath.

Neither can their love be idle and fruitless: they cannot but wish well, therefore, to those they love.

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That the glorified saints then above, in a generality, wish for the good estate and happy consummation of their conflicting brethren here on earth, is a truth not more void of scruple than full of comfort.

It was not so much revenge which the souls under the altar pray for upon their murderers, (Rev. vi. 10,) as the accomplishment of that happy resurrection in which that revenge shall be perfectly acted. The prayer in Zechariah (and saints are herein parallel) is, *O Lord of hosts, how long wilt thou not have mercy on Jerusalem and on the cities of Judah, against which thou hast had indignation?* Zech. i. 12.

We do not use to joy but in that which we wish for. There is joy in heaven in the presence of the angels for sinners repenting, Luke xv. 7, 10: in the presence of the angels, therefore, on the part of the saints: none but they dwell together.

O ye blessed saints, we praise God for you, for your happy departure, for your crown of immortality. Ye do, in common, sue to God for us, as your poor fellow-members, for our happy eluctation out of those miseries and temptations wherewith we are continually conflicted here below, and for our society with you in your blessedness. Other terms of communion we know none. As for any local presence, or particular correspondence, that ye may have with any of us, as we cannot come to know it; so, if we could, we should have no reason to disclaim it.

Johannes à Jesu-Maria[f], a modern Carmelite, writing the life of Theresia, sainted lately by Gregory the Fifteenth, tells us, that as she was a vigilant overseer of her votaries in her life; so, in and after death, she would not be drawn away from her care and attendance; "for," saith he, "if any of her sisters did but talk in the set hours of their silence, she was wont, by three knocks at the door of the cell, to put them in mind of their enjoined taciturnity:" and on a time appearing, as she did often, in a lightsome brightness, to a certain Carmelite, is said thus to bespeak him: *Nos cœlestes, &c.* "We citizens of heaven, and ye exiled pilgrims on earth, ought to be linked in a league of love and purity[g], &c." Methinks the reporter should fear this to be too much good fellowship for a saint. I am sure neither divine nor ancient story had wont to afford such familiarity: and many

[f] Joh. a Jesu Mar. l. v. de vit. Theres. c. 3.

[g] "Nos cœlestes, ac vos exules, amore ac puritate fœderati esse debermus, &c."

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have misdoubted the agency of worse, where have appeared less causes of suspicion. That this was, if any thing, an ill spirit, under that face, I am justly confident; neither can any man doubt, that, looking farther into the relation, finds him to come with a lie in his mouth. For thus he goes on[h]: "We celestial ones behold the Deity; ye banished ones worship the eucharist; which ye ought to worship with the same affection wherewith we adore the Deity." Such perfume doth this holy devil leave behind him. The like might be instanced in a thousand apparitions of this kind, all worthy of the same entertainment.

As for the state of the souls of Lazarus, of the widow's son, of Jairus's daughter, and of Tabitha, whether there were, by divine appointment, a suspension of their final condition for a time; their souls awaiting not far off from their bodies for a further disposition; or whether they were, for the manifestation of the miraculous power of the Son of God, called off from their settled rest, some great divines may dispute, none can determine. Where God is silent, let us be willingly ignorant.

With more safety and assurance may we inquire into those respects wherein the separated soul stands to that body which it left behind it for a prey to the worms, a captive to death and corruption; for certainly, though the parts be severed, the relations cannot be so; God made it intrinsically natural to that spiritual part to be the form of man, and therefore to animate the body. It was in the very infusion of it created; and in the creating, infused into this coessential receptacle: wherein it holds itself so interested, as that it knows there can be no full consummation of its glory without the other half. It was not therefore more loath to leave this old partner in the dissolution, than it is now desirous to meet him again; as well knowing in how much happier condition they shall meet than they formerly parted. Before, this drossy piece was cumbersome, and hindered the free operations of this active spirit; now, that by a blessed glorification it is spiritualized, it is every way become pliable to his renewed partner the soul, and both of them to their infinitely glorious Creator.

[h] "Nos cœlites intuentes Divinitatem, vos exules eucharistiam venerantes; quam eo affectu quo nos Divinitatem suspicimus, colere debetis."—*Ibid.*

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Sect. VIII.—*The Reunion of the Body to the Soul, both glorified.*

Lo then, so happy a reunion as this material world is not capable of, till the last fire have refined it, of a blessed soul, met with a glorified body, for the peopling of the new heaven.

Who can but rejoice in spirit, to foresee such a glorious communion of perfected saints? to see their bodies with a clear brightness, without all earthly opacity; with agility, without all dulness; with subtlety, without grossness; with impassibility, without the reach of annoyance or corruption?

There and then shalt thou, O my soul, looking through clarified eyes see, and rejoice to see, that glorious body of thy dear God and Saviour, which he assumed here below, and wherein he wrought out the great work of thy redemption. There shalt thou see the radiant bodies of all those eminent saints, whose graces thou hadst wont to wonder at, and weakly wish to imitate. There shall I meet with the visible partners of the same unspeakable glory; my once dear partner, children, friends: and, if there can be room for any more joy in the soul that is taken up with God, shall both communicate and appropriate our mutual joys. There shall we, indissolubly, with all the choir of heaven pass our eviternity of bliss in lauding and praising the incomprehensibly-glorious Majesty of our Creator, Redeemer, Sanctifier, in perpetual hallelujahs to him that sits upon the throne.

And canst thou, O my soul, in the expectation of this happiness, be unwilling to take leave of this flesh for a minute of separation? How well art thou contented to give way to this body, to shut up the windows of thy senses, and to retire itself after the toil of the day, to a nightly rest, whence yet thou knowest it is not sure to rise; or, if it do, yet it shall rise but such as it lay down, some little fresher, no whit better: and art thou so loath to bid a cheerful good-night to this piece of myself, which shall more surely rise than lie down, and not more surely rise than rise glorious? Away with this weak and wretched infidelity, without which the hope of my change would be my present happiness, and the issue of it mine eternal glory. Even so, Lord Jesus, come quickly.

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THE THIRD BOOK.—OF THE EVIL ANGELS.

SECT. I.—*Of their First Sin and Fall.*

HITHERTO our thoughts have walked through the lightsome and glorious regions of the spiritual world. Now it is no less requisite to cast some glances towards those dreadful and darksome parts of it, where nothing dwells but horror and torment. Of the former, it concerns us to take notice for our comfort; of these latter, for terror, caution, resistance.

I read it reported by an ancient traveller, Haytonus, of the order of the Premonstratenses, and cousin, as he saith, to the then king of Armenia, that he saw a country in the kingdom of Georgia, which he would not have believed except his eyes had seen it, called Hamsem, of three days' journey about, covered over with palpable darkness, wherein some desolate people dwell: for those which inhabit upon the borders of it might hear the neighing of horses, and crowing of cocks, and howling of dogs, and other noises; but no man could go into them without loss of himself[a].

Surely this may seem some slight representation of the condition of apostate angels and reprobate souls. Their region is the kingdom of darkness: they have only light enough to see themselves eternally miserable; neither are capable of the least glimpse of comfort or mitigation. But as it falls out with those which in a dark night bear their own light, that they are easily discerned by an enemy that waits for them, and good aim may be taken at them, even while that enemy lurks unseen of them; so it is with us in these spiritual ambushes of the infernal powers: their darkness and our light gives them no small advantage against us. The same power that clears and strengthens the eyes of our soul to see those over-excelling glories of the good angels, can also enable us to pierce through that hellish obscurity, and to descry so much of the natures and condition of those evil spirits, as may render us both wary and thankful.

In their first creation there were no angels, but of light. That

[a] Fr. Haytonus in Passagio Terræ Sanctæ. an. 1300. edit. a Nicol. Salcone. [Haithoni Armeni Hist. Orient. c. x.]

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any of them should bring evil with him from the moment of his first being, is the exploded heresy of a Manes; a man fit for his name; and, if Prateolus may be believed, of the Trinitarians: yea, blasphemy, rather; casting mire in the face of the most pure and holy Deity. For, from an absolute goodness what can proceed but good? And if any then of those spirits could have been originally evil, whence could he pretend to fetch it? Either there must be a predominant principle of evil, or a derivation of it from the fountain of infinite goodness; either of which were very monsters of impiety. All were once glorious spirits: sin changed their hue, and made many of them ugly devils.

Now, straight I am apt to think, "Lord, how should sin come into the world? how into angels? God made all things good: sin could be no work of his. How should the good that he made produce the evil which he hates?" Even this curiosity must receive an answer.

The great God, when he would make his noblest creature, found it fit to produce him in the nearest likeness to himself; and therefore to endue him with perfection of understanding and freedom of will: either of which being wanting, there could have been no excellency in that which was intended for the best. Such therefore did he make his angels. Their will, being made free, had power of their own inclinations; those free inclinations of some of them swayed them awry from that highest end, which they should have solely aimed at, to a faulty respect unto oblique ends of their own.

Hence was the beginning of sin: for as it falls out in causes efficient, that when the secondary agent swerves from the order and direction of the principal, straightways a fault thereupon ensues; as when the leg, by reason of crookedness, fails of the performance of that motion which the appetitive power enjoined, a halting immediately follows: so it is in final causes also, as Aquinas acutely: when the secondary end is not kept in, under the order of the principal and highest end, there grows a sin of the will, whose object is ever good; but if a supposed and self-respective good be suffered to take the wall of the best and absolute good, the will instantly proves vicious. As therefore there can be no possible fault incident into the will of him who propounds to himself as his only good the utmost end of all things, which is God himself; so, in whatsoever willer, whose own particular good is contained under the order of another higher good,

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there may, without God's special confirmation, happen a sin in the will. Thus it was with these revolting angels: they did not order their own particular supposed good to the supreme and utmost end, but suffered their will to dwell in an end of their own; and by this means did put themselves into the place of God, not regulating their wills by another, superior, but making their will the rule of their own desires; which was in effect to affect an equality with the Highest. Not that their ambition went so high as to aspire to an height of goodness or greatness equal to their infinite Creator; this, as the great leader of the school hath determined it, could not fall into any intelligent nature, since it were no other than to affect his own not-being; forasmuch as there can be no being at all without a distinction of degrees and subordination of beings.

This was, I suppose, the threshold of leaving their first estate. Now it was with angelical spirits as it is with heavy bodies; when they began to fall they went down at once, speedily passing through many degrees of wickedness. Let learned Gerson see upon what grounds he conceives that in the beginning their sin might be venial; afterwards, arising to the height of maliciousness: whom Salmeron seconds by seven reasons, alleged to that purpose; labouring to prove that, before their precipitation, they had large time and place of repentance. The point is too high for any human determination: this we know too well by ourselves, that even the will of man, when it is once let loose to sin, finds no stay; how much more of those active spirits, which, by reason of their simple and spiritual nature, convert themselves wholly to what they do incline!

What were the particular grounds of their defection and ruin, what was their first sin, it is neither needful nor possible to know. I see the wrecks of this curiosity in some of the ancients; who, misguiding themselves by a false compass of misapplied texts, have split upon those shelves which their miscarriage shall teach me to avoid. If they have made Lucifer (that is, the morning star) a devil, and mistake the king of Babylon for the prince of darkness, as they have palpably done, I dare not follow them. Rather let me spend my thoughts in wondering at the dreadful justice and the incomprehensible mercy of our great and holy God; who, having cast these apostate angels into hell, and *reserved them in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgment of the great day*, hath yet graciously found out a way to redeem miserable

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mankind from that horrible pit of destruction. It is not for me to busy myself in finding out reasons of difference, for the aggravation of the sin of angels and abatement of man's; as, that sin began in them, they were their own tempters; that they sinned irreparably, since their fall was to them as death is to us: however it were, cursed be the man who shall say, that the sin of any creature exceeds the power of thy mercy, O God, which is no other than thyself, infinite. While, therefore, I lay one hand upon my mouth, I lift up the other in a silent wonder, with the blessed apostle, and say, *How unsearchable are thy judgments, and thy ways past finding out!*

Sect. II.—*Of the Number of Apostate Spirits.*

Who can but tremble to think of the dreadful precipice of these damned angels, which, from the highest pitch of heaven, were suddenly thrown down into the dungeon of the nethermost hell? Who can but tremble to think of their number, power, malice, cunning, and deadly machinations?

Had this defection been single, yet it had been fearful: should but one star fall down from heaven, with what horror do we think of the wreck that would ensue to the whole world! how much more, when the great dragon draws down the third part of the stars with his tail! And lo, these angels were as so many spiritual stars in the firmament of glory. It was here, as in the rebellion of great peers, the common sort are apt to take part in any insurrection.

There are orders and degrees even in the region of confusion: we have learned of our Saviour to know there is a devil and his angels; and Jewish tradition hath told us of a prince of devils.

It was in all likelihood some prime angel of heaven that first started aside from his station, and led the ring of this highest and first revolt: millions sided with him, and had their part both in his sin and punishment.

Now, how formidable is the number of these evil and hostile spirits! Had we the eyes of that holy hermit—for such the first were—we might see the air full of these malignant spirits, laying snares for miserable mankind, And if the possessors of one poor demoniac could style themselves Legion—a name that, in the truest account, contains no less than ten cohorts, and every cohort fifty companies, and every company twenty-five soldiers, to the number of one thousand two hundred and twenty-five—what an army of

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these hellish fiends do we suppose is that wherewith whole mankind is beleaguered all the world over! Certainly no man living, as Tertullian and Nyssen have too truly observed, can, from the very hour of his nativity to the last minute of his dissolution, be free from one of these spiritual assailants, if not many, at once. The ejected spirit returns to his former assault with seven worse than himself.

Even where there is equality of power, inequality of number must needs be a great advantage; an Hercules himself is no match for two antagonists. Yea, were their strength much less than ours, if we be but as a flock of goats feeding upon the hills, when the evil spirits, as the Midianites and Amalekites were against Israel, are like grasshoppers in the valley, what hope, what possibility were there, if we were left in our own hands for safety or prevalence?

But now, alas! their number is great, but their power is more. Even these evil angels are styled by him that knew them no less than *principalities* and *powers*, and *rulers of the darkness of this world*, and *spiritual wickednesses in heavenly places*. They lost not their strength when they left their station. It is the rule of Dionysius, too true, I fear, that in the reprobate angels their natural abilities still hold[b]. No other than desperate, therefore, were the condition of whole mankind, if we were turned loose into the lists to grapple with these mighty spirits.

Courage, O my soul, and, together with it, victory. Let thine eyes be but open, as Gehazi's, and thou shalt see more with us than against us. One good angel is able to chase whole troops of these malignant; for though their natural powers, in regard of the substance of them, be still retained, yet, in regard of the exercise and execution of them, they are abated, and restrained by the overruling order of divine justice and mercy; from which, far be that infinite incongruity, that evil should prevail above good[c]. The same God, therefore, who so disposeth the issue of these human contentions, that *the race is not to the swift nor the battle to the strong*, cowardiseth and daunteth these mighty and insolent spirits; so as they cannot stand before one of these glorious angels, nor prevail any further than his most wise providence hath contrived to permit, for his own most holy purposes.

[b] Naturalia in damnatis angelis manent splendidissima.

[c] The original has *God*; but I suspect it is an error of the press for *good*.—PRATT.

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However yet we be upon these grounds safe in the good hands of the Almighty, and of those his blessed guardians to whom he hath committed our charge, yet it well befits us to take notice of those powerful executions of the evil angels, which it pleaseth the great Arbiter of the world to give way unto, that we may know what cause we have both of vigilance and gratitude.

Sect. III.—*Of the Power of Devils.*

No dwarf will offer to wrestle with a giant. It is an argument of no small power as well as boldness of that proud spirit, that he durst strive with Michael the archangel: and though he were as then foiled in the conflict, yet he ceaseth not still to oppose his hierarchy to the celestial; and, not there prevailing, he pours out his tyranny, where he is suffered, on this inferior world; one while fetching down fire from heaven, which the messenger called *the fire of God*, upon the flocks and shepherds of Job, Job i, 16; another while blustering to the air, with hurrying winds and furious tempests, breaking down the strongest towers and turning up the stoutest oaks, tearing asunder the hardest rocks and rending of the tops of the firmest mountains; one while swelling up the raging sea to sudden inundations, another while causing the earth to totter and tremble under our feet.

Would we descend to the particular demonstrations of the powerful operations of evil spirits this discourse would have no end.

If we do but cast our eyes upon Jannes and Jambres, the Egyptian sorcerers (in whom we have formerly instanced in another treatise to this purpose), we shall see enough to wonder at. How close did they for a time follow Moses at the heels, imitating those miraculous works which God had appointed and enabled him to do for Pharaoh's conviction! Had not the faith of that worthy servant of God been invincible, how blank must he needs have looked, to see his great works patterned by those presumptuous rivals! Doth Moses turn his rod into a serpent? every of their rods crawleth, hisseth, as well as his. Doth he smite the waters into blood? their waters are instantly as bloody as his. Doth he fetch frogs out of Nilus into Pharaoh's bedchamber and bosom, and into the ovens and kneading-troughs of his people? they can store Egypt with loathsome cattle as well as he.

All this while Pharaoh knows no difference of a God; and hardly yields whether Jannes or Moses be the better man; al-

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though he may easily be decided it out of the very acts done: he saw Moses's serpent devoured theirs, so as now there was neither serpent nor rod; and while they would be turning their rod into a serpent, both rod and serpent were lost in the serpent, which returned into a rod: he saw that those sorcerers who had brought the frogs could not remove them; and soon after sees those jugglers, who pretended to make serpents, blood, frogs, cannot, when God pleaseth to restrain them, make so much as a louse.

But, supposing the sufferance of the Almighty, who knows what limits to prescribe to these infernal powers? They can beguile the senses, mock the phantasy, work strongly by philtres upon the affections, assume the shapes of man or beast, inflict grievous torment on the body, convey strange things insensibly into it, transport it from place to place in quick motions, cause no less sudden disparitions of it, heal diseases by charms and spells, frame hideous apparitions, and, in short, by applying active powers to passive subjects, they can produce wonderful effects; each of all which were easy to be instanced in whole volumes, if it were needful, out of history and experience.

Who then, O God, who is able to stand before these sons of Anak? what are we in such hands? O match desperately unequal, of weakness with power, flesh with spirit, man with devils!

Away with this cowardly diffidence. Cheer up thyself, O my soul, against these heartless fears, and know, the advantage is on thy side. Could Samson have been firmly bound hand and foot by the Philistine cords, so as he could not have stirred those mighty limbs of his, what boy or girl of Gath or Askelon would have feared to draw near, and spurn that awed champion? No other is the condition of our dreadful enemies: they are fast bound up with the adamantine chains of God's most merciful and inviolable decree, and forcibly restrained from their desired mischief. Who can be afraid of a muzzled and tied up mastiff? what woman or child cannot make faces at a fierce lion or a bloody Bajazet locked up fast in an iron grate?

Were it not for this strong and strait curb of Divine providence, what good man could breathe one minute upon earth? The demoniac in the gospel could break his iron fetters in pieces through the help of his legion: those devils that possessed him could not break theirs; they are fain to sue for leave to enter into swine; neither had obtained it, in all likelihood, but for a just punishment to those Gadarene owners. How sure may we then be, that

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this just hand of Omnipotence will not suffer these evil ones to tyrannize over his chosen vessels for their hurt! How safe are we, since their power is limited, our protection infinite!

Sect. IV.—*Of the Knowledge and Malice of Wicked Spirits.*

Who can know how much he is bound to God for safeguard if he do not apprehend the quality of those enemies wherewith he is encompassed, whose knowledge and skill is no whit inferior to their power? They have not the name of *dæmons*[d] for nothing: their natural knowledge was not forfeited by their fall: the wisdom of the infinite Giver of it knows how rather to turn it to the use of his own glory. However, therefore, they are kept off from those divine illuminations which the good angels receive from God, yet they must needs be granted to have such a measure of knowledge as cannot but yield them a formidable advantage. For, as spirits, being not stripped of their original knowledge together with their glory, they cannot but know the natures and constitutions of the creatures; and thereby, their tempers, dispositions, inclinations, conditions, faculties; and therewith, their wants, their weakness and obnoxiousness; and thereupon, strongly conjecture at their very thoughts and intentions, and the likelihood of their repulses or prevailings: out of the knowledge of the causes of things, they can foresee such future events as have a dependence thereon. To which if we shall add the improvement which so many thousand years' experience can yield to active and intelligent spirits, together with the velocity of their motions, and the concurrent intelligence which those powers of darkness hold with each other, we shall see cause enough to disparage our own simplicity, to tremble at our own danger, and to bless God for our indemnity.

But if unto all these we shall take notice of their malice, no whit inferior to their power and knowledge, we cannot but be transported with wonder at our infinite obligations to the blessed Majesty of heaven, who preserves us from the rage of so spiteful, cunning, mighty enemies. Satan carries hostility in his very name, and, answerably, in his wicked nature: hostility to the God that made him, as the avenger of his sin; hostility, for his sake, to the creature which that God made good: his enmity did, as himself, descend from the highest, for it began at the Almighty, and remains as implacable as impotent.

[d] Ob scientiam nominati. *Aug.* l. ix. [c. xx.] *de Civ. Dei.*

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It is a bold and uncouth story, and scarce safe to relate, which I find in the Book of Conformity, reported, as recited by a demoniac woman, from the mouth of a certain friar, named Jacobus de Pozali, in his sermon: That St. Macarius once went about to make peace betwixt God and Satan: that it pleased God to say, "If the devil will acknowledge his fault, I will pardon him:" to which the evil spirit returned answer, "I will never acknowledge any fault of mine; yea, that crucified Saviour should rather cry me mercy for keeping me thus long in hell:" to whom Macarius said, as he well might, "Avoid, Satan!" I know not whether more to blame their saint, if they report him right, for too much charity or for too little grace and wit in so presumptuous an endeavour. The very treaty was in him blasphemous; the answer, no other than could be expected from a spirit obdured in malice and desperate in that obduredness.

The truth is, he hates us, because he hated God first; and, like the enraged panther, tears the picture because he cannot reach the person whom it represents.

He that made him an angel, tells us what he is; since he made himself a devil. even a manslayer from the beginning. His very trade is murder and destruction, and his executions unwearable: *he goes about* continually *like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour.*

It is no other than a marvellous mystery of divine state, too deep for the shallowness of human souls to reach into, that God could with one word of his powerful command destroy and dissolve all the powers of hell; yet he knows it best not to do it: only we know he hath a justice to glorify as well as a mercy; and that he knows how to fetch more honour to himself by drawing good out of evil than by the amotion and prevention of evil. Glory be to that infinite power, justice, mercy, providence, that contrives all things, both in heaven and earth and hell, to the highest advantage of his own blessed Name, and to the greatest benefit of his elect.

SECT. V.—*The Variety of the Spiritual Assaults of Evil Spirits.*

Out of this hellish mixture of power, skill, malice, do proceed all the deadly machinations of these infernal spirits which have enlarged their kingdom and furnished the pit of destruction.

It was a great word of the Chosen Vessel, *We are not ignorant of Satan's devices*, 2 Cor. ii. 11. O blessed apostle, thy illuminated

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soul, which saw the height of heaven, might also see the depth of hell; our weak eyes are not able to pierce so low.

That Satan is full of crafty devices, we know too well; but what those devices are is beyond our reach. Alas! we know not the secret projects of silly men like ourselves; yea, who knows the crooked windings of his own heart? much less can we hope to attain unto the understanding of these infernal plots and stratagems; *such knowledge is too wonderful for* us: our clew hath not line enough to fathom these depths of Satan.

But though we be not able possibly to descry those infinite and hidden particularities of diabolical art and cunning, yet our woful experience and observation hath taught us some general heads of these mischievous practices: divers whereof I am not unwilling to learn and borrow of that great master of meditation, Gerson[e], the learned chancellor of Paris, a man singularly acquainted with temptations.

One while, therefore, that evil one lays before us the incommodities, dangers, wants, difficulties of our callings, to dishearten us, and draw us to impatience and listlessness, and rather than fail, will make piety a colour of laziness; another while, he spurs up our diligence in our worldly vocation, to withdraw us from holy duties.

One while, he hides his head, and refrains from tempting, that we may think ourselves secure, and slacken our care of defence; another while, he seems to yield, that he may leave us proud of the victory.

One while, he tills us on to our overhard task of austere mortification, that he may tire our piety, and so stupify us with an heartless melancholy; another while, he takes us off from any higher exercises of virtue, as superfluous.

One while, he turns and fixes our eyes upon other men's sins, that we may not take view of our own; another while, he amplifies the worth and actions of others, to breed in us either envy or dejection.

One while, he humours our zeal in all other virtuous proceedings, for but the colour of one secret vice; another while, he lets us loose to all uncontrolled viciousness, so as we be content to make love to some one virtue.

One while, under the pretence of discretion, he discourages us from good, if any way dangerous enterprises; another while, he

[e] Gerson, de Variis Diaboli Tentationibus.

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is apt to put us upon bold hazards, with the contempt of fear or wit, that we may be guilty of our own miscarriage.

One while, he works suspicion in love, and suggests misconstructions of well meant words or actions, to cause heartburning between dear friends; another while, under a pretence of favour, he kills the soul with flattery.

One while, he stirs up our charity to the public performance of some beneficial works, only to win us to vainglory; another while, he moves us, for avoiding the suspicion or censure of singularity, to fashion ourselves to the vicious guises of our sociable neighbours.

One while, he persuades us to rest in the outward act done, as meritoriously acceptable; another while, under a colour of humility, he dissuades us from those good duties whereby we might be exemplary to others.

One while, he heartens us in evil gettings, under pretence of the opportunity of liberal almsgiving; another while, he closes our hands in a rigorous forbearance of needful mercy, under a fair colour of justice.

One while, he incites us, under a pretence of zeal, to violate charity in unjust censures and violent executions; another while, under pretence of mercy, to bear with gross sins.

One while, he stirs us up, under a colour of charitable caution, to wound our neighbour with a secret detraction; another while, out of carnal affections, he would make us the panders of others' vices.

One while, he sets on the tongue to an inordinate motion, that many words may let fall some sin; another while, he restrains it in a sullen silence, out of an affectation of a commendable modesty.

One while, out of a pretended honest desire to know some secret and useful truth, he hooks a man into a busy curiosity, and unawares entangles the heart in unclean affections; another while, he brooks many a sin with only the bashfulness of inquiry.

One while, he injects such pleasing thoughts of fleshly delights, as may at the first seem safe and inoffensive, which, by a delayed entertainment, prove dangerous and inflaming; another while, he overlays the heart with such swarms of obscene suggestions, that, when it should be taken up with holy devotion, it hath work enough to repel and answer those sinful importunities.

One while, he moves us to an ungrounded confidence in God,

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for a condescent or deliverance, that upon our disappointment he may work us to impatience, or, upon our prevailing, to a pride and overweening opinion of our mistaken faith; another while, he casts into us glances of distrust, where we have sure ground of belief.

One while, he throws many needless scruples into the conscience, for a causeless perplexing of it, affrighting it even from lawful actions; another while, he labours so to widen the conscience, that even gross sins may pass down unfelt.

One while, he will seem friendly in suggesting advice to listen unto good counsel, which yet he more strongly keeps us off from taking, for a further obduration; another while, he moves us to slight all the good advice of others, out of a persuasion of our own self-sufficiency, that we may be sure to fall into evil.

One while, he smooths us up in the good opinion of our own gracious disposition, that we may rest in our measure; another while, he beats us down with a disparagement of our true graces, that we may be heartless and unthankful.

One while, he feeds us with a sweet contentment in a colourable devotion, that we may not care to work our hearts to a solid piety; another while, he endeavours to freeze up our hearts, with a dulness and sadness of spirit, in our holy services, that they may prove irksome and we negligent.

One while, he injects lawful, but unseasonable motions of requisite employments, to cast off our minds from due intention in prayers, hearing, meditation; another while, he is content we should overweary ourselves with holy tasks, that they may grow tediously distasteful.

One while, he woos a man to glut himself with some pleasurable sin, upon pretence that this satiety may breed a loathing of that whereof he surfeits; another while, he makes this spiritual drunkenness but an occasion of further thirst.

One while, he suggests to a man the duty he owes to the maintenance of his honour and reputation, though unto blood; another while, he bids him be tongue-proof, that he may render the party shamelessly desperate in evil doing.

One while, he allows us to pray long, that we may love to hear ourselves speak, and may languish in our devotion; another while, he tells us there is no need of vocal prayers, since God hears our thoughts.

One while, he urgeth us to a busy search and strong conclusion

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of the unfailable assurance of our election to glory upon slippery and unsure grounds; another while, to a careless indifferency and stupid neglect of our future estate, that we may perish through security.

One while, slighting the measure of contrition as unsufficient; another while, working the heart to take up with the least velleity of penitent sorrow, without straining it to any further afflictive degrees of true penance.

One while, suggesting such dangerous points of our self-examination, that the resolution is every way unsafe, so as we must presume upon our strength if we determine affirmatively, if negatively, decline towards despair; another while, encouraging a man, by the prosperous event of his sin, to react it, and, by the hard successes of good actions, to forbear them.

One while, under pretence of giving glory to God for his graces, stirring up the heart to a proud overvaluing our own virtues and abilities; another while, stripping God of the honour of his gifts by a causeless pusillanimity.

One while, aggravating our unworthiness to be sons, servants, subjects, guests, almsmen of the holy and great God; another while, upon some poor works of piety or charity, raising our conceits to a secret gloriation of our worthiness, both of acceptance and reward, and God's beholdingness to us.

Shortly—for it were easy to exceed in instances—one while casting undue fears into the tender hearts of weak regenerates of God's just desertions, and of their own sinful deficiencies; another while, puffing them up with ungrounded presumptions of present safety and future glory.

These, and a thousand more such arts of deceit, do the evil spirits practise upon the poor soul of wretched man, to betray it to everlasting destruction. And if at any time they shall pretend fair respects, it is a true observation of a strict votary, That the devils of consolation are worse than the afflictive. O my soul, what vigilance can be sufficient for thee while thou art so beset with variety of contrary temptations!

Sect. VI.—*Of the Apparitions and assumed Shapes of Evil Spirits.*

Besides these mental and ordinary onsets, we find when these malignant spirits have not stuck, for a further advantage, to clothe themselves with the appearances of visible shapes; not of

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meaner creatures only, but of men, both living and dead, yea, even of the good angels themselves[f].

It were easy to write volumes of their dreadful and illusive apparitions: others have done it before me: my pen is for other use. The times are not past the ken of our memory since the frequent, and in some part true, reports of those familiar devils, fairies, and goblins, wherewith many places were commonly haunted: the rarity whereof, in these latter times, is sufficient to descry the difference betwixt the state of ignorant superstition and the clear light of the gospel. I doubt not but there were many frauds intermixed both in the acting and relating divers of these occurrences; but he that shall detract from the truth of all, may as well deny there were men living in those ages before us. Neither can I make question of the authentic records of the examinations[g] and confessions of witches and sorcerers, in several regions of the world, agreeing in the truth of their horrible pacts with Satan, of their set meetings with evil spirits, their beastly homages and conversations. I should hate to be guilty of so much incredulity as to charge so many grave judges and credible historians with lies.

Amongst such fastidious choice of whole dryfats of voluminous relations, I cannot forbear to single out that one famous story[h] of Magdalene de la Croix, in the year of our Lord Christ 1545, who, being born at Cordova in Spain, whether for the indigence or devotion of her parents, was at five years' age put into a convent of nuns. At that age, an evil spirit presented himself to her in the form of a blackmoor, foul and hideous; she startled at the sight, not without much horror; but with fair speeches and promises of all those gay toys wherewith children are wont to be delighted, she was wont to hold society with him, not without strong charges of silence and secrecy; in the mean time giving proof of a notable quick wit, and more than the ordinary ability incident into her age; so as she was highly esteemed, both of the young novices and of the aged nuns. No sooner was she come to the age of twelve

[f] "Diabolus, gloriosa forma, diademate gemmeo et aureo redimitus, veste regia indutus, apparuit Martino precanti; se Christum dicit: cui, post silentium aliquod, Sanctus: Ego Christum, nisi in illo habitu formaque qua passus est, nisi crucis stigmata proferentem, venisse non credam: hinc evanuit." Hoc narravit Sulpitio Martinus ipse; ut refert idem Sever. Sulp. in vita Martini. [c. xxv.]

[g] Bodin. Dæmonomania; ubique.

[h] Sim. Goul. Hist. admirables. Casside Reney en ses Relations. Zuinger. Theatre de vie Human. [Zuinger. Theatrum Vitæ hum. vol. iii. b. 4. p. 493. Basil. 1571.] Bodin. Dæmonomania, l. ii.

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or thirteen years, than the devil solicits her to marry with him; and, for her dowry, promises her, that, for the space of thirty years, she shall live in such fame and honour for the opinion of her sanctity, as that she shall be for that time the wonder of all Spain. While this wicked spirit held his unclean conversation with her in her chamber, he delegates another of his hellish complices to supply the place and form of his Magdalene in the church, in the cloister, in all their meetings; not without marvellous appearance of gravity and devotion: disclosing unto her also the affairs of the world abroad; and furnishing her with such advertisements as made her wondered at; and won her the reputation, not of an holy virgin only, but of a prophetess. Out of which height of estimation, although she was not for years capable of that dignity, she was by the general votes of the sisterhood chosen unanimously to be the abbess of that convent. Wonderful were the feats which she then did: the priest cries out in his celebration, that he missed one of the holy host which he had consecrated; and, lo, that was by her wonted angel invisibly conveyed to holy Magdalene: the wall that was betwixt her lodging and the quire, at the elevation of the host, clave asunder, that holy Magdalene might see that sacred act: and, which was yet more notorious, on solemn festivals, when the nuns made their procession, Magdalene was in the sight of the beholders lift up from the earth the height of three cubits, as if she should have been rapt up to heaven: and sometimes, while she bore in her arms a little image of the child Jesus, new born and naked, weeping, like a true Magdalene, abundantly over the babe, her hair seemed by miracle suddenly lengthened, so low as to reach unto her ankles, for the covering of the naked child, which, so soon as she had laid aside that dear burden, returned suddenly to the wonted length. These, and many other the like miracles, made her so famous, that popes, emperors, the grandees of Spain, wrote to her, beseeching her in their letters to recommend their affairs to God in her powerful devotions, and in requiring her advice and advertisements in matters of high importance, as appeared afterwards by the letters found in her cabinet. And the great ladies of Spain and other parts would not wrap their new-born infants in any clouts or swaddling-bands but such as the sacred hands of abbess Magdalene had first touched and blessed. All the nuns of Spain were proud of so great an honour of their order, and such miraculous proofs of

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their sanctity. At last it pleased God to lay open this notable fraud of the devil: for Magdalene, after thirty years' acquaintance with this paramour, having been abbess now twelve years, began to receive some remorse of her former practices; and, growing to a detestation of her horrible society with that evil spirit, found means freely to discover to the visitors of her order all the whole carriage of this abominable and prodigious wickedness: although some credible, wise, and learned persons have reported, that she, perceiving the nuns to have taken secret notice of her foul pranks, lest she should run into a deserved condemnation, did, under the favour of those laws which give pardon to self-accusing offenders, voluntarily confess her monstrous villainy and impiety. This confession blanked many of her favourers and admirers; and seemed so strange, that it was held fit not to believe it without strict and legal examinations and proceedings. Magdalene was close imprisoned in her convent; and, being called to question, confessed all this mystery of iniquity. Yet still her moor continued his illusions: for, while she was fast locked up in her cell, with a strong guard upon her doors; the nuns were no sooner come into the quire, towards morning, to say their matins, than this deputy-apparition of Magdalene took up her wonted stall, and was seen devoutly tossing her beads amongst her sisters; so as they thought the visitors had surely freed her of the crimes objected, upon her vehement penitence: but, hearing that Magdalene was still fast caged in her prison, they acquainted the visitors with what they had seen the morning before; who, upon full examination, found that she had never looked out of the doors of her gaol. The process was at last sent up to Rome; whence, since the confession was voluntary, she had her absolution.

A story of great note and use for many occasions, and too well known to the world to admit of either denial or doubt, and ratified, as by the known consent of the time, so by the faithful records of Zuingerus, Bodin, Reney, Goulartius. Lord God, what cunning conveyances are here of the foul spirit! what subtle hypocrisy! what powerful illusions! enough to make sanctity itself suspected; enough to shame the pretence of miracles. He can, for an advantage, be an holy nun as well as an ugly moor; he can be as devout at matins, sacraments, processions, as the best: what wonder, when he can at pleasure counterfeit an angel of light? In that glorious form did he appear to Simeon Stylites of old; to Gertrude of Westphalia, not without the entertainment

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of her joy and devotion; till Hermanus of Arnsburgh descried the fraud, and taught her to avoid it, by a means no less advantageous to that ill spirit than her former devotion. Yea, yet higher, to Pachomius, and to Valens the monk, as Palladius reports, he durst appear and call for adoration; and had it, under the form of the Lord of life, blessed for ever.

How vain is the observation of those authors who make this the difference betwixt the apparitions of good angels and evil; that the good make choice of the shapes either of beautiful persons, or of those creatures which are clean and hurtless, as, of the shape of a lamb to Clement, or an hart to Eustace, or a dove to Gummarus; whereas the evil put themselves into the forms of deformed men or of harmful and filthy beasts; as, of a goat to the assembly of witches, of hogs in the churches of Agatha profaned by the Arians; of serpents, dragons, toads, and other loathsome and terrible creatures, to St. Hilary and Anthony, as Athanasius and Jerome in their supposititious relations have reported: and that, if at any time he take upon him the shape of a man, yet it is with some notable defect and incongruity of limbs[1]; as with a right-foot cloven, or with a whole hoof; never entirely human: when we see that the very glory of angels escapes not their counterfeisance. We know how easy it is for the Almighty to ordain some such mark to be set upon the false shapes of evil spirits, for their better discovery; but why should we rather suppose this to be done in the case of human bodies than of heavenly angels? why more in the resemblance of men than of all other creatures, since their deceit may be no less dangerous in either.

But as for these visible devils, they are in these days very rare; and where they have appeared, have wont to work more affright than spiritual prejudice. Evil spirits are commonly most pernicious to the soul when they are least seen, not caring so much for our terror as our seduction.

O God, they are crafty; but thou art wisdom itself: they are malicious; but thou art goodness. Let thy goodness and wisdom ever protect and safeguard us; so shall we be not more wretched and unsafe in ourselves than we shall be in thee secure and happy.

Sect. VII.—*The Vehemence of Satan's Last Conflicts.*

These spirits, because such are neither capable of sleep or

[1] Est hæc res mirabilis, nunquam visos esse dæmones utroque pede humano ullibi apparuisse.—*Former. de Ang.* Serm. IX.

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weariness, as they are therefore ever busy and restless in their assaults, so their last conflicts use to be most vehement: whether it be for that now the soul is passing out of their reach, as we find they did most tear and totter the demoniac when they saw themselves upon the point of their ejection; or whether it be for that the painful agonies of death yield them more hopes of advantage, since the soul, while it is struggling with those last pangs, must needs have her powers distracted in her resistances. Cruelty, where it would prevail, will be sure to lay most load upon the weakest.

Hereupon it is, that holy men have been most careful to arm themselves strongliest against those last onsets, and to bend all the forces of their souls upon their safe dissolution. The holy sister of St. Basil, and Melania, whom St. Jerome magnifies for their sanctity, beseech God with great fervency that those envious spirits may not hinder them in their last passage; and devout Bernard, to the same purpose, when he drew near his end, sues to his friend for his earnest prayers, that the heel of his life might be kept safe from the serpent, so as he might not find where to fix his sting.

Hence it is, that in former times good souls have been so provident to hearten themselves against the faint pulse of their death-beds with that *viaticum sacrum*, the strongest spiritual cordial of the blessed eucharist; which hath yielded them such vigour of heavenly consolation, that they have boldly defied all the powers of darkness, and, in spite of all those assaults, have laid themselves down in peace.

O God, I know Satan can want no malice nor will to hurt. I should be his, if I looked for favour from him. He must and will do so much of his worst to me as thou wilt permit. Whether thou wilt be pleased to restrain him or strengthen me, thy will be done. O lead me not into temptation, and when thou doest so, show thyself strong in my weakness: arm me for my last brunt; stand by me in my last combat; make me faithful to the death, that thou mayest give me a crown of life.

Sect. VIII.—*Of our Carriage toward Wicked Spirits, and the Ways of our Prevalence against them.*

We have seen what the carriage of the evil spirits is to us; it were fit we should ask in what terms we must stand towards them.

That we must maintain a perpetual hostility against them can-

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not be doubted; and whatever acts may tend toward the securing of ourselves, and the abating of the kingdom and power of darkness, those must be exercised by us to the uttermost. Justly do we scorn to be beholden to that deadly enemy in receiving courtesies from him. Favours from such hands are both sins and curses.

He that can so easily transform himself will seem to do good. What cures doth he often work! what discoveries of thefts! what remedies of diabolical operations and possessions, by the agency of witches, wizards, magicians! what an ordinary traffick doth he hold of charms, spells, amulets! Ignorance and superstition are willing enough to be befriended by such pernicious helps, whereby that subtle spirit both wins and kills the soul while he cures the body.

It is not easy for a man where he receives a benefit to suspect an enmity; but, withal, it is no less than stupidity, when we find a good turn done us, not to inquire whence it came; and if we find it to proceed from a mischievous intent of further hurt, not to refuse it.

That there have been diseases remedied, wounds healed, blood stanched, thorns plucked out, serpents stupified, winds procured, by charms, is so notorious, that whoso would doubt of it should make himself a wonder of incredulity: now, then, by what power do we think these things done?

Natural it cannot be; for there is no such efficacy in words or characters, being but of mere device and arbitrary imposition, as may produce real effects.

Preternatural, then, it must be; and if so, then either divine or diabolical. Of God it cannot be: where hath he given warrant to any such practice? where any promise to concur with it? nay, how oft hath he testified his prohibitions and detestation of these courses! Needs must it therefore be by devilish operation; whose agent witches and sorcerers are, and whose means of working are these superstitious inventions, which, by a secret compact, receive their force and success from those infernal powers.

Let those, then, that have given to Satan their souls take favours from him for their bodies; let us, that defy the author, abhor the courtesy. Mine enemy offers me a rich garment: I know it is poisoned, else he would not give it me: shall I take it because it is rich, or refuse it because it is infectious? Let me be sick, rather than receive help from such hands; let my goods be

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lost, rather than my soul hazarded; let me die, rather than owe my life to my Maker's enemy.

Sect. IX.—*How we are to proceed against Evil Spirits.*

We may not yield to that evil one. Our next thought must be, how to oppose him.

Our skilful leader hath prescribed a spiritual panoply, both for defence and victory: *The helmet of salvation; the breastplate of righteousness; the girdle of verity; the sword of the Spirit; and above all, the shield of faith, wherewith we may be able* both *to quench* and beat back *the fiery darts of that wicked one.* These, well put on and well managed, shall both secure us and foil our adversary.

But the art of repelling several temptations is a long work, and worthy of a just volume. How we ought to deal with evil spirits in their bodily apparitions and possessions may be seasonable for our present inquiry.

Whereas, then, there is pretended to be only a double way of proceeding for their ejection, the one by pact, the other by command; as the former is disclaimed by all faithful Christians, so the other is wont to be challenged and practised by some who lay no small claim to holiness.

This we call exorcism or conjuration: a course so well approved of the churches of the Roman correspondence, as that they make this office one of the seven stairs whereby they ascend to their highest order; but so disrelished by us, that we ordinarily place conjurers in the same rank of sorcerers and professors of the black and damned arts; although, indeed, upon a strict inquisition, we shall find them far different; for conjuration or exorcism implies a kind of force and violence, whereas those that are in league with Satan go on as upon a set match in a way cursedly amicable.

This latter is heinously sinful, as being directly against the divine law, and a professed affront to the majesty of God; the former, unjustifiable, as being without divine warrant.

It is most true, that the disciples of Christ and their primitive successors ejected devils by command, and could rejoice to see those evil spirits subjected to their overruling charge; but withal, the same persons healed all diseases, were perfect poison proof, spake divers languages.

Why should any in these latter times challenge a right of suc-

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cession in one of these, and not claim it in the other? All these were given with one and the same breath, continued by the same power, called in and stinted by the same providence with their fellow miracles.

And if still this privilege were ordinarily left in the Church, it were not a work for puisnes and novices, but for the greatest master and most learned and eminently holy doctors which the times can possibly yield.

And if this were really done, as is commonly vaunted by them, yet with how much difference from the apostolic practice and issue! With them of old, there was no more but a word of command, and an instant ejection; here, what a world of business! what sprinkling! what censing! what blessings of herbs and other ingredients of suffumigation! what variety of direful ceremonies! and when all is done, the success shuts up no otherwise than in just suspicion or censure.

Not that free scope is given in these last times, without any check, to the tyranny of evil spirits. The good providence of the Highest hath not left us unfurnished with means of our freedom and deliverance. Whilst we can pray, we cannot be remediless. When the disciples' power stuck at the dispossession of a demoniac, they heard from our Saviour, *This kind goes not out but by fasting and prayer*. Whence it is plain, that as there are several kinds of devils, one worse and more powerful than another, so the worst of them are to be vanquished by prayer sharpened with abstinence.

What a difference then there is of times and means! At the first, it was a greater work to dispossess devils by prayer and fasting than by command; now, it were far greater to do it by a mere command than by prayer and fasting: that which was then ordinarily done were now strangely miraculous; and that which is in the ordinary course now was then rare and unusual: the power of an adjuring command we see ceased; the power of fervent prayer can never be out of date.

This, and this only, is the remedy of both bodily and mental possession; thus if we will *resist the devil, he shall flee away* from us. Upon the ground of this scripture it was, as myself was witness, that in our age Mr. Dayrel, a godly and zealous preacher, undertook, and accordingly, through the blessing of God upon his faithful devotion, performed those famous ejectments of evil spirits,

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both at Nottingham and Lancashire, which exercised the press and raised no small envy from the gainsayers.

Shortly, all that we have to do concerning malignant spirits is, to repay them with hatred; to persuade our hearts of their continual dogging of us for mischief; to arm ourselves with constant resolutions of resistance; diligently to watch the ways of their temptations; to keep the strongest guard upon our weakest parts; to fortify ourselves by our faithful prayers; and, by the virtue of our faith, to make Him ours who is able to strengthen us, and to make us more than conquerors.

Sect. X.—*Of the Woful Estate of the Souls of the Damned.*

It is not for our discourse to sever those whom the divine justice will have put together—devils and damned souls.

There is none of those evil spirits which doth not, wheresoever he is, carry his hell about him; yet, doubtless, there are degrees of their torture: *Art thou come to torment us before our time?* said those devils to our blessed Saviour: and how do they beg not to be commanded to the deep!

Reprobate souls are no less partners of their pain than objects of their fury. No sooner is this living spirit of ours dislodged from the body, than it is presented, as in a privy sessions, to her Judge, from whom she receives a speedy doom of life or death. The sentence is instantly seconded with an answerable execution. The good angels are glad actors in the happy instalment of the just in their glory; the evil angels seize upon the guilty soul, and drag it to their hell. For any third place or condition, let them take thought that believe it: for me, I must profess I never saw any colour of ground for it in the sacred oracles of God, and shall not easily believe, that a truth mainly importing us would have been concealed from our eyes.

Woe is me, what a doleful, what a dreadful spectacle is this which is now presented to my soul! the burning Tophet, the bottomless pit, the lake of fire and brimstone, the region of horror and death; wherein there is the perfection of all more than conceivable anguish, the full consummation of the divine vengeance to sinners: exquisiteness, eternity of torment; despair and impossibility of release or intermission; perpetual dying, perpetual living in a death that never can end. How are my thoughts at a loss in this place of confusion! whether shall I more tremble, O God, at the con-

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sideration of thy terrible justice, or be swallowed up with astonishment of these infinite and intolerable sufferings? I should not know thee, if I did not, with holy Chrysostom, believe, that the utter loss of thy presence alone is a thousand hells; to be for ever banished from thy sight, in which is the fulness of joy, what can it be less than fulness of torment? But, alas! this is far from a mere absence.

The very sin of the damned is no small part of their hell: for as all their powers, parts, faculties, are, as so many subjects of their insupportable pain and torture; so, out of that insufferable extremity, they conceive a desperate indignation and hatred against God; not as he is in himself, infinitely good, for goodness can be no object of hate; but as he is to them, a severe, though most just avenger of sin: to which is ever added a will obstinately fixed in evil; while they were in their way, they were in a possibility of reclamation; now that they are *in termino*, they can be no other than they are. As therefore the glorified souls are in a condition like to the angels of heaven; so the damned are in the state of devils; not more capable of avoiding torment than sin; equally *reserved in everlasting chains of darkness unto the judgment of the great day:* when, woe is me! that which seemed little less than infinite, shall yet receive a further aggravation of pain and misery; when the addition of the body shall give a further extent to this woful cruciation, without all possibility of release for ever.

Alas! what anguish do I feel in myself, to see the body of a malefactor flaming at a stake! and yet this is but the act of a few minutes; for the air, so vehemently incended, instantly stops the passage of that free breath which should maintain life; and the flesh, by opposition of that combustible matter which encompasses it, is soon turned into dead cinders. But I could conceive of a body frying a whole day in a continued flame: Lord, how should I be affected with the sad compassion of that intolerable torment; and burn inwardly with the sense of another's pain! but to think of a whole year's broiling in such a fire, how can it but turn our bowels within us! What then, O what is it, to conceive of lying in a fire, more intense than nature can kindle, for hundreds, thousands, millions, yea millions of millions of years; yea, further beyond these, than these are beyond a minute of time—to all eternity: where, besides the endurance, every thing that makes towards the mitigation of other pains adds to these!

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Here is society of tortures, but such as tortureth more: those perpetual howlings and shriekings and wailings of so many millions of the damned were enough to make the place an hell, even to him that should be exempted from those sufferings. Here is some glimpse of knowledge of the blessed estate of glorified souls, enough to heighten their envy, enough to perfect their torment; even as meat is set before that man which is doomed to famish. Shortly, here is exquisite disconsolateness, gloomy darkness, extreme horror, pain insufferable, hideous ejaculations, utter hopelessness, vexing indignation, furious blasphemies, infinite dolour and anguish; without relaxation, without pity, without possibility of remedy or ease or end. How can it be otherwise? O God, if thy mercy have prepared such a heaven for thy poor servants, whose very best works, for their great imperfection, deserve nothing but punishment; what an hell hath thy justice provided for those enemies of thine that wilfully despite thee, and offend of malicious wickedness! How infinitely art thou more just than sinners can be miserable!

But it is enough, O my soul, to have looked into the pit; enough to make thee to lament the woful condition of those that are there shut up: enough to warn thee to avoid those sinful ways that lead down to these chambers of death; enough to make thee think no tears can be sufficient to bewail the desperate carelessness of wretched sinners, that run on in a known course of wickedness, without any regard of an ensuing damnation. Alas! so are they bewitched, they have not the grace to pity themselves and to foresee the danger of their own utter perdition; which if they could but look into, they would be ready to run mad with horror. Poor souls, could they but recover their reason, they would then think, "If a thousand days' pleasure cannot weigh with one hour's torment, what do I buy one hour's pleasure with the torment of more than ten thousand ages? How do I dare to dance, for a few minutes, upon the mouth of hell with the peril of an everlasting burning? Surely, if infidelity had not robbed men of their wits, they could not resolve to purchase the momentary pleasures of sin with so dreadful and eternal damnation.

Sect. XI.—*A Recapitulation of the whole Discourse.*

And now what is to be done? Surely, as some traveller that hath with many weary steps passed through divers kingdoms and countries, being now returned to his quiet home, is wont to

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solace his leisure, by recalling to his thoughts a short mental landscape of those regions through which he hath journeyed; here conceiving a large plain, there a lake; here a track of mountains, there a wood; here a fen, there a city; here a sea, there a desert; so do thou, O my soul, upon this voyage of thine through the great invisible world, bethink thyself of what thou hast seen; and so abridge this large prospect to thyself as that it may never be out of thine eye.

Think, first, that, whatsoever thou seest, thou canst not look beside the invisible majesty of thy God. All this material world is his; he is in all; rather, all is in him, who so comprehends this universe that he is infinitely without it. Think of him, as with thee; as in thee; as every where. Do thou, therefore, ever acknowledge him, ever adore him, ever enjoy him, ever be approved of him. See him, from whom thou canst not be hid; rely on him, without whom thou canst not subsist; glorify him, without whom thou canst not be happy.

Next, as those that have their celestial life and being by, from, and in him, wonder at the glorious hierarchy of the heavenly angels; bless him, in their pure and spiritual nature, in their innumerable numbers, in their mighty power, in their excellent knowledge; bless him, in their comely orders, in their divine offices, in their beneficial employments, in their gracious care and love of mankind. And—so far as weak flesh and blood may with pure and majestical spirits—converse with them daily; entertain them—for thou knowest they are present—with awful observances, with spiritual allocutions; ask of thyself, how pleasing thine actions are to them; receive from them their holy injections; return to them, under thy God, thy thankful acknowledgments; expect from them a gracious tuition here, and an happy transportation to thy glory.

After these, represent to thyself the blessed society of the late charge, and now partners, of those heavenly angels, the glorified spirits of the just. See the certainty of their immortal being, in the state of their separation. See them, in the very instant of their parting, blessed with the vision, with the fruition of their God. See how they now bathe themselves in that celestial bliss; as being so fully sated with joy and happiness, that they cannot so much as desire more. See them, in a mutual interknowledge, enjoying each other's blessedness. See the happy communion which they hold with their warfaring brotherhood here upon

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earth; whose victory and consummation they do, in a generality, sue for to the throne of grace. Foresee them, lastly, after a longing desire of meeting with their old and never forgotten partner, joyfully reunited to their now-glorified bodies; and employing their eternity of life in continual hallelujahs to him that sits upon the throne. Take up thy rest here, O my soul, for ever.

But do not, as yet, thus end thy prospect; it is good for thee to know worse things. If in paradise the tree of the knowledge of good and evil were forbidden to our first parents, the act of the knowledge of both is not forbidden to us: even to know evil in speculation may avoid the knowledge of it in a woful experience. See then, O my soul, the best creature falleth from good into evil. In choosing it, see him, by misinclining his own will, apostatizing from his infinite Creator, and hurled down headlong from the height of heavenly glory to the bottom of the nethermost hell.

See the irrecoverable condition and dreadful numbers of those precipitated angels: see their formidable power; their implacable malice; their marvellous knowledge, craft, skill to do mischief; their perpetual machinations of our destruction, especially in their last assaults; see their counterfeisance, in their glorious and seemingly-holy apparitions, for a spiritual advantage.

And when thou hast recollected thyself to a resolution of defiance and unweariable resistance, cast thine eye upon the deplorable condition of those damned souls whom they have either betrayed by their fraud or by their violence mastered; and, whilst thou dost bless and magnify the divine justice in their deserved torment, spend thy tears upon those who would needs spend their eternity of being in weeping, wailing, and gnashing; and, lastly, rouse up thyself, in the moment of thy remaining life, unto all careful and fervent endeavours to save thyself, and to rescue others from this fearful damnation.

Sect. XII.—*The Comparison of both Worlds: and how our Thoughts and Affections should be taken up with the Invisible World.*

Now, then, having taken a view of both worlds; of the material world, by the eyes of sense and reason; of the invisible, by the eyes of reason and faith; I cannot but admire God in both, and both of them in God; but the invisible so much more, as it is infinitely beyond the other: for God himself is the world of this

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world; whom, while in the material world we admire in his creatures, in this immaterial we admire in himself. Now himself must needs be infinitely more wonderful than many worlds, if such there were, of those creations, that should proceed from him.

As for the parts of the created, but invisible world, it must needs be said, the lightsome part of it hath more glory than any piece of the material world can be capable of: on the contrary, the dark and privative region of the invisible world hath infinitely more horror than the other. For what is the worst and most disconsolate darkness of this visible world but a privation of the light of the sun, which yet can never be so absolute as to exclude all imperfect diffusion of those insensible glimmerings; whereas the darkness of this spiritual world is an utter privation of the sight of God, joined with an unconceivable anguish. Even in nature, spiritual essences must needs be more excellent than bodily; and of only spirits it is that the invisible world consisteth. Besides, what vanity and inconstancy do we find every where in this material and elementary world! what creature is there which doth not exchange life for death; being, for dissolution; sanity, for corruption? What uproars do we find in the air! what commotions and turbulencies upon earth! The best state of things is an uncertain vicissitude; the worst, certain desolation and destruction: whereas, the invisible world is settled in a firm and steady immutability; the blessed angels and souls of the saints being so fixed in their glory, that they are now no more capable of alteration. Shortly, he that saw both worlds shuts up all in one word: *The things that are seen are temporal; the things that are not seen, eternal.*

As, then, I can never open my bodily eyes but I shall see the material world—and I hope I shall never see it, but I shall praise the power and wisdom and goodness of the infinite Creator of it—so shall it be one of the main cares of my life, to bless the eyes of my soul with the perpetual view of the spiritual and invisible world. Every action, every occurrent, shall mind me of those hidden and better things; and I shall so admit of all material objects, as if they were altogether transparent, that through them I might see wonderful prospects of another world. And, certainly, if we shall be able so to withdraw ourselves from our senses, that we shall see, not what we see, but what we think, as it uses to be in the strong intentions of the mind; and shall make earthly things, not as lunettes to shut up our sight, but spectacles

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to transmit it to spiritual objects; we shall lead a life as far removed from those beasts which we see, as near approaching to those angels whom we converse with and see not.

Neither shall it be enough for us to know an invisible world, and to consider that all we see is the least part of what we see not, unless we be so affected to the unseen world as we ought. It is not knowledge that must show us how to be Christians, but it is our affection that must make us so.

In the acknowledgment therefore of an invisible glory and infiniteness, our hearts must be ever taken up with a continual awe and reverence. If some great prince shall vouchsafe to let me be seen of him, although he please to keep himself unseen of me; and shall only, according to the state of some great eastern monarchs, speak to me behind a veil or traverse; or, as the great Prete of the south had wont to grace ambassadors, show me only some part of his leg[k], so as that I may understand him to be present; I should think it concerned me to carry myself in no less seemly fashion towards him, than if I saw his face; for his sight of me calls for a due regard from me, not my sight of him.

Since therefore we have so certain demonstrations of the undoubted presence of God and his holy angels ever with us, though not discernible by our bodily eyes, with what fear and trembling, with what reverence and devotion, should we always stand or walk before them! making it our main care to be approved of them, to whom we lie no less open than they are hid to us.

As for the glorified saints of God, who are gone before us to our home, with what spiritual joy should we be ravished at the consideration of their blessed condition! who now have attained to the end of their hopes, glory and bliss without end; ever seeing, ever enjoying him, at whose right hand are pleasures for evermore: how should we bless God for their blessedness, and long for our own!

Lastly, how should our joy be seasoned with a cautious fear, when we cast our eyes upon those objects of dread and horror, the principalities and powers of darkness; not so confined to their hell as to leave us untempted, and increasing their sin and torment by our temptation!

How should our hearts bleed with sorrow and commiseration of those wretched souls, which we see daily entangled in the snares of the devil, and captived by him at his will here on

[k] Jo. Leo Afric. Descr. Afr.

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earth, and frying under his everlasting torments in the pit of hell!

How should our hearts be prepossessed with a most earnest and vigilant care to resist all the dangerous assaults of those wicked spirits, and to prevent the peril of our own like woful destruction! If we shall make this use of our being in this visible world, happy are we that ever we came into it, more happy in our going out of it; for having thus used it as if we used it not, we shall so enjoy the other as those that ever enjoy it, and in it all glory, honour, immortality.

Lo, then, O my soul, the glorious world which thou art now aspiring unto, yea, whereinto thou art now entering. There, there fix thyself, never to be removed. Look down upon these inferior things with an overly contempt; forget what is past, as if it had never been. Bid a willing farewell to this visible world, wherein thy Creator hath a just interest of glory, for that the substance of it is the wondrous workmanship of his hands; so Satan, styled the prince of it, claimeth no small share, in regard of its sinful depravation.

Farewell, then, ye frivolous and windy honours, whose management is ever wont to be in other hands, not in our own; which have ever been no less fickle than the breath ye have depended upon; whose chief use hath been for temptation, to puff up the heart with a proud conceit of eminence above others; not requiting, in the mean while, the danger, with any solid contentment.

Farewell, ye deceitful riches, which, when we have, we cannot hold, and even while we hold we cannot enjoy; and if we offer and affect to enjoy, is it not with our spiritual loss? for what love we yield, to cast away upon you, we abate to Him that is the true and all-sufficient good. More than for necessary use we are never the better for you, oftentimes the worse; your load is more uneasy than your worth is precious.

Farewell pleasures, if I ever knew what ye were, which have always wont to afford more sting than honey; whose only scope hath professedly been, under a pretence of delectation, to debauch and emasculate the mind, and to disrelish all spiritual comforts: where your expectation hath been somewhat delightful, your fruition hath been unsatisfying, your loss displeasing, your remembrance irksome.

Farewell friends, some of whose unsteadiness and unfaithfulness hath helped to add to my load, which the fidelity of others had

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not power to ease; whose love might be apt to condole my shipwreck, but could not spare me a plank to swim to the shore; shortly, whose common misery may be more ready to receive than give comfort.

The honour that now I reach at is no less than a crown; and that, not fading and corruptible, as all these earthly diadems are, but immarcessibly eternal; a crown of righteousness, a crown of glory.

The riches that I am now for are not such that are digged out of the base entrails of the earth, obnoxious to spoil and plunder, but treasures laid up in heaven.

The pleasures that I now affect are the fulness of joy at the right hand of the Almighty for evermore.

The friends that I ambitiously sue for are those that shall receive me into everlasting habitations. Lastly, farewell vanishing life, and welcome blessed eternity; even so, Lord Jesu, come quickly.

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A BRIEF SUM

OF THE

PRINCIPLES OF RELIGION,

FIT TO BE KNOWN OF SUCH AS WOULD ADDRESS THEMSELVES TO

GOD'S TABLE.

Q. How many things are required of a Christian?

A. Two: knowledge and practice.

Q. What are we bound to know?

A. God and ourselves.

Q. What must we know of God?

A. What one he is, and what he hath done.

Q. What is God?

A. He is one Almighty and Infinite Spirit, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

Q. What hath he done?

A. He hath made all things: he governeth and preserveth all things; and hath eternally decreed how all things shall be done; and hath revealed his will to us in his Word.

Q. What more must we know concerning God and his actions?

A. That God the Son, Jesus Christ, took our nature upon him, died for our redemption, rose again, and now liveth, gloriously in heaven, making intercession for us.

Q. Thus much concerning God: what must we know of ourselves?

A. What we were, what we are, and what we shall be.

Q. What were we?

A. We were made at first perfect and happy, according to God's image, in knowledge, in holiness, in righteousness.

Q. What are we?

A. Ever since the fall of our first parents, we are all naturally the sons of wrath, subject to misery and death: but those whom God chooseth out to himself are in part renewed through grace, and have the image of God in part repaired in them.

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Q. What shall we be?

A. At the general resurrection of all flesh, those which were in part renewed here shall be fully perfected and glorified in body and soul; those which have lived and died in their sins shall be judged to perpetual torments.

Q. Thus much for our knowledge: now for our practice, What is required of us?

A. Due obedience and service of God; both in our ordinary course of life, and also in the special exercises of his worship.

Q. What is that obedience which is required of us in the ordinary course of our life?

A. It is partly prescribed us by the Law and partly by the Gospel.

Q. What doth the Law require?

A. The Law, contained in Ten Commandments, enjoineth us all piety to God and all justice and charity to our neighbour.

Q. What doth the Gospel require?

A. Faith in the Lord Jesus, with the fruit of it, repentance; as our only remedy for the breach of the Law.

Q. What is faith?

A. The affiance of the soul upon Christ Jesus, depending upon him alone for forgiveness and salvation.

Q. What is repentance?

A. An effectual breaking off our old sins with sorrow and detestation, and an earnest purpose and endeavour of contrary obedience.

Q. Thus much of our obedience in the whole course of life: What are the services required more specially in the immediate exercises of God's worship?

A. They are chiefly three: first, due hearing and reading the word; secondly, receiving the sacraments; thirdly, prayer.

Q. Which call you the word of God?

A. The holy scriptures, contained in the Old and New Testament.

Q. How many sacraments are there?

A. Two: Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

Q. What is the use of Baptism?

A. By water washing the body, to assure us that the blood of Christ applied to the soul of every believer cleanseth him from his sins.

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Q. What is the use of the Lord's Supper?

A. To be a sign, a seal, a pledge unto us, of Christ Jesus given for us and given to us.

Q. What signifies the bread and wine?

A. The body and blood of Christ, broken and poured out for our redemption.

Q. What is required of every receiver?

A. Upon pain of judgment, that he prepare himself by examination.

Q. Whereof must a man examine himself?

A. Whether he find in himself, first, competent knowledge; secondly, a true, though weak, faith; thirdly unfeigned repentance for his sins; fourthly, charity and readiness to forgive; fifthly; a hungering desire to this sacrament; sixthly, a thankful heart for Christ, and it.

Q. What is prayer?

A. A calling upon God through Christ for a supply of all our wants, and praising him for all his blessings.

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SOLOMON'S DIVINE ARTS,

OF

1. ETHICS; 2. POLITICS; 3. ECONOMICS.

THAT IS,

THE GOVERNMENT

OF

1. BEHAVIOUR; 2. COMMONWEALTH; 3. FAMILY.

DRAWN INTO METHOD, OUT OF HIS PROVERBS AND ECCLESIASTES.

BY JOS. HALL.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE AND HOPEFUL LORD,

ROBERT, EARL OF ESSEX[a].

MY SINGULAR GOOD LORD, ALL INCREASE OF GRACE AND TRUE HONOUR.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—Whilst I desired to congratulate your happy return with some worthy present, I fell upon this: which I dare not only offer, but commend; the royalest philosopher and wisest king giving you those precepts which the Spirit of God gave him.

The matter is all his: nothing is mine but the method, which I do willingly submit to censure. In that, he could not err; in this, I cannot but have erred, either in art, or application, or sense, or disorder, or defect; yet not wilfully. I have meant it well and faithfully to the Church of God, and to your Honour, as one of her great hopes.

If any man shall cavil, that I have gone about to correct Solomon's order, or to control Hezekiah's servants, I complain both of his charity and wisdom, and appeal to more lawful judgment. Let him as well say, that every concordance perverts the text. I have only endeavoured to be the commonplace book of that great king, and to refer his divine rules to their heads, for more ease of finding, for better memory, for readier use.

See how that God, whose wisdom thought good to bereave mankind of Solomon's profound commentaries of nature, hath reserved these his divine morals to outlive the world; as knowing that those would but feed man's curiosity; these would both direct his life and judge it. He hath not done this without expectation of our good, and glory to himself; which if we answer, the gain is ours.

I know how little need there is, either to entreat your lordship's acceptation, or to advise your use. It is enough to have humbly presented them to your hands, and through them to the Church, the desire of whose good is my good, yea, my recompense and glory.

The same God, whose hand hath led and returned you in safety from all foreign evils, guide your ways at home, and graciously increase you in the ground of all true honour—goodness. My prayers shall ever follow you:

Who vow myself
your Honour's,
in all humble and true duty,
JOS. HALL.

[a] [Only son of the favourite of queen Elizabeth; left England on his travels in 1608.—See Epistles, Decade i. Ep. 8. vol. vi. p. 151. "Advice for his travels."]

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SOLOMON'S

ETHICS OR MORALS.

IN FOUR BOOKS.

1. OF FELICITY; 2. OF PRUDENCE; 3. OF JUSTICE; 4. OF { TEMPERANCE, FORTITUDE.

THE FIRST BOOK.

FELICITY.

SECTION I.

Of Ethics in common { The description. / The chief end, which is Felicity.

Ethics is a doctrine *of wisdom and knowledge* to live well, *and of the madness and foolishness* of vice: or *instruction to do wisely by justice and judgment and equity, and to do good in our life.* The end whereof is, *to see* and attain *that* chief *goodness of the children of men which they enjoy under the sun the whole number of the days of their life.* Eccl. i. 17, vii. 25; Prov. i. 3; Eccl. iii. 12, ii. 3.

SECTION II.

Wherein Felicity is not: { Not in pleasure. / Not in wealth: for herein is { 1. No satisfaction. 2. Increased expense. 3. Restlessness. 4. Want of fruition. 5. Uncertainty. 6. Necessity of leaving it.

Which consists *not in pleasure;* for *I said in my heart, Go to now, I will prove thee with joy, therefore take thou pleasure in pleasant things; yea, I withdrew not my heart from any*

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joy: for my heart rejoiced in all my labour: and who could eat, and who could haste to outward things more than I? and, behold, this also is vanity. Eccl. ii. 1. 10. 25. 1.

Not in riches. 1. *For he that loveth silver shall not be satisfied with silver; and he that loveth riches shall be without the fruit of them; this also is vanity.* 2. *When riches increase, they are increased that eat them; and what good cometh to the owners thereof, but the beholding thereof with their eyes?* yea much evil; *for* whereas *the sleep of him that travaileth is sweet, whether he eat little or much;* contrarily, *the satiety of the rich will not suffer him to sleep; so there is an evil sickness which I have seen under the sun, riches reserved to the owners thereof for their evil,* and ofter, not for their good: *for there is another evil which I have seen under the sun, and it is frequent among men; a man to whom God hath given riches and treasures and honour, and he wanteth nothing for his soul of all it desireth; but God giveth him not power to eat thereof;* and if he have that, yet how long? *Riches* remain *not always, but taketh her to her wings as an eagle, and flieth to the heavens.* And for their owner: *as he came forth of his mother's belly, he shall return naked, to go as he came, and shall bear away nothing of his labour, which he caused to pass by his hand: and this is also an evil sickness, that in all points as he came, so shall he go: and what profit hath he that he hath travailed for the wind?* Eccl. v. 10, 11, 12. vi. 1, 2; Prov. xxvii. 24. xxiii. 5; Eccl. v. 15, 16.

Section III.

Not in magnificence { of Estate, { Royalty, Great attendance. / of Works, { Planting, Gathering Treasures, Building, &c.

Not in honour and magnificence. *I, the preacher, have been king over Israel in Jerusalem; and I was great, and increased above all that were before me in Jerusalem:* which also I showed in effect; for *I made me great works; I built me houses; I planted me vineyards; I made me gardens and orchards, and planted in them trees of all fruits; I made me ponds of water, to water therewith the woods that grow with trees; I got me servants and maids, and had children born in the house; also I had*

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great possessions of beeves and sheep above all that were before me in Jerusalem; I gathered to me also silver and gold, and the chief treasures of kings and provinces; I provided men-singers and women-singers, and the delights of the sons of men, musical concerts of all kinds. Yea, I, king Solomon, made myself a palace of the trees of Lebanon: I made the pillars thereof of silver, and the pavement thereof of gold, the hangings thereof of purple, whose midst was paved with the love of the daughters of Israel: then I looked on all my works that my hands had wrought, (as who is the man that will compare with the king in things which men now have done?) *and on the travail that I laboured to do; and, behold, all is vanity and vexation of spirit, and there is no profit under the sun.* Eccles. i. 12, 16. ii. 9, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8; Cant. iii. 9, 10; Eccles. ii. 11, 12, 11.

SECTION IV.

Long life and issue rejected, for { Certain end, Unperfect satisfaction, Remembrance and continuance of darkness.

Not in long life and plenteous issue: for *if a man beget an hundred children, and live many years, and the days of his years be multiplied, and his soul be not satisfied with good things, and he be not buried, I say, that an untimely fruit is better than he. For he cometh into vanity, and goeth into darkness; and his name shall be covered with darkness: also, he hath not seen the sun, nor known it; therefore this hath more rest than the other: and if he had lived a thousand years twice told, and had seen no good; shall not all go to one place?* and howsoever, *the light surely is a pleasant thing, and it is good for the eyes to see the sun, yet though a man live many years, and in them all he rejoice; if he shall remember the days of darkness, because they are many, and all that cometh is vanity.* Eccles. vi. 3, 4, 5, 6, xi. 7, 8.

SECTION V.

Knowledge { Though better than folly; yet rejected, upon { Experience, Indifferency of events, Imperfection.

Not in learning and human knowledge. *I have given my heart to search and find out wisdom in all things that are done*

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under the heaven, (this sore travail hath God given the sons of men to humble them thereby,) yea, *I thought in mine heart and said, Behold, I have amplified and increased wisdom, above all them that have been before me,* in the court and university of *Jerusalem, and mine heart hath seen much wisdom and knowledge: for* (when I was at the wildest) *my wisdom remained with me: then I saw indeed that there is profit in wisdom more than in folly, as the light is more excellent than darkness: for the wise man's eyes are in his head; but the fool walketh in darkness: but yet I know that the same condition falleth to them all. Then I thought in mine heart, It befalleth to me as it befalleth to the fool; why therefore do I labour to be more wise? for what hath the wise man more than the fool? There shall be no remembrance of the wise nor of the fool for ever; for that, that now is, in the days to come shall be forgotten: and how dieth the wise man? as doth the fool.* Besides the imperfection of the best knowledge; *for the eye is not satisfied with seeing, nor the ear filled with hearing. I thought I would be wise, but it went far from me: it is far off, what may it be? and it is a profound deepness, who can find it?* yea, so far is it from giving contentment, that *in the multitude of wisdom is much grief; and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow.* Eccles. i. 13, 16, ii. 9, 13, 14, 15, vi. 8, ii. 16, i. 8, vii. 23, i. 18.

Lastly, not in any human thing: for *I have considered all the works that are done under the sun; and, behold, all is vanity and vexation of spirit.* Eccles. i. 14.

Section VI.

Wherein Felicity is:
1. In approving ourselves to God. From hence
   - Life,
   - Blessing,
     - Favour,
     - Joy,
     - Preservation,
     - Prosperity,
     - Long life, &c.

Wherein then doth it consist? *Let us hear the end of all; Fear God, and keep his commandments; for this is the whole of man,* the *whole* duty, the *whole* scope, the *whole* happiness; for *life is in the way of righteousness, and in that path there is no death;* and attending thereon; all *blessings are upon the head of the righteous.* Wouldest thou have favour? *A good man getteth favour of the Lord:* Joy? *The righteous shall sing and rejoice;* and *surely to a man that is good in his sight,*

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God giveth wisdom and knowledge and joy; so that *the light of the righteous rejoiceth, but the candle of the wicked shall be put out.* Preservation and deliverance? *Lo, the righteous is an everlasting foundation;* for *the way of the Lord is strength to the upright man,* so as *the righteous shall never be removed:* and if he be in trouble; *Riches avail not in the day of wrath, but righteousness delivereth from death; so the righteous shall come out of adversity, and escape out of trouble, and the wicked shall come in his stead:* thus every way *righteousness preserveth the upright in heart.* Prosperity and wealth? *The house of the righteous shall have much treasure, and his tabernacle shall flourish.* Long life? *The fear of the Lord increaseth the days;* and not only himself, *but his house shall stand. And though a sinner do evil an hundred times, and God prolong his days, yet know I that it shall be well to them that fear the Lord, and do reverence before him.* And, lastly, whatsoever good? *God will grant the desire of the righteous; and he that keepeth the Law is blessed.* Eccles. xii. 13; Prov. xii. 28, xi. 19, x. 6, xii. 2, xxix. 6; Eccles. ii. 26; Prov. xiii. 9, x. 25, 29, 30, xi. 4, xii. 13, xi. 8, xiii. 6, xv. 6, xiv. 11, x. 27, xii. 7; Eccles. viii. 12; Prov. x. 24, xxix. 18.

SECTION VII.

In the estate of wickedness,
- our good things are accursed,
  - Wealth,
  - Life,
  - Fame,
  - Devotions; { Prayers, Sacrifices.
- Evil inflicted; of
  - Loss,
  - Pain, { Affliction, Death, Damnation.

Contrarily, there is perfect misery in wickedness. Look on all that might seem good in this estate, Wealth: *The treasures of the wicked profit nothing; the Lord will not famish the soul of the righteous, but he* either *casteth away the substance of the wicked,* so that *the belly of the wicked shall want,* or else employeth it to the good of his: *for the wicked shall be a ransom for the just; and to the sinner God giveth pain to gather and to heap, to give to him that is good before God.* The wicked man may be rich; but how? *The revenues of the wicked is trouble.* Life: *The years of the wicked shall be diminished: as the whirl-*

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wind passeth, so is the wicked no more; for *God overthroweth the wicked, and they are not.* Whatsoever therefore their hope be, *the wicked shall be cut off from the earth, and the transgressors shall be rooted out: it shall not be well to the wicked, neither shall he prolong his days; he shall be like to a shadow, because he feared not God:* yea, the very *house of the wicked shall be destroyed.* Fame: Whereas *the memorial of the just shall be blessed, the name of the wicked shall rot:* yea, look upon his best endeavours; his prayers: *The Lord is far off from the wicked, but heareth the prayer of the righteous:* far off from accepting. For, *He that turneth away his ear from hearing the Law, even his prayer shall be abominable: his sacrifice* (though well intended), *as all the rest of his ways, is* no better than *abomination to the Lord; how much more when he brings it with a wicked mind?* And as no good, so much evil; whether of loss: *The way of the wicked will deceive them; their hope shall perish,* especially *when they die; their candle shall be put out, their works shall prove deceitful:* or of pain; *for the Excellent, that formed all things, rewardeth the fool and the transgressor;* and he hath appointed that *affliction shall follow sinners:* Follow? yea overtake them: *his own iniquity shall take the wicked himself, and cover his mouth: and he shall be holden with the cords of his own sin:* even *in the transgression of the evil man is his snare; so the wicked shall fall in his own wickedness;* for, of its own self, *iniquity overthroweth the sinner:* but, besides that, *the curse of the Lord is in the house of the wicked: though hand join in hand, he shall not be unpunished: behold, the righteous shall be paid upon earth, how much more the wicked and the sinner? That* then *which the wicked man feareth shall come upon him:* both death; *He shall die for the default of instruction,* and that by his own hands; *for by following evil he seeks his own death,* and after that, damnation: *The wicked shall be cast away for his malice: hell and destruction are before the Lord; and a man of wicked imaginations will he condemn:* so both in life, in death, after it, nothing but *terror shall be for the workers of iniquity:* where, contrarily, *The fear of the Lord leadeth to life; and he that is filled therewith shall continue, and shall not be visited with evil.* Prov. x. 2, 3, xiii. 25, xxi. 18; Eccles. ii. 26; Prov. xv. 6, x. 27, 25, xii. 7, ii. 22; Eccles. viii. 13; Prov. xiv. 11, x. 7, xv. 29, xxviii. 9, xv. 8, 9, xxi. 27,

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xii. 26, xi. 7, xiii. 9, xi. 18, xxvi. 10, xiii. 21, v. 22, x. 6, xxix. 6, xi. 5, xiii. 6, iii. 33, xi. 31, x. 24, v. 23, xi. 19, xiv. 32, xv. 11, xii. 2, x. 29, xix. 23.

THE SECOND BOOK.

PRUDENCE.

Section I.

Of Virtue: { Wherein it consisteth. / Whereby it is ruled and directed.

Virtue consists in the mean; vice in extremes. *Let thy ways be ordered aright: turn not to the right hand nor to the left, but remove thy foot from evil;* the rule whereof is God's law: *for the commandment is a lantern, and instruction a light; and every word of God is pure. My son, hearken to my words, incline thine ear to my sayings: let them not depart from thine eyes, but keep them in the midst of thine heart: for they are life unto those that find them, and health unto all their flesh. Keep my commandments, and thou shalt live, and mine instruction as the apple of thine eye: bind them upon thy fingers, and write them upon the table of thine heart.* Prov. iv. 26, 27, vi. 23, xxx. 5, iv. 20, 21, 22, vii. 2, 3.

All Virtue is either { Prudence, / Justice, / Temperance, / Fortitude.

1. Of Prudence: which comprehends { Wisdom, / Providence, / Discretion.

Section II.

Of Wisdom; the { Description, / Effects, / It procures { Knowledge, / Safety, { from sin, / from judgment. / Good direction { for actions, / for words. / Wealth, Honour, Life.

The prudent man is he whose eyes are in his head to see all

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things, and to foresee; and *whose heart is at his right hand* to do all dexterously, and with judgment. *Wisdom dwells with prudence, and findeth forth knowledge and counsels.* And to describe it: *The wisdom of the prudent is to understand his way;* his own: *If thou be wise thou shalt be wise for thyself:* an excellent virtue; for, *blessed is the man that findeth wisdom, and getteth understanding; the merchandise thereof is better than silver, and the gain thereof is better than gold: it is more precious than pearls; and all the things that thou canst desire are not to be compared to her. Length of days is in her right hand; and in her left hand riches and glory: her ways are ways of pleasure, and all her paths prosperity: she is a tree of life to them that lay hold on her, and blessed is he that receiveth her.* The fruits of it are singular: for, first, *A wise heart doth* not only seek, *but get knowledge, without which the mind is not good; and the ear of the wise, learning:* and not get it only, *but lay it up;* and not so only, but *works by it:* and yet more, *is crowned with it.* Besides knowledge, here is safety. *When wisdom entereth into thy heart, and knowledge delighteth thy soul, then shall counsel preserve thee, and understanding shall keep thee, and deliver thee from the evil way, and from the man that speaketh froward things, and from them that leave the ways of righteousness, to walk in the ways of darkness:* and as from sin, so from judgment; *The way of life is on high to the prudent to avoid from hell beneath.* Thirdly, good direction. 1. For actions: *Wisdom causeth to walk in the way of righteousness and in the midst of the paths of judgment.* 2. For words: *The heart of the wise guideth his mouth wisely, and addeth doctrine to his lips;* so that *the words of the mouth of a wise man have grace;* yea, he receives grace from others. Either *instruct* or *reprove the prudent, and he will understand knowledge.* Not to speak of wealth: *she causeth them that love her to inherit substance, and filleth their treasures:* she giveth not only honour; for *the wisdom of a man doth make his face to shine,* and *the wise man shall inherit glory;* but life: *Understanding is a well-spring of life to him that hath it; and he that findeth me* (saith Wisdom) *findeth life, and shall obtain favour of the Lord.* Wherefore *get wisdom; get understanding: forget not, neither decline from the words of my mouth. Forsake her not, and she shall keep thee; love her, and she shall preserve thee. Wisdom is the beginning: get wisdom* therefore,

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and above all possessions get understanding: exalt her, and she shall exalt thee: she shall bring thee unto honour, if thou embrace her: she shall give a goodly ornament to thine head; yea, she shall give thee a crown of glory. Eccles. ii. 14, x. 2; Prov. viii. 12, xiv. 8, ix. 12, iii. 13, 14, xvi. 16, iii. 15, 16, 17, 18, xv. 14, xviii. 15, xix. 2, x. 14, xiii. 16, xiv. 18, ii. 10, 11, 12, 13, xv. 24, viii. 20, xvi. 23; Eccles. x. 12; Prov. xix. 25, viii. 21; Eccles. viii. 1; Prov. iii. 35, xvi. 22, viii. 35, iv. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

SECTION III.

Of Providence: { What she is, / What her objects, / What her effects.

Providence is that *whereby the heart of the wise foreknoweth the time and judgment;* the time, when it will be; *the judgment,* how it will be done: *both which are appointed to every purpose under heaven.* Not that man can foresee all future things: no, *he knoweth not that that shall be; for who can tell him when it shall be?* not so much as concerning himself. *Neither doth man know his time: but as the fishes are taken with an evil net, and as the birds which are caught in the snare; so are the children of men snared in the evil time, when it falleth on them suddenly: yea, the steps of a man are ruled by the Lord; how should a man then understand his own way?* But sometimes he may: *The prudent man seeth the plague afar off, and fleeth:* and as for good things, *With the pismire he provideth his meat in summer,* working still according to foreknowledge; yet not too strictly, and fearfully: *for he that observeth the wind shall not sow; and he that regardeth the clouds shall not reap.* Eccles. viii. 5, 6, 7, ix. 12; Prov. xx. 24, xxii. 3, xxx. 25; Eccles. xi. 4.

SECTION IV.

Of Discretion: { What it is. / What it worketh { for our acts, / for our speeches.

Discretion is that whereby *a man is wise in his businesses,* and whereby *the heart of the wise guideth his mouth wisely, and addeth doctrine to his lips.* For actions: *The prudent will consider his steps,* and make choice of his times: for *to all things there is an appointed time; and a time for every purpose under heaven; a time to plant, and a time to pluck up that which is planted; a time to slay, and a time to heal, &c.; a time of war,*

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and a time of peace: from hence it is that *the wise man is strong* and rich: *for by knowledge shall the chambers be filled with precious things*, which he knows how to employ well: *The crown of the wise is their riches;* from hence that *his good understanding maketh him acceptable* to others. For speeches: *The tongue of the wise useth knowledge aright*, and *in the lips of him that hath understanding wisdom is found; and his words have grace*, both 1. for the seasonableness: *A word spoken in his place is like apples of gold with pictures of silver: and how good is a word in due season!* 2. for the worth of them: *The lips of knowledge are a precious jewel:* lastly, for their use: *The lips of the wise shall preserve them, and their tongue is health*, and with health, *pleasure: Fair words are as an honeycomb; sweetness to the soul, and health to the bones*, Prov. xvi. 20, 23, xiv. 15; Eccles. iii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 8; Prov. xxiv. 5, xiv. 24, xiii. 15, xv. 2, x. 13, 32, xxv. 11, xv. 23, xx. 15, xiv. 3, xii. 18, xvi. 24.

Section V.

The extremes,
- Overwise,
- Foolish.
  - Who he is:
  - What kinds there be of fools;
    - The mere fool,
    - The rash fool,
    - The wicked fool.
  - What success.

Here are two extremes: On the right hand; *Make not thyself over wise: wherefore shouldest thou be desolate?* On the left: *Neither be foolish: why shouldest thou perish not in thy time? The fool* is that man *that wandereth out of the way of wisdom, which hath none heart*, that is, *is destitute of understanding*, either to conceive or to do as he ought: Of which sort is, 1. The mere fool: *That fool who when he goeth by the way his heart faileth; whose folly is foolishness; in whose hand there is a price in vain to get wisdom*, which *is too high for him* to attain; lastly, *in whom are not the lips of knowledge.* 2. The rash fool: *That is hasty in his matters, that poureth out all his mind* at once, *which the wise man keeps in till afterward;* that *hasteth with his feet*, and therefore sinneth. *There is more hope of* the other *fool than of him.* 3. The wicked fool: *That despiseth wisdom and instruction, that maketh a mock of sin; to whom it is an abomination to depart from evil: to whom foolishness is* joy; yea, *it is his pastime to do wickedly*, and his practice *to spread abroad folly.* And this man is obstinate in his courses; for

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though thou bray a fool in a mortar among wheat brayed with a pestle, yet will not his foolishness depart from him; and though it seem to depart, yet *as a dog turneth again to his vomit, so returns he to his foolishness.* Spare thy labour therefore: *speak not in the ears of a fool: for he will despise the wisdom of thy words.* To these saith Wisdom, *O ye foolish, how long will ye love foolishness, and the scornful take pleasure in scorning, and fools hate knowledge? Turn you at my correction. Lo, I will pour out my mind unto you, and make you understand my words. Because I have called, and ye refused; I have stretched out my hand, and none would regard; but ye have despised all my counsel, and would none of my correction: I will also laugh at your destruction, and mock when your fear cometh, like sudden desolation, and your destruction shall come like a whirlwind; when affliction and anguish shall come upon you. Then shall they call upon me, but I will not answer; they shall seek me early, but they shall not find me; because they hated knowledge, and did not choose the fear of the Lord: they would none of my counsel, but despised all my correction; therefore shall they eat of the fruit of their own way, and be filled with their own devices:* and what is that fruit but sorrow? *Even in laughing their heart is sorrowful; and the end of that mirth is heaviness:* and *like the noise of thorns under a pot, so* (short and vain) *is the laughter of fools:* what but stripes? *A rod shall be for the back of him that is destitute of understanding:* yea, it is proper to him: *To the horse belongeth a whip, to the ass a bridle, and a rod to the fool's back:* wherewith not only himself *shall be beaten, but the companion of fools shall be afflicted.* Lastly, what but death? *Fools shall die for want of wit, and remain in the congregation of the dead:* yea, *the mouth of the fool is present destruction;* and, *The lips of a fool shall devour himself,* and that which should seem to preserve him, very *ease, slayeth the foolish, and the prosperity of fools destroyeth them;* Eccles. vii. 16; Prov. xxi. 16, xvii. 16, xv. 2, xiv. 24, xvii. 16, xxiv. 7, xxix. 20, 11, xix. 2, xxix. 20, i. 7, xiv. 9, xiii. 19, xv. 21, x. 23, xiii. 16, xxvii. 22, xxvi. 11, xxiii. 9, i. 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, xiv. 13; Eccles. vii. 6; Prov. x. 13, xxvi. 3, x. 8, 10, xiii. 20, x. 21, xxi. 16, x. 14; Eccles. x. 12; Prov. i. 32.

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THE THIRD BOOK.

JUSTICE.

- Justice gives to each his own:
  - To God, Piety: which comprehends
    - Fear,
    - Honour and respect,
    - Obedience.

    [a]
  - To God and Man
    - Fidelity.
    - Truth
      - In words.
      - In dealings.
    - Love.
  - To Man only,
    - Others,
      - Mercy,
      - Liberality.
    - Ourselves,
      - Diligence in our vocations.

Section I.

1. Of justice in general.
2. Of the fear of God,
   - what it is,
   - what fruits it hath
     - Present.
     - Future.

Next to prudence is justice. *A man of understanding walketh uprightly: the just man,* therefore, *is he that walketh in his integrity; and whose path is to decline from evil;* and, briefly, *he that deals truly in giving* each his own; Prov. xv. 21, xx. 7, xvi. 17, xii. 22.

Whether to God; unto whom justice challengeth piety: which comprehends, first, *the fear of the Lord; and this fear of the Lord is to hate evil, as pride, arrogancy, and the evil way;* and *in all our ways to acknowledge God, that he may direct our ways:* so that *he that walketh in his righteousness feareth the Lord; but he that is lewd in his ways despiseth him:* which grace, as *it is the beginning of knowledge,* and *the very instruction of wisdom,* so in some respect knowledge is the beginning of it; for *if thou callest after knowledge, and criest for understanding; if thou seekest her as silver, and searchest for her as treasures: then shalt thou understand the fear of the Lord, and*

[a] Honour and obedience are indeed mixed duties of justice both to God and man; but because as they belong to man, they are politic virtues and there handled; here we consider them only as due to God.

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find the knowledge of God: and this fear gives both contentment; *Better is a little with the fear of the Lord, than great treasure and trouble therewith;* and 2. future hope: *Fear the Lord continually: for surely there is an end, and thy hope shall not be cut off.* In which regard, *this fear of the Lord is an assured strength* to depend upon; because *his children shall have hope,* yea, and present health and joy. *Fear the Lord, and depart from evil; so health shall be to thy navel, and marrow to thy bones:* and with health, life eternal. *The fear of the Lord leadeth to life,* yea, *is a well-spring thereof; and he that is filled therewith, shall continue, and shall not be visited with evil;* so that *blessed is the man that feareth alway:* whereas, on the contrary, *he that hardeneth his heart, and denies God, and saith, Who is the Lord? shall fall into evil;* Prov. viii. 13, iii. 6, xiv. 2, i. 7, xv. 33, ii. 3, 4, 5, xv. 16, xxiii. 18, xiv. 26, iii. 7, 8, xix. 23, xiv. 27, xxviii. 14, xxx. 9, xxviii. 14.

Section II.

Honour.... { In the best things. / In the best times.

Obedience { In attending on his will. / In performing it.

Secondly, Honour and respect; both from the best things: *Honour the Lord with thy riches, and the firstfruits of all thy increase; so shall thy barns be filled with abundance, and thy presses shall burst with new wine:* and in our best times; *Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth, while the evil days come not, nor the years approach, wherein thou shalt say, I have no pleasure in them;* Prov. iii. 9, 10; Eccles. xii. 1.

Thirdly, Obedience; *He that obeyeth me shall dwell safely* (saith Wisdom), *and be quiet from fear of evil:* whether in attendance to the will of God, *My son, hearken to my words, incline thine ear unto my sayings; let them not depart from thine eyes, but keep them in the midst of thine heart:* for, *He that regardeth instruction is in the way of life; whereas he that turneth away his ear from it, his very prayer shall be abominable;* or in executing of it: *He that keepeth the commandment is a child of understanding;* yea, *he is blessed,* and *thereby keepeth his own soul:* where *they that forsake the law praise the wicked:* and *he that despiseth his ways, shall die;* Prov. i. 33, iv. 20, 21, x. 17, xxviii. 9, 7, 4, xix. 16.

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Section III.

Fidelity { In performances, { To God; To man. / In faithful reproof.

Or whether to God and man. 1. *Fidelity:* both, first in performing that we have undertaken: *If thou have vowed a vow to God, defer not to pay it; for he delighteth not in fools: pay therefore that thou hast vowed. It is better that thou shouldest not vow, than that thou shouldest vow and not pay it. Suffer not thy mouth to make thy flesh to sin; neither say before the angel, that this is ignorance: wherefore shall God be angry by thy voice, and destroy the work of thine hands?* For *it is destruction to a man to devour that which is sanctified, and after vows to inquire.* Neither this to God only, but to man: *They that deal truly are his delight; and the upright shall inherit good things:* yea, *the faithful man shall abound in blessings;* whereas the perfidious man, as he wrongs others, (for *confidence in an unfaithful man in time of trouble is like a broken tooth, and a sliding foot,*) so he gaineth not in the end, himself: *He that rewardeth evil for good evil shall not depart from his house;* Eccles. v. 3, 4, 5; Prov. xx. 25, xii. 22, xxviii. 10, 20, xxv. 19, xvii. 13.

Secondly, In a faithful reproof: *Open rebuke is better than secret love. The wounds of a lover are faithful, and the kisses of an enemy are pleasant,* but false; *so* that *he that reproveth shall find more thank at the last:* and however the *scorner* take it, yet *he that reproveth the wise and obedient ear is as a gold earring, and an ornament of fine gold;* Prov. xxvii. 5, 6, xv. 12, xxv. 12.

Section IV.

Truth in words: { The quality. / The fruit { to himself. / to others. / The opposites. { 1. { Lies, / Slander. / 2. { Dissimulation, / Flattery.

He that speaketh truth will show righteousnesses: wherein? *A faithful witness delivereth souls: but a deceiver speaketh lies;* a virtue of no small importance: for *death and life are in the*

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hand of the tongue; and as a man loves, he shall eat the fruit thereof; to do good or evil; to himself, others: himself, *A wholesome tongue is as a tree of life, and the lip of truth shall be stable for ever;* others, *The tongue of the just man is as fined silver, and the lips of the righteous do feed many:* therefore *buy the truth, and sell it not;* as those do which either 1. lie, 2. slander, 3. dissemble, or 4. flatter; Prov. xii. 17, xiv. 25, xviii. 21, xv. 4, xii. 19, x. 20, 21, xxiii. 23.

Section V.

The liar: { His fashions, / His manifestation, / His punishment.

A faithful witness will not lie: but a false record will speak lies. Of those six, yea, seven things that God hateth, two are, *a lying tongue,* and *a false witness that speaketh lies;* for such a one *mocketh at judgment,* and *his mouth swallows up iniquity;* yea, *a false tongue hateth the afflicted.* He is soon perceived; for *a lying tongue varieth incontinently:* and when he is found, *a false witness shall not be unpunished, and he that speaketh lies shall not escape:* for *the lying lips are abomination to the Lord;* therefore *a false witness shall perish:* and who pities him? *Such a one is a hammer, a sword, a sharp arrow to his neighbour; he deceiveth with his lips, and saith, I will do to him as he hath done to me. Two things,* then, *have I required of thee, deny me them not until I die, &c. Remove far from me vanity and lies. Let me be a poor man* rather *than a liar;* Prov. xiv. 5, vi. 16, 17, 19, xix. 28, xxvi. 28, xii. 19, xix. 5, xii. 22, xxi. 28, xxv. 18, xxiv. 28, 29, xxx. 7, 8, xix. 21.

Section VI.

The slanderer: { what his exercise, { in misreports, / in unseasonable meddling. / what his entertainment.

This *wicked man diggeth up evil, and in his lips is like burning fire. He shutteth his eyes to devise wickedness: he moveth his lips and bringeth evil to pass:* and either he inventeth ill rumours; *A righteous man hateth lying words: but the wicked causeth slander and shame;* or else in true reports *he will be foolishly meddling, and goeth about discovering secrets;* (where *he that is of a faithful heart concealeth matters;*) and by this means raiseth discord. *Without wood the fire is quenched: and without a talebearer, strife*

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ceaseth; for *the words of a talebearer are as flatterings, and go down into the bowels of the belly:* therefore as, on the one side, *thou mayest not give thine heart to all that men speak of thee, lest thou hear thy servant cursing thee;* so, on the other, no countenance must be given to such: for *as the north wind drives away rain, so doth an angry countenance the slandering tongue;* Prov. xvi. 27, 30, xiii. 5, xx. 3, xi. 13, xxvi. 20, xviii. 8; Eccles. vii. 21; Prov. xxv. 23.

Section VII.

The dissembler of four kinds, { malicious, vainglorious, covetous, impenitent.

The flatterer, { his success, { to himself, to his friend. his remedy.

The slanderer and dissembler go together: *He that dissembleth hatred with lying lips, and he that inventeth slander, is a fool;* there is then a malicious dissembler: *He that hateth will counterfeit with his lips, and in his heart he layeth up deceit;* such one, *though he speak favourably, believe him not; for there are seven abominations in his heart. Hatred may be covered with deceit, but the malice thereof shall* (at last) *be discovered in the congregation.* There is a vainglorious dissembler, *that maketh himself rich, and is poor:* and, 3. a covetous: *There is that makes himself poor, having great riches:* and this both 1. in bargains: *it is naught, it is naught, saith the buyer: but when he is gone apart, he boasteth;* and 2. in his entertainment; *The man that hath an evil eye, as though he thought in his heart, so will he say to thee, Eat and drink; but his heart is not with thee.* Lastly, an impenitent; *He that hideth his sins shall not prosper: but he that confesseth and forsaketh them shall have mercy.* The flatterer *praiseth his friend with a loud voice, rising early in the morning:* but with what success? to himself: *It shall be counted to him for a curse:* to his friend: *A man that flattereth his neighbour spreadeth a net for his steps;* he spreadeth and catcheth: for *a flattering mouth causeth ruin.* The only remedy then is: *Meddle not with him that flattereth with his lips:* for *it is better to hear the rebuke of wise men, than the song of fools;* Prov. x. 18, xxvi. 24, 25, 26, xiii. 7, xx. 14, xxiii. 6, 7, xxviii. 13, xxvii. 14, xxix. 5, xxvi. 28, xx. 19; Eccles. vii. 5.

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SECTION VIII.

Truth in dealings: wherein is the true dealer's
- Practices,
  - To do right, with joy.
- Reward,
  - God's love,
  - Good memorial.

The uprightness of the just shall guide them, and direct their way; which *is ever plain and straight*; whereas *the way of others is perverted and strange.* Yea, as *to do justice and judgment is more acceptable (to the Lord) than sacrifice; so it is a joy to the just* himself *to do judgment: all his labour therefore tendeth to life: he knoweth the cause of the poor, and will have care of his soul: his work is right, neither intendeth he any evil against his neighbour, seeing he dwelleth by him without fear*; and what loseth he by this? As *the true balance and weight are of the Lord, and all the weights of the bag are his work*: so *God loveth him that followeth righteousness*: and with men, *The righteous is more excellent than his neighbour*: and *better is the poor that walketh in his uprightness, than he that perverteth his ways, though he be rich.* Yea, finally, *The memorial of the just shall be blessed,* Prov. xi. 3, 5, xv. 19, xxi. 8, 3, 15, x. 16, xxix. 7, 10, xxi. 8, iii. 29, xvi. 11, xv. 9, xii. 16, xxviii. 6, x. 7.

SECTION IX.

Deceit
- The kinds
  - Coloured,
  - Direct
    - Private,
    - Public.
- The judgment attending it.

Contrary to this is deceit: whether in a colour: *As he that feigneth himself mad casteth firebrands, arrows, and mortal things*: so *dealeth the deceitful man, and saith, Am I not in sport?* As this *deceit is in the heart of them that imagine evil,* so in their hands are *divers weights and divers balances*; or, directly, *He that is partner with a thief hateth his own soul,* and dangerous *are the ways of him that is greedy of gain*; much more publicly, *I have seen the place of judgment, where was wickedness; and the place of justice, where was iniquity: I thought in mine heart God will judge the just and the wicked,* yea, ofttimes, speedily; so as *the deceitful man roasteth not what he took in hunting*: or if he eat it, *The bread of deceit is sweet to a man, but afterward his mouth shall be filled with gravel,* Prov. xxvi. 18, 19, xii. 20, xx. 10, xxix. 24, i. 19; Eccles. iii. 16, 17; Prov. xii. 27, xx. 17.

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Section X.

Love { To God; rewarded { with his love, / with his blessings. / To men { In passing by offences, / In doing good to our enemies.

Love to God: *I love them that love me; and they that seek me early shall find me;* and with me, blessings: *I cause them that love me to inherit substance; and I will fill their treasures.* 2. To men, (1.) In passing by offences; *Hatred stirreth up contentions: but love covereth all trespasses, and the shame* that arises from them: so that *he* only *that covereth a transgression seeketh love.* (2.) In doing good to our enemies: *If he that hateth thee be hungry, give him bread to eat; and if he be thirsty, give him water to drink.* Here therefore do offend, 1. the contentious, 2. the envious; Prov. viii. 17, 21, x. 12, xii. 16, xvii. 9, xxv. 21.

Section XI.

The contentious, { whether in raising ill rumours, / or whether by pressing matters too far.

The first *is he that raiseth contentions among brethren:* which, once raised, are not so soon appeased. *A brother offended is harder to win than a strong city:* and *their contentions are like the bar of a palace.* This is *that violent man that deceiveth his neighbour, and leadeth him into the way which is not good,* the way of discord, whether by ill rumours; *The fool's lips come with strife;* and *as the coal maketh burning coals, and wood a fire, so the contentious man is apt to kindle strife,* and that even among great ones: *a froward person soweth strife,* and *a talebearer maketh division among princes:* or, by pressing matters too far: *When one churneth milk he bringeth forth butter, and he that wringeth his nose causeth blood to come out: so he that forceth wrath bringeth forth strife,* the end whereof is never good: *for if a wise man contend with a foolish man, whether he be angry or laugh, there is no rest,* Prov. vi. 19, xviii. 19, xvi. 29, xviii. 6, xxvi. 21, xvi. 28, xxx. 33, xxix. 9.

Section XII.

Envy { The kinds { At our neighbour, / At the wicked. / The effects { to others, / itself.

The second is that injustice whereby *the soul of the wicked wisheth evil, and his neighbour hath no favour in his eyes:* that

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moveth him *to be glad when his enemy falleth, and his heart to rejoice when he stumbleth:* and this is a violent evil. 1. To itself: *A sound heart is the life of the flesh: but envy is the rotting of the bones.* 2. To others: *Anger is cruel, and wrath is raging: but who can stand before envy?* But of all other, it is most unjust when it is set upon an evil subject. *Fret not thyself because of the malicious, neither be envious at the wicked, nor choose any of his ways: neither let thine heart be envious against sinners, nor desire to be with them;* for as *their heart imagineth destruction, and their lips speak mischief,* so *the froward is an abomination to the Lord; and there shall be none end of the plagues of the evil man; and his light shall be put out,* Prov. xxi. 10, xxiv. 17, xiv. 30, xxvii. 4, xxiv. 19, iii. 31, xxiii. 17, xxiv. 1, 2, iii. 32, xxiv. 20.

SECTION XIII.

Justice to man only: First, to { others / 1. in } Mercy: { The quality. / The gain of it.

Let not mercy and truth forsake thee: bind them on thy neck, and write them upon the table of thine heart; this suffereth not *to stop thine ear at the cry of the poor:* yea, *the righteous man regardeth the life of his beast:* no virtue is more gainful: for *by mercy and truth iniquity shall be forgiven;* and *by this thou shalt find favour and good understanding in the sight of God and man:* good reason; *for he honoureth God that hath mercy on the poor:* yea, he makes God his debtor; *He that hath mercy on the poor lendeth to the Lord; and the Lord will recompense him:* so that *the merciful man rewardeth his own soul;* for *he that followeth righteousness and mercy shall find righteousness and life and glory;* and therefore *is blessed* for ever, Prov. iii. 3, xxi. 13, xii. 10, xvi. 6, iii. 4, xiv. 31, xix. 17, xi. 17, xxi. 21, xiv. 21.

SECTION XIV.

Against mercy, offend, { 1. Unmercifulness. / 2. Oppression. / 3. Bloodthirstiness.

1. *That* (not only) *the rich ruleth the poor, but that the poor is hated of his own neighbour; whereas the friends of the rich are many:* of his neighbour? Yea *all the brethren of the poor hate him: how much more will his friends depart from him! though he be instant with words, yet they will not,* Prov. xxii. 7, xiv. 20, xix. 7.

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2. *There is a generation whose teeth are as swords, and their jaws as knives, to eat up the afflicted out of the earth. These are they that oppress the poor to increase themselves, and give to the rich;* that *rob the poor, because he is poor, and oppress the afflicted in judgment; that take away the garment in the cold season,* and therefore *are like vinegar poured upon nitre, or like him that singeth songs to an heavy heart; that trouble their own flesh,* and *therefore are cruel:* an ordinary sin. *I turned and considered all the oppressions that are wrought under the sun; and behold the tears of the oppressed, and none comforteth them; and the strength is of the hand of those that oppress them, and none comforteth them. None?* Yes, surely, above. *If in a country thou seest the oppression of the poor, and the defrauding of judgment and justice, be not astonied at the matter; for He that is the higher than the highest regardeth; and there be higher than they, which will defend the cause of the poor, to* cause *the oppressor to come to poverty:* in which estate *he shall cry and not be heard,* Prov. xxx. 14, xxii. 16, 22, xxv. 20, xi. 17; Eccles. iv. 1, v. 8; Prov. xxii. 23, xii. 16, xxi. 13.

3. The bloody man is he, which not only *doth hate him that is upright,* but *layeth wait against the house of the righteous, and spoileth his restingplace;* yea, *that doth violence against the blood of a person:* such as will say, *Come with us, we will lay wait for blood, and lie privily for the innocent without a cause. We will swallow them up alive like a grave; even whole, as those that go down into the pit. But, my son, walk not thou in the way with them; refrain thy foot from their path: for their feet run to evil, and make haste to bloodshed. Certainly, as without cause the net is spread before the eyes of all that hath wings, so they lay wait for blood and lie privily for their lives: Thus the mercies of the wicked are cruel:* but shall they prevail in this? *The causeless curse shall not come: The just man may fall seven times in a day, but he riseth up again, while the wicked shall fall into mischief;* yea into the same they had devised: *he that diggeth a pit shall fall therein; and he that rolleth a stone, it shall fall upon him,* and crush him to death: for *he that doth violence against the blood of a person shall flee unto the grave, and they shall not stay him,* Prov. xxix. 10, xxiv. 15, xxviii. 17, i. 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, xii. 10, xxvi. 2, xxiv. 16, xxvi. 27, xxviii. 17.

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SECTION XV.

The second kind of Justice to others, is Liberality,
- Described,
- Limited,
- Rewarded,
  - with his own,
  - with more.

Liberality or beneficence, is *to cast thy bread upon the waters*; to *give a portion to seven, and also to eight*; in a word, *to give of his bread to the poor*, and *not to withhold his goods from the owners thereof* (*i. e.* the needy), *though there be power in his hand to do it*, and *not to say to his neighbour, Go, and come again, to morrow I will give thee, if he now have it*: not that God would not have us enjoy the comforts he gives us, ourselves; for, *to every man to whom God hath given riches and treasures, and giveth him power to eat thereof, and to take his part, and to enjoy his labours, this is the gift of God*; but *if the clouds be full, they will pour out rain upon the earth*, and yet they shall be never the emptier. *The liberal person shall have plenty, and he that watereth shall also have rain*: yea, not only *he that giveth to the poor shall not lack*, but *shall find it after many days*; whereas *he that hideth his eyes shall have many curses*: but, *There is that scattereth, and is more increased*: thus, *He that hath a good eye is blessed of God*, Eccles. xi. 1, 2; Prov. xxii. 9, iii. 27, 28; Eccles. v. 18, xi. 3; Prov. xi. 25, xxviii. 27; Eccles. xi. 1; Prov. xi. 24, xxii. 9.

SECTION XVI.

The extremes whereof are
- Covetousness,
  - The description of it,
  - The curse.
- Prodigality.

The covetous *is he that is greedy of gain, that having an evil eye*, and *coveting still greedily, travaileth too much to be rich*, and therefore both *spareth more than is right*, and *increaseth his goods by usury and interest*: *There is one alone, and there is not a second, which hath neither son nor brother; yet is there none end of his travail, neither can his eyes be satisfied with riches, neither doth he think, For whom do I travail, and defraud my soul of pleasures?* This man is unsatiable, like to *the horse-leech's two daughters, which cry still, Give, give*: especially in his desires; *The grave and destruction can never be full; so the eyes of a man can never be satisfied*: *All the labour of man is for his mouth, and yet the soul is not filled*: yea, this is the curse that God hath set upon

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him, *He that loveth silver shall not be satisfied with silver: and he that loveth riches shall be without the fruit thereof;* and whereas *the rich man's riches are his strong city, he that trusteth in riches shall fall,* and by his *sparing cometh surely to poverty.* All this while *he sets his eyes on that which is nothing,* and *doth but gather for him that will be merciful to the poor:* wherefore, *Better is a little with right, than great revenues without equity. Give me not poverty nor riches; feed me with food convenient for me: lest I be full, and deny thee, and say, Who is the Lord? or lest I be poor, and steal, and take the name of God in vain,* Prov. i. 19, xxiii. 6, xxi. 26, xxiii. 4, xi. 24, xxviii. 8; Eccles. iv. 8; Prov. xxx. 15, xxvii. 20; Eccles. vi. 7, v. 10; Prov. xviii. 11, xi. 28, 24, xxiii. 5, xxviii. 8, xvi. 8, xxx. 8, 9.

Section XVII.

Prodigality in { Too much expense: whereof { The Quality, / The End. / Carelessness of his estate.

The prodigal is the man *that boasteth of false liberality; that loveth pastime, and wine, and oil; that feedeth gluttons, and followeth the idle: The unthrifty man, and the wicked man, walketh with a froward mouth: lewd things are in his heart, he imagineth evil at all times; therefore shall his destruction come speedily, and he shall be destroyed suddenly without recovery;* and in the mean time *the riches of vanity shall diminish;* so that *he shall be a man of want;* yea, *filled with poverty,* and *a shame to his father.* Of this kind also is he that is otherwise careless of his estate; *Be not thou of them that touch the hand, nor among them that are surety for debts: If thou hast nothing to pay, why causest thou that he should take thy bed from under thee?* Prov. xii. 9, xxi. 17, xxviii. 7, 19, vi. 12, 14, 15, xiii. 11, xxi. 17, xxviii. 19, 7, xxii. 26, 27. See more of this rule in the last page of Politics, following.

Section XVIII.

Diligence { what it is. / how profitable in { Health, / Wealth and Abundance, / Honour.

Justice to a man's self is diligence; for *he that travaileth travaileth for himself.* The diligent is he, who *all that his hand shall find to do, doth it with all his power. I have seen* (indeed) *the travail that God hath given the sons of men, to humble them*

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thereby, that *all things are full of labour, man cannot utter it:* but *what profit hath he that worketh of the thing wherein he travaileth?* Much every way: 1. Health: *The sleep of him that travaileth is sweet, whether he eat little or much.* 2. Wealth: *Open thine eyes, and thou shalt be satisfied with bread:* yea, *The hand of the diligent maketh rich, and his soul shall be fat:* and not sufficiency only, but *in all labour there is abundance, but the talk of the lips bringeth want:* yet more, *the riches that the diligent man hath are precious.* 3. Honour: *A diligent man shall stand before kings, and not before the base sort;* and, *The hand of the diligent shall bear rule, but the idle shall be under tribute,* Prov. xvi. 26; Eccles. ix. 10, iii. 10, i. 8, iii. 9, v. 12; Prov. xx. 13, x. 4, xiii. 4, xiv. 23, xii. 27, xxii. 29, xii. 24.

SECTION XIX.

Slothfulness, { The properties. / The danger of it.

The *slothful* is he that *foldeth his hands and eateth up his own flesh; that hideth his hand in his bosom, and will not pull it out again to his mouth; that turneth on his bed, as a door turneth on the hinges,* and saith, *Yet a little sleep, a little slumber, a little folding of the hands to sleep.* Every thing that he ought to do is troublesome: *The way of the slothful man is an hedge of thorns* (which he is loath to set foot in), *There is a lion without* (saith he), *I shall be slain in the street;* who, although herein *he be wiser in his own conceit than seven men that can render a reason, yet* (the truth is) *he that* (so much as) *follows the idle, is destitute of understanding; he lusteth* (indeed) and affecteth great things, *but his soul hath naught:* so, *The very desire of the slothful slayeth him, for his hands refuse to work. And* not only *he that is slothful in his work is brother to him that is a great waster, but he that sleepeth* (and *slothfulness causeth to fall asleep*) *in harvest is the son of confusion;* and *he that will not plough because of winter shall beg in summer, and have nothing: Love not sleep,* therefore, *lest thou come to poverty;* for what is it that hence cometh not to ruin? For the house: *By slothfulness the roof of the house goeth to decay; and by idleness of the hands the house droppeth through.* For the land: *I passed by the field of the slothful, and by the vineyard of the man destitute of understanding: and, lo, it was all grown over with thorns, and nettles had covered the face of it, and the stone wall thereof was broken down. Then I beheld and considered it well: I looked upon it, and received instruction:* so in

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every respect *the slothful hand maketh poor. Go to the pismire,* therefore, *thou sluggard, and behold her ways, and be wise: for she, having no guide, governor, nor ruler, prepareth her meat in summer, and gathereth her food in harvest. How long wilt thou sleep, O sluggard? when wilt thou arise out of thy sleep? Yet a little sleep, yet a little slumber, yet a little folding of the hands to sleep: Therefore thy poverty cometh as a speedy traveller, and thy necessity as an armed man,* Eccles. iv. 5; Prov. xix. 24, xxvi. 14, vi. 10, xv. 19, xxii. 13, xxvi. 13, 16, xii. 11, xiii. 4, xxi. 25, xviii. 9, x. 5, xix. 15, xx. 4, 13; Eccles. x. 18; Prov. xxiv. 30, 31, 32, x. 4, vi. 6, 7, 8, 9, xxiv. 33, vi. 11.

THE FOURTH BOOK.

TEMPERANCE AND FORTITUDE.

Temperance is the moderation of our desires: whether
- in diet; Sobriety.
- in words and actions, { Modesty, and Humility.
- in affections, { Continency, refraining of Anger.

Section I.

Temperance in diet.

Excess: how dangerous to { Body, Soul, Estate.

The temperate in diet is he *that refraineth his appetite,* that *looks not on the wine when it is red,* that *puts his knife to his throat when he sits with a ruler;* that *when he finds honey, eats but that which is sufficient for him, lest he should be overfull.* It is true, *that a man eateth and drinketh, and seeth the commodity of all his labour; this is the gift of God:* yea, *this I have seen good, that it is comely to eat and to drink, and to take pleasure in all his labour wherein he travaileth under the sun, the whole number of the days of his life which God giveth him, for this is his portion:* God allows us *to eat our bread with joy, and drink our wine with a cheerful heart, and there is nothing better than this:* yea, *there is no profit but this:* but not *that a man should be given to his appetite, that he* should seek *in his heart to draw his flesh to wine;* or that *whatsoever his eyes desire, he should not withhold it from them:* such a man, *when he is full, despiseth an honeycomb; whereas to*

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the hungry every bitter thing is sweet: and in his excess is outrageous; One of the *three things, yea four, for which the earth is moved and cannot sustain itself, is, a fool when he is filled with meat.* Neither doth this prosper with himself. For his body: *The satiety of the rich will not suffer him to sleep. To whom is woe? to whom is sorrow? to whom is murmuring? to whom are wounds without cause? and to whom is the redness of the eyes? even to them that tarry long at the wine; to them that go and seek mixed wine.* For his soul: *Look not on the wine when it is red, and sheweth his colour in the cup, or goeth down pleasantly. In the end thereof it will bite like a serpent and hurt like a cockatrice: Thine eyes shall look upon the strange woman, and thy lips shall speak lewd things, and thou shalt be as one that sleepeth in the midst of the sea, and as he that sleepeth in the top of the mast: they have stricken me* (shalt thou say), *but I was not sick; they have beaten me, but I knew not when I awoke; therefore will I seek it yet still.* For his estate: *He is like a city which is broken down, and without walls: Keep not company* therefore *with drunkards nor with gluttons: for the glutton and drunkard shall be poor, and the sleeper shall be clothed with rags;* and, in all these, *wine is a mocker, and strong drink is raging, and whosoever is deceived thereby is not wise.* Prov. xxv. 28, xxiii. 31, 2, 1, xxv. 16; Eccles. iii. 13, v. 17, ix. 7, iii. 22, ii. 24; Prov. xxiii. 2; Eccles. ii. 3, 10; Prov. xxvii. 7, xxx. 21, 22; Eccles. v. 12; Prov. xxiii. 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35; xxv. 28, xxiii. 20, xx. 1.

SECTION II.

Modesty, { In words, { What it requires: that they be { few / seasonable. ; What it profits, { argues wisdom, / gives safety, } ; In actions. }

Contrary to it, { Loquacity, / Ill speech, / Immoderate mirth. }

The modest (for words) *is a man of a precious spirit, that refraineth his lips,* and *spareth his words. The words of a* modest man are *like deep waters, and the well-spring of wisdom like a flowing river:* but when he doth speak, it is to purpose; for, *The mouth of the just shall be fruitful in wisdom; and the lips of the righteous do feed many,* yea himself: *A man shall be satiate with good things by the fruit of his mouth;* and *with the fruit of a man's mouth his belly shall be satisfied:* but still he speaketh sparingly; *A wise man concealeth knowledge, and a man of understanding will*

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keep silence, which, as it argues him wise (for *even a fool, when he holdeth his peace, is counted wise, and he that stoppeth his lips as prudent*), so it gives him much safety: *He that keepeth his mouth and his tongue keepeth his soul from affliction;* yea, *he keepeth his life:* where, contrarily, *the mouth of the fool is in the multitude of words; it babbleth out foolishness*, as *it is fed with it:* neither *hath he any delight in understanding*, but *that which his heart discovereth;* and while he bewrayeth it, *the heart of fools publisheth his foolishness:* and, as *he multiplieth words*, so *in many words there cannot want iniquity: his mouth* (still) *babbleth evil things;* for either *he speaketh froward things*, or *how to lie in wait for blood*, or *in the mouth of the foolish is the rod of pride;* and what is the issue of it? *He that openeth his mouth, destruction shall be to him. And he that hath a naughty tongue shall fall into evil;* for, both *it shall be cut out*, and *the frowardness of it is the breaking of the heart.* Lastly, *a fool's mouth is his own destruction, and his lips are a snare for his soul.* Prov. xvii. 27, x. 19, xvii. 27, xviii. 4, x. 31, 21, xii. 14, xiii. 2, xviii. 20, xii. 23, xi. 12, x. 19, xvii. 28, xxi. 23, xiii. 3; Eccles. v. 2; Prov. xv. 2, 14, xviii. 2, xii. 23; Eccles. x. 14; Prov. x. 19, xv. 28, ii. 12, xii. 6, xiv. 3, xiii. 3, xvii. 20, x. 31, xv. 4, xviii. 7.

For actions: *The modest shall have honour:* and though we need not say *of laughter, Thou art mad; and of joy, What is this thou doest?* yet *anger is better than laughter; for by a sad look the heart is made better. The heart of the wise* therefore *is in the house of mourning, but the heart of fools is in the house of mirth. Rejoice then, O young man, in thy youth, and let thine heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth, and walk in the ways of thine heart, and in the sight of thine eyes; but know, that for all these things God will bring thee to judgment.* Prov. xi. 16; Eccles. ii. 2, vii. 3, 4, xi. 9.

Section III.

Humility,

Pride, ... { Overweening, { Wherein it is, How absurd, How dangerous. Scornfulness.

Next to the modest, is *the humble in spirit:* he saith, *Surely, I am more foolish than a man, and have not the understanding of a man in me; for I have not learned wisdom, and have not attained to the knowledge of holy things.* But doth he want it e'er the more? No: *With the lowly is wisdom;* and, *The ear that hearkeneth to the corrections of life shall lodge among the wise: Better is it* therefore *to be of an humble mind with the lowly, than to divide the spoils*

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with the proud: for *before honour goeth humility:* and *he that confesseth and forsaketh his sins shall have mercy; yea, the humble of spirit shall enjoy glory:* and *the reward of humility and the fear of God is riches and glory and life.* Prov. xxix. 23, xxx. 2, 3, xi. 2, xv. 31, xvi. 19, xv. 33, xviii. 12, xxviii. 13, xxix. 23, xxii. 4.

Contrary whereto; *There is a generation whose eyes are haughty, and their eyelids are lift up: There is a generation that are pure in their own conceit, and yet are not washed from their filthiness.* Yea, *All the ways of a man are clean in his own eyes; but the Lord pondereth the spirits;* and not so only, but *Many men will boast of their goodness;* but *It is not good to eat much honey; so, to search their own glory is not glory; Let another man praise thee, and not thine own mouth; a stranger, and not thine own lips.* This overweening is commonly incident to great men. *The rich man is wise in his own conceit; but the poor that hath understanding can try him.* Hence it is that he affects singularity; *According to his desire he that separates himself will seek, and occupy himself in all wisdom:* but *seest thou a man* thus *wise in his own conceit? there is more hope of a fool than of him: yea,* he is a fool in this: *In the mouth of the foolish is the rod of pride: I thought, I will be wise, but it went far from me; it is far off, what may it be?* and that a wicked fool; *A haughty look and a proud heart, which is the light of the wicked, is sin: if* therefore *thou hast been foolish in lifting up thyself, and if thou hast thought wickedly, lay thy hand upon thy mouth,* for *God hateth an haughty eye;* yea, he so hateth it, that *all that are proud in heart are an abomination to the Lord; and though hand join in hand, they shall not be unpunished:* and what punishment shall he have? *The Lord will destroy the house of the proud man;* and his very pride is an argument of his ruin: *Before destruction the heart of a man is haughty: Pride goeth before destruction, and a high mind before the fall.* Before it? yea, with it: *when pride cometh, then cometh shame.* Now the height of pride is scornfulness: *He that is proud and haughty, scornful is his name, who worketh in the pride of his wrath: and* this man *despiseth his neighbour, and* therefore *is destitute of understanding: when the wicked cometh, then cometh contempt; and with the vile man is reproach:* but of all, him that reproves him: *He that reproveth a scorner purchaseth to himself shame; and he that rebuketh the wicked getteth himself a blot:* therefore *judgments are prepared for the scorners, and stripes for the back of fools;* so as others are hurt by his sin: for *a scornful man bringeth a whole city into a snare:* so they shall be likewise

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bettered by his judgment: *when the scorner is punished, the foolish is wise.* Prov. xxx. 13, 12, xvi. 2, xxi. 2, xx. 6, xxv. 27, xxvii. 2, xxviii. 11, xviii. 1, xxvi. 12, xiv. 3; Eccles. vii. 23, 24; Prov. xxi. 4, xxx. 32, vi. 17, xvi. 5, xv. 25, xviii. 12, xvi. 18, xi. 2, xxi. 24, xi. 12, xviii. 3, ix. 7, xix. 29, xxix. 8, xxi. 11.

Section IV.

Continency { Of Lust, / Of Anger. } With their Contraries.

Of the first kind, is *he that drinks the waters of his own cistern; that desires not the beauty of a* stranger *in his heart, neither lets her take him with her eyelids:* contrarily, the incontinent *is he that delights in a strange woman, and embraces the bosom of a stranger; or she that forsakes the guide of her youth, and forgetteth the covenant of God; she lieth in wait for a prey, and she increaseth the transgressors amongst men. For a whore is as a deep ditch, and a strange woman as a narrow pit:* yea, *I find more bitter than death the woman whose heart is as nets and snares, and whose hands as bands: he that is good before God shall be delivered from her; but the sinner shall be taken by her.* Prov. v. 15, vi. 25, v. 20, ii. 17, xxiii. 28, 27; Eccles. vii. 26. See more of this vice. Economics, sect. 2 and 3.

Of the second, is *he that is slow to anger, slow to wrath; whose discretion deferreth his anger, and whose glory is to pass by an offence:* which moderation, as it argues him to be *of great wisdom* (for *wise men turn away wrath*), so it makes *him better than the mighty man*, and procures him just honour; for *it is the honour of a man to cease from strife;* contrary to which is *he that is of an hasty spirit to be angry;* which as it proves him foolish, (*for anger resteth in the bosom of fools*, and *he that is hasty to anger* not only *committeth folly*, but *exalteth it*,) so it makes him dangerous: *Anger is cruel, and wrath is raging; and a furious man aboundeth in transgressions:* wherefore *make no friendship with an angry man, lest thou learn his ways, and receive destruction to thy soul.* Prov. xvi. 32, xiv. 29, xix. 11, xiv. 29, xxix. 8, xvi. 32, xx. 3; Eccles. vii. 32, 9; Prov. xiv. 17, 29, xxvii. 4, xxix. 22, xxii. 24, 25.

Section V.

Fortitude { In general, / The specials of it, { Confidence, / Patience { In God's afflictions, / In men's injuries, }

Fortitude is that, whereby *the spirit of a man sustains his in-*

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firmities; which makes *the righteous bold as a lion:* contrarily, the weak of strength *is he that is faint in the day of adversity; whose fear bringeth a snare upon him,* and that desperate: *A wounded spirit who can bear?* which is often caused through guiltiness: *The wicked fleeth when none pursueth him.* Confidence is, *to trust in the Lord with all thine heart, and not to lean to thine own wisdom;* but *in all thy ways to acknowledge him,* and *to commit thy works to the Lord,* and to *have hope in thy death:* and though in other things *the hope that is deferred is the fainting of the heart,* yet in this, *he that trusteth in the Lord shall be fat;* for, from hence, not only *his thoughts and ways are directed,* but he receiveth safety and protection: *He is a shield to those that trust in him. The horse is prepared for the day of battle, but salvation is of the Lord.* Yea, *the name of the Lord is a strong tower: the righteous runneth to it and is exalted.* So that *he that trusteth in the Lord, he is blessed;* whereas *he that trusteth in his own heart is a fool:* and it is a vain thing *to boast thyself of to morrow; for thou knowest not what a day will bring forth.* Prov. xviii. 14, xxviii. 1, xxiv. 10, xxix. 25, xviii. 14, xxviii. 1, iii. 5, 6, xvi. 3, xiv. 32, xiii. 12, xxviii. 25, xvi. 3, iii. 6, xxx. 5, xxi. 31, xviii. 10, xvi. 20, xxviii. 26, xxvii. 1.

Patience is, *not to refuse the chastening of the Lord, neither to be grieved with his correction:* the patient man *in the day of wealth is of good comfort, and in the day of affliction considereth: God also hath made this contrary to that, that man should find nothing after him* whereof to complain: knowing that *the Lord correcteth whom he loveth;* and that *the patient abiding of the righteous shall be gladness.* Contrarily, *the heart of the fool fretteth against the Lord; he is careless, and rageth:* but to what purpose? *Man cannot strive with him that is stronger than he;* yea, rather, *the man that hardeneth his neck when he is rebuked shall suddenly be destroyed, and cannot be cured.* In respect of men's injuries: *He saith not, I will recompense evil; but waits upon the Lord, and he shall save him.* In which regard, *the patient in spirit* that suffers *is better than the proud of spirit* that requites. Prov. iii. 11; Eccles. vii. 14; Prov. iii. 12, x. 28, xix. 3; Eccles. vi. 10; Prov. xxix. 1, xx. 22; Eccles. vii. 8.

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SOLOMON'S

POLITICS, OR COMMONWEALTH.

THE FIRST BOOK.

HIS

KING, COUNSELLOR, COURTIER, SUBJECT.

SOLOMON'S KING.

Section I.

Degrees { must be and are { subordinate, highest, { not many, but one. } } and those from God. }

In all well ordered governments there are degrees, *An higher than the highest, and yet an higher than they:* and these of God's appointment; not only in the inferior ranks, *The rich and poor meet, and the Lord is the maker of them all;* but in the supreme, *By me kings reign* (saith Wisdom) *and princes decree justice;* and not they only, but the *nobles and all the judges of the earth;* so it is a just wonder, that *the grasshoppers have no king, yet they go forth by bands.* And as no king is a judgment, so many: for, *Because of the transgression of the land, there are many princes;* many, not only in frequent succession, but in society of regiment; Eccles. v. 8; Prov. xxii. 2, viii. 15, 16, xxx. 27, xxviii. 2.

Section II.

In a king are described { Quality of his person { Natural, Moral. } Actions }

A king must be high, as in place, so in blood: *Blessed art thou, O land, when thy king is the son of nobles;* not of any servile condition; for nothing can be more *uncomely than for a servant to have rule over princes:* and it is a monster in state *to see servants ride on horses, and princes* (of blood) *to walk as servants on*

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the ground: neither more monstrous than intolerable. *There are three things for which the earth is moved, yea four which it cannot sustain:* whereof one is, *A servant when he reigneth;* Eccles. x, 7; Prov. xix. 10; Eccles. x. 17; Prov. xxx. 21, 22.

SECTION III.

Moral qualities
- Negative; what one he may not be;
  - Not lascivious,
  - Not riotous,
  - Not hollow and dissembling,
  - Not childish,
  - Not imprudent,
  - Not oppressing.
- Affirmative.

And as his blood is heroical, so his disposition; not lascivious: *What, O my son of my desires, give not thy strength to women, nor thy ways:* But why *should he withhold from his eyes whatsoever they can desire, and withdraw his heart from any joy?* why may he not have *all the delights of the sons of men: as women taken captive; as queens and concubines, and damsels without number? This is to destroy kings: He shall find more bitter than death the woman whose heart is as nets and snares.* Not riotously excessive: whether in wine: for *It is not for kings to drink wine, nor for princes strong drink:* What, not at all? To him alone is it not said, *Go eat thy bread with joy, and drink thy wine with a cheerful heart? who should eat or drink, or haste to outward things more than he?* not immoderately: *so as he should drink and forget the decree, and change the judgment of all the children of affliction:* or in meat: for, *Woe be to thee, O land, when thy princes eat in the morning: and if he be not the master of his appetite, his dainty meats will prove deceivable.* Not hollow, not double in speeches, in profession: *The lip of excellency becomes not a fool; much less, lying talk a prince.* Not childish: *Woe to thee, O land, whose king is a child:* not so much in age, which hath sometimes proved successful; but in condition. Not imprudent, not oppressing; two vices conjoined: *A prince destitute of understanding is also a great oppressor.* And, to conclude, in all or any of these, not wilfully inflexible: *A poor and wise child is better than an old and foolish king, that will no more be admonished;* Prov. xxxi. 2, 3; Eccles. ii. 10, 8; Cant. vi. 8; Prov. xxxi. 3; Eccles. vii. 26; Prov. xxxi. 4; Eccles. ix. 7, ii. 25; Prov. xxxi. 5; Eccles. x. 16; Prov. xxiii. 2, 3, xvii. 7; Eccles. x. 16; Prov. xxviii. 16; Eccles. iv. 13.

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Section IV.

- Affirmative; what one he must be:
  - To others
    - Just,
    - Merciful,
    - Slow to anger,
    - Bountiful.
  - In himself
    - Temperate,
    - Wise,
    - Valiant,
    - Secret.

Contrarily, he must be temperate: *Blessed art thou, O land, when thy princes eat in time, for strength, and not for drunkenness:* just and righteous: for *false balances* (especially in the hand of government) *are an abomination to the Lord: but a perfect weight pleaseth him:* A virtue beneficial, both, 1, to himself, (for *the throne is established by justice,*) and, 2, to the state; *Justice exalteth a nation;* than which nothing doth more bind and cheer the hearts of the people: for, *When the righteous are in authority, the people rejoice; but when the wicked bears rule, the people sigh:* and with truth and justice must mercy be joined inseparably: for, *Mercy and truth preserve the king: and his throne shall be established,* also, *by mercy.* And all these must have wisdom to manage them: *By it princes rule,* and are terrible to the ill-deserving. *A wise king scattereth the wicked, and causeth the wheel to turn over them.* To all these must be added bounty: *A prince that hateth covetousness shall prolong his days;* where, contrarily, *A man of gifts destroyeth his country:* and, yet further, a conquest of his own passions, a princely victory: for *He that is slow to anger is better than the mighty man; and he that ruleth his own mind, better than he that winneth a city;* because, of all other, *the king's wrath is like the roaring of a lion:* and what is that *but the messenger of death?* And if it may be, a conquest of all others, through valour. *There are three things that order well their going, yea four are comely in going:* whereof the last and principal is, *A king against whom no man dares rise up.* Lastly, secresy in determinations: *The heaven in height, and earth in deepness, and the king's heart can no man* (no man should) *search out:* neither should *it be in any hands* but *the Lord's;* who, *as he knows it, so he turns it whithersoever it pleaseth him;* Eccles. x. 17; Prov., xi. 1, xvi. 12, xiv. 34, xxix. 2, xx. 28, viii. 16, xx. 26, xxviii. 16, xxix. 4, xvi. 32, xix. 12, xxx. 29, 31, xxv. 3, xxi. 1.

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SECTION V.

His actions { common, special to his place: to { judge righteously { 1. according to the truth of the cause. 2. according to the distress of the party, unpartially. remit mercifully.

His actions must suit his disposition, which must be universally holy: for *it is an abomination to kings* (of all other) *to commit wickedness.* Which holiness alone is the way to all peace: *When the ways of a man please the Lord, he will make his enemies at peace with him:* Peculiarly to his place; he must first judge his people: *A king that sitteth in the throne of judgment chaseth away all evil with his eyes;* and *by this he maintains his country:* and while he doth sit there, *a divine sentence must be in the lips of the king, and his mouth may not transgress in judgment.* For, *a king that judgeth the poor in truth, his throne shall be established for ever.* Neither may his ear be partially open: which disposition shall be sure to be fed with reports: for, *Of a prince that hearkeneth to lies, all his servants are wicked:* nor his mouth shut, especially in cases of distress: *Open thy mouth for the dumb in the cause of all the children of destruction: open thy mouth, judge righteously, and judge the afflicted and the poor:* yet not with so much regard to the estate of persons, as the truth of the cause; for, *Surely it is not good to condemn the just* in whatever condition; *nor that princes should smite such for equity:* wherein he shall wisely search into all difficulties. *The glory of God is to pass by infirmities, but the king's honour is to search out a thing;* yet so, as he is not seldom merciful in execution, *delivering them that are drawn to death, and preserving them that are drawn to be slain.* These observed, it cannot be that *man should rule over man to his hurt,* Prov. xvi. 12, 7, xx. 8, xxix. 4, xvi. 10, xxix. 14, 12, xxxi. 8, 9, xvii. 26, xxv. 2, xxiv. 11; Eccles. viii. 9.

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SOLOMON'S COUNSELLOR.

Section VI.

Counsel, { For the Soul, { How given: { The Necessity of it. / The Quality, { wise, righteous, pleasant. } } / How received. } / For the State. }

As where no sovereignty, so *where no counsel is, the people fall;* and, contrarily, *where many counsellors are, there is health;* and more than health, *steadfastness:* Counsel for the soul, *Where no vision is, the people perish:* which requires both holiness and wisdom: *The fruit of the righteous is as a tree of life; and he that winneth souls is wise;* and *the more wise the preacher* (is), *the more he teacheth the people knowledge, and causeth them to hear, and searcheth forth, and prepareth many parables:* and not only *an upright writing* (and speaking) *even the word of truth;* but *pleasant words* also, so that *the sweetness of the lips increaseth doctrine:* and not more delightful than effectual; for, *The words of the wise are like goads and nails fastened by the masters of the assemblies, that are given by one pastor:* which again of every hearer challenge due reverence and regard; who *must take heed to his foot when he entereth into the house of God, and be more near to hear than to give the sacrifice of fools:* for, *He that despiseth the word shall be destroyed; but he that feareth the commandment shall be rewarded,* Prov. xi. 14, xxiv. 6, xv. 22, xxix. 18, xi. 30; Eccles. xii. 9, 10; Prov. xvi. 21; Eccles. xii. 11, v. 1; Prov. xiii. 13.

Section VII.

In a counsellor of state, or magistrate, is required, { Wisdom, { Discussing of causes, Providence, and working according to knowledge. } / Piety, / Justice, and freed from { Partiality, Bribes, Oppression. } }

Without counsel all our thoughts (even of policy and state) *come to naught: but in the multitude of counsellors is steadfastness:* and

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no less in their goodness; In their wisdom, *which* alone *gives strength* to the owner *above ten mighty princes that are in the city;* a virtue, which though *it resteth in the heart of him that hath understanding,* yet *is known in the midst of fools.* For *wisdom is in the face of him that hath understanding,* and in his lips: for howsoever *he that hath knowledge spareth his words,* yet the *tongue of the wise useth knowledge aright;* and *the fool cannot open his mouth in the gate;* and therefore is unfit for authority. *As snow in summer, and rain in harvest, so is honour unseemly for a fool.* And though it be given him, how ill it agrees! *As the closing of a precious stone in a heap of stones, so is he that gives glory to a fool.* From hence; the good justicer both carefully heareth a cause, knowing that *he which answereth a matter before he hear it, it is folly and shame to him;* and that, related on both parts; for *he that is first in his own cause is just: then cometh his neighbour, and maketh inquiry of him;* and deeply sifteth it: else he loseth the truth; for *the counsel of the heart of man is like deep waters: but a man that hath understanding will draw it out.* From hence is his providence for the common good; not only *in seeing the plague, and hiding himself,* but *in delivering the city:* and as he foreseeth, so *he worketh by knowledge:* and not in peace only; as, *the words of the wise are more heard in quietness than the cry of him that ruleth among fools:* but in war; *A wise man goeth up into the city of the mighty, and casteth down the strength of the confidence thereof.* For *wisdom is better than strength,* yea, *than weapons of war: I have seen this wisdom under the sun, and it is great unto me; A little city and few men in it, and a great king came against it, and compassed it about, and builded forts against it; and there was found in it a poor and wise man, and he delivered the city by his wisdom,* Prov. xv. 22, xxiv. 5; Eccles. vii. 19; Prov. xiv. 33, xvii. 24, 27, xv. 2, xxiv. 7, xxvi. 1, 8, xviii. 13, 17, xx. 5, xxii. 3; Eccles. ix. 15; Prov. xiii. 16; Eccles. ix. 17; Prov. xxi. 22; Eccles. ix. 16, 18, 13, 14, 15.

Neither can there be true wisdom in any counsellor without piety: *The wise man feareth, and departs from evil;* being well assured, that *there is no wisdom, nor understanding, nor counsel against the Lord;* and that *man cannot be established by wickedness:* and indeed how oft doth God so dispose of estates, that *the evil shall bow before the good, and the wicked at the gates of the righteous!* neither is this more just with God than acceptable

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with men: for *when the righteous rejoice, there is great glory*, and *when they are in authority, the people rejoice;* contrarily, *when the wicked comes on*, and *rises up*, and *bears rule, the man is tried; the good hide themselves, and all the people sigh:* and *the righteous man falling down before the wicked, is like a troubled well and a corrupt spring*, Prov. xiv. 16, xxi. 30, xii. 3, xiv. 19, xxviii. 12, xxix. 2, xxviii. 12, 28, xxix. 2, xxv. 26.

Neither is justice less essential than either; *for to do justice and judgment is more acceptable to the Lord than sacrifice: To know faces*, therefore (in a judge) *is not good, for that man will transgress for a piece of bread;* much less to *accept the person of the wicked, to cause the righteous to fall in judgment: He that saith to the wicked, Thou art righteous, him shall the people curse, and the multitude shall abhor him:* yea, yet higher; *He that justifieth the wicked, and condemneth the just, both are abomination to the Lord.* Wherefore, howsoever *the wicked man taketh a gift out of the bosom to wrest the ways of judgment;* and commonly *a man's gift enlargeth him*, and leadeth him (with approbation) *before great men;* yet he knoweth that *the reward destroyeth the heart;* that the acceptance of it is but *the robbery of the wicked; which shall destroy them, because they have refused to execute judgment: he hateth gifts*, then, *that he may live*, and *it is a joy to him to do judgment.* He doth unpartially *smite the scorner*, yea severely *punish him*, that the wickedly *foolish may beware and become wise.* And whereas *every way of a man is right in his own eyes, and a false record will speak lies, and use deceit;* he so *maketh inquiry*, that *a false witness shall not be unpunished; and he that speaketh lies shall perish.* Lastly, his hand is free from oppression of his inferiors; which as *it makes a wise man mad*, so the actor of it miserable; for *he that oppresseth the poor reproveth him that made him:* and *if the afflicted be oppressed in judgment, the Lord will defend their cause, and spoil the soul that spoileth them:* and upon all occasions he so determineth, that *they shall kiss the lips of him that answereth upright words*, Prov. xxi. 3, xxviii. 21, xxiv. 23, xviii. 5, xxiv. 24, xvii. 15, 23, xviii. 16; Eccles. vii. 7; Prov. xxi. 7, xv. 27, xxi. 15, xix. 25, xxi. 11, 2, xiv. 5, xii. 17, xviii. 17, xix. 5, 9; Eccles. vii. 7; Prov. xiv. 31, xxii. 23, xxiv. 26

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SOLOMON'S COURTIER.

SECTION VIII.

Must be { Discreet, Religious, Humble, } { Charitable, Diligent, Faithful.

In the light of the king's countenance is life, and his favour is as the cloud of the latter rain, or *as the dew upon the grass:* which that the Courtier may purchase, he must be, 1. Discreet: *The pleasure of a king is in a wise servant, but his wrath shall be towards him that is lewd:* 2. Religious, both in heart, *He that loveth pureness of heart, for the grace of the lips the king shall be his friend:* and in his actions, *He that seeketh good things getteth favour* in both which, *the righteous is more excellent than his neighbour:* and besides these, *humble; the reward whereof is glory;* for *before glory goeth humility.* He dare not therefore *boast himself before the king*, and *thrust himself over-forward in the presence of the prince, whom his eyes do see;* whom if he see moved, *he pacifieth by staying of anger*, and *by a soft answer breaketh a man of bone*, not aggravating the faults of others: *He that covereth a transgression seeketh love; but he that repeateth a matter separateth the prince.* To these *he is diligent, taking heed to the mouth of the king:* and therefore worthily *standeth before kings, and not before the base sort:* and withal true and faithful; when he undertakes another's suit he lingers not, knowing that *the hope that is deferred is the fainting of the heart;* and though *a bribe* or *reward is as a stone pleasant in the eyes of them that have it, and prospereth whithersoever it turneth*, (for *every man is a friend to him that giveth gifts*,) yet he accounteth *the gathering of treasures by a deceitful tongue to be vanity, tossed to and fro of them that seek death.* Prov. xvi. 15, xix. 12, xiv. 35, xxii. 11, xi. 27, xii. 26, xxii. 4, xv. 33, xxv. 6, 7, 15, xvii. 9; Eccles. viii. 2; Prov. xxii. 29, xiii. 12, xxvii. 8, xix. 6, xxi. 6.

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SOLOMON'S SUBJECT.

Section IX.

His duty to { his Prince { Reverence, Obedience. / Fellow-subjects.

Every government presupposeth subjects. *In the multitude of the people is the honour of the king; and for the want of people cometh the destruction of the prince:* of whom God requires, in respect of the prince, reverence, obedience: *That they should reverence and seek the face of the prince; not cursing the king,* so much *as in their thought, nor the rich in their bedchamber;* but *fearing the Lord and the king, and not meddling with the seditious, which only seek evil. For,* as *the fowl of the heaven shall carry the voice, and the master of the wing declare the matter: so* (for revenge) *a cruel messenger shall be sent against them, their destruction shall arise suddenly, and who knoweth their ruin?* For their due homage therefore and obedience to laws, *they take heed to the mouth of the king, and the word of the oath of God;* and if a law be enacted, they violate it not, nor strive for innovation. *He that breaks the hedge, a serpent shall bite him. He that removeth stones shall hurt himself thereby; and he that cutteth wood shall be in danger thereby.* And if they have offended, *they haste not to go forth of the prince's sight, nor stand in an evil thing: for he will do whatever pleaseth him;* but rather, *if the spirit of him that ruleth rise up against them, by gentleness pacify great sins.* Prov. xiv. 28, xix. 6, xxix. 26; Eccles. x. 20; Prov. xxiv. 21, xvii. 11; Eccles. x. 20; Prov. xvii. 11, xxiv. 22; Eccles. viii. 2, x. 8, 9, viii. 3, x. 4.

Section X.

To his fellow-subjects, in respect of { more public society, is required { 1. Regard to { Superiors in { estate, desert. / Inferiors, / Equals. / 2. Commerce, / more private society, { Just maintenance of each man's propriety. / Truth of friendship.

In respect of themselves, he requires due regard of degrees:

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whether of superiors; *The rich ruleth the poor;* and *as the fining pot is for silver, and the furnace for gold, so is every man tried according to his dignity;* so as *they that come from the holy place be not forgotten in the city where they have done right:* or whether of inferiors; for, *A poor man, if he oppress the poor, is like a raging rain that leaveth no food:* yea (less than oppression.) *He that despiseth his neighbour is* both *a sinner and destitute of understanding:* or, lastly, of equals; and therein quiet and peaceable demeanour, *not striving with others causeless;* not to begin contentions; for *the beginning of strife is as one that openeth the waters; therefore ere it be meddled with, he leaveth off:* and being provoked *debateth the matter with his neighbour.* And as *he goes not forth hastily to strife,* so much less doth he take part in impertinent quarrels: *He that passeth by and meddleth with the strife that belongs not to him, is as one that takes a dog by the ear; and one of the six things that God hates is he that raiseth up contentions among neighbours.* Secondly, mutual commerce, and interchange of commodities; without which is no living: *The abundance of the earth is over all: and the king consists by the field that is tilled.* The husbandman therefore must *till his land, that he may be satisfied with bread:* for *much increase cometh by the strength of the ox:* and moreover, he *must sell corn that blessings may be upon him, which if he withdraw the people shall curse him;* so that, *the slothful man, whose field is overgrown with thorns and nettles,* is but an ill member: and again, *The merchant must bring his wares from far,* and each so trade with other that both may live. *They prepare bread for laughter, and wine comforts the living, but silver answereth to all.* Prov. xxii. 7, xxvii. 21; Eccles. viii. 10; Prov. xxviii. 3, xi. 12, xiv. 21, iii. 30, xvii. 14, xxv. 9, 8, xxvi. 17, vi. 16, 19; Eccles. v. 9; Prov. xxviii. 19, xiv. 4, xi. 26, xxiv. 30, 31, xxxi. 14; Eccles. x. 19.

For less public society, is required due reservation of propriety; *not to remove the ancient bounds which his fathers have made; not to enter into the field of the fatherless;* for *he that redeemeth them is mighty:* not *to increase his riches by usury and interest; not to hasten overmuch to be rich;* for *such one knoweth not that poverty shall come upon him;* and that *an heritage hastily gotten in the beginning, in the end thereof shall not be blessed:* and that in the mean time, *the man that is greedy of gain troubleth his own house.* 2. Truth of friendship. *A man that hath friends ought to show himself friendly: for a friend is nearer than a brother: Thy own*

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friend therefore, *and thy father's friend, forget thou not:* for whether he reprove thee, *the wounds of a lover are faithful;* or whether he advise, *as ointment and perfume rejoice the heart, so doth the sweetness of a man's friend by hearty counsel:* or whether he exhort, *iron sharpens iron, so doth a man sharpen the face of his friend;* and all this, not in the time of prosperity only, as commonly, *riches gather many friends, and the poor is separated from his neighbour;* but contrarily, *a* true *friend loveth at all times, and a brother is born for adversity:* in all estates therefore, *as the face in the water answers to face, so the heart of man to man.* Who yet may not be too much pressed: *Withdraw thy foot from thy neighbour's house, lest he be weary of thee and hate thee; neither enter into thy brother's house in the day of thy calamity:* nor, again, too forward in proffering kindness to his own loss; *A man destitute of understanding toucheth the hand and becometh surety for his neighbour: If* therefore *thou art become surety for thy neighbour* (much more *if thou hast stricken hands with the stranger*) *thou art snared with the words of thine own mouth, thou art even taken with the words of thine own mouth. Do this now, my son, seeing thou art come into the hand of thy neighbour,* (not *having taken a pledge for thy suretyship,*) *go and humble thyself, and solicit thy friends: give no sleep to thine eyes, nor slumber to thine eyelids. Deliver thyself as a doe from the hand of the hunter, and as a bird from the hand of the fowler;* and take it for a sure rule, *He that hateth suretyship is sure.* Prov. xxii. 28, xxiii. 10, 11, xxviii. 8, xxiii. 4, xxviii. 22, 20, xx. 21, xv. 27, xviii. 24, xxvii. 10, 6, 9, 17, xix. 4, xvii. 17, xxvii. 19, xxv. 17, xxvii. 10, xvii. 18, vi. 1, 2, &c. 3, xxvii. 13, vi. 4, 5, xi. 15.

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SOLOMON'S ECONOMICS,

OR

GOVERNMENT OF THE FAMILY.

1. { HUSBAND, WIFE. } 2. { PARENT, CHILD. } 3. { MASTER, SERVANT. }

SECTION I.

The head of the family: in whom is required { Wisdom, Staidness, Thrift.

THE man is the *head* and guide of the family; in whom *wisdom is good with an inheritance:* for *through wisdom an house is builded and established:* which directs him to do all things in due order; first, *to prepare his work without, and then after, to build his house:* and therewith staidness; for, *as a bird that wandereth from her nest, so is a man that wandereth from his own place:* and which is the chief stay of his estate, thriftiness; for *he that troubleth his own house* (by excess) *shall inherit the wind: and the fool shall be servant to the wise in heart:* for which purpose he shall find, that *the house of the righteous shall have much treasure, while the revenues of the wicked is but trouble:* or if not much; yet *better is a little with the fear of the Lord, than great treasure and trouble therewith.* Howsoever, therefore, let him be content with his estate: *Let the lambs be sufficient for his clothing, and let the goats be the price of his field Let the milk of his goats be sufficient for his food, for the food of his family, and the sustenance of his maids:* and if he have much revenue, let him look for much expense. For, *when goods increase, they are increased that eat them: and what good cometh to the owners thereof, but the beholding thereof with their eyes?* Eccles. vii. 11; Prov. xxiv. 3, 27, xxvii. 8, xi. 29, xv. 6, 16, xxvii. 26, 27; Eccles. v. 11.

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THE HUSBAND.

Section II.

Who must bear himself { Wisely, Chastely, Quietly, and cheerfully.

He that findeth a wife findeth a good thing, and receiveth favour of the Lord: Who must therefore behave himself, 1. Wisely, as *the guide of her youth: as the head to which she is a crown.* 2. Chastely, *Drink the water of thine own cistern, and the rivers out of the midst of thine own well.* The matrimonial love must be pure and clear, not muddy and troubled; *Let thy fountains flow forth, and the rivers of waters in the streets;* the sweet and comfortable fruits of blessed marriage, in plentiful issue; *but let them be thine alone, and not the stranger's with thee.* This love abides no partners: for *this were to give thine honour unto others, and thy strength to the cruel; so should the stranger be filled with thy strength, and* (as the substance will be with the affections) *thy labours should be in the house of a stranger; and thou shalt mourn* (which is the best success hereof) *at thine end, when thou hast consumed* (besides the goods) *thy flesh and thy body*, and say, *How have I hated instruction, and mine heart despised correction! I was almost plunged into all evil*, of sin and torments; *and that* which is most shameful, *in the midst of the assembly*, in the face of the world. *Let* therefore *that thine own fountain be blessed, and rejoice with the wife of thy youth. Let her be as the loving hind and pleasant roe; let her breasts satisfy thee at all times; and err thou in her love continually. For why shouldest thou delight, my son, in a strange woman, or* (whether in affection or act) *embrace the bosom of a stranger? For the ways of man are before the eyes of the Lord, and he pondereth all his paths:* and if thy godlessness regard not that, yet for thine own sake, *desire not her beauty in thy heart, neither let her take thee with her eyelids; for because of the whorish woman a man is brought to a morsel of bread*, yea to the very husks; and more than that, *a woman will hunt for the precious life of a man.* Thou sayest thou canst escape this actual defilement: *Can a man take fire in his bosom,*

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and his clothes not be burnt? Or can a man go upon coals, and his feet not be burnt? So he that goeth in to his neighbour's wife shall not be innocent, whosoever toucheth her. This sin is far more odious than theft: For *men do not despise a thief when he stealeth to satisfy his soul, because he is hungry: but if he be found, he shall restore sevenfold, or he shall give all the substance of his house;* and it is accepted. *But he that commits adultery with a woman is mad: he that would destroy his own soul, let him do it:* for *he shall find a wound and dishonour, and his reproach shall never be put away.* Neither is the danger less than the shame. For, *jealousy is the rage of man: therefore* the wronged husband *will not spare in the day of vengeance. He cannot bear the sight of any ransom: neither will he consent to* remit it, *though thou multiply thy gifts. And* though *stolen waters be sweet, and hid bread be pleasant* to our corrupt taste, *yet* the adulterer *knows not that the dead are there: and that her guests are in the deeps of hell, that her house tendeth to death;* and howsoever *her lips drop as an honeycomb, and her mouth is more soft than oil, yet the end of her is bitter as wormwood, and sharp as a twoedged sword: her feet go down to death, and her steps take hold of hell:* yea, *the mouth of the strange woman is a deep pit, and he with whom the Lord is angry shall fall into it.* 3. Quietly, and lovingly: for, *better is a dinner of green herbs where love is, than a stalled ox and hatred therewith:* yea, *better is a dry morsel, if peace be with it, than a house full of sacrifices with strife.* And if he find sometime cause of blame, *the discretion of a man deferreth his anger, and his glory is to pass by an offence:* and only *he that covereth a transgression seeketh love: Rejoice with thy wife whom thou hast loved all the days of the life of thy vanity, which God hath given thee under the sun: for this is thy portion in this life, and in the travails wherein thou labourest under the sun,* Prov. xviii. 22, ii. 17, xii. 4, v. 15, 16, 17, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 18, 19, 20, 21, vi. 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, ix. 17, 18, ii. 18, 19, v. 3, 4, 5, xxiii. 27, xxii. 14, xv. 17, xvii. 1, xix. 11, xvii. 9; Eccles. ix. 9.

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THE WIFE.

Section III.

She must be
1. Faithful to her husband, not wanton.
2. Obedient.
3. Discreet.
4. Provident and housewife-like.

A virtuous wife is the crown of her husband: Who shall find such a one? for her price is far above the pearls. 1. She is true to her husband's bed; *such as the heart of her husband may trust to,* as knowing that she is tied to him *by the covenant of God:* not wanton and unchaste; such one as *I* once *saw from the window of my house; I looked through my window, and saw among the fools, and considered among the children a young man wanting wit, who passed through the street by her corner, and went toward her house, in the twilight in the evening, when the night began to be black and dark,* so as he thought himself unseen: *and, behold, there met him* (the same he sought for) *a woman with an harlot's fashion; and close in heart* as open in her habit. *She is babbling and perverse; whose feet* (contrary to the manner of all modest wives, *which only attain honour*) *cannot abide in her house,* but are ever gadding. *Now she is without* the gates, *now in the streets, and lieth in wait in every corner;* or, at the least, *sitteth at the door of her house, on a seat in the high places of the city; so she* (not staying to be solicited) *caught him* by the neck, *and kissed him,* and *with an impudent face said unto him, I have the flesh of peace-offerings,* (both good cheer and religion pretended;) *this day have I paid my vows: therefore I came forth,* on purpose *to meet thee that I might earnestly seek thy face* of all others; *and now,* how happy am I that I *have found thee! I have decked my bed with ornaments, with curtains, and strings of Egypt: I have perfumed my bed with myrrh, aloes, and cinnamon,* that we may lie sweet; *Come, go, let us take our fill of loves until the morning, let us take our pleasure in dalliance:* fear nothing, *for my husband is not at home, he is gone a journey far off,* neither needest thou to doubt his return; for *he hath taken with him a bag of silver, and will*

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come home at his set day: sooner he cannot: this she said: what followed? *By the abundance of the sweetness of her speech she caused him to yield: and with the flattery of her lips she enticed him; and straightways he follows her, as an ox goeth to the slaughter, and as a fool to the stocks for correction, till a dart strike through his liver,* the seat of his lust; *or as a bird hasteneth to the snare, and knoweth not that it is against his own life: thus* she doeth, and when her husband returns, *she wipeth her mouth and saith, I have not committed iniquity.* 2. She is dutiful and obedient; *by a soft answer appeasing wrath:* not *hateful;* for whom *a whole world is moved:* not stubborn, not quarrellous: for *the contentions* (and brawlings) *of a wife are like a continual dropping in the day of rain:* a discomfort to the husband; a rotting to the house. So, *It is better to dwell in a corner of the housetop than with a contentious woman in a wide house.* And though, for society, *two be better than one,* yet *it is better to dwell alone in the wilderness, than with a contentious and angry woman. For* herein as his grief cannot be avoided, so his shame cannot be conceived. For *he that hideth her hideth the wind; and she is as oil in his right hand that uttereth itself;* Prov. xii. 4, xxxi. 10, 11, ii. 17, vii. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, xi. 16, vii. 11, 12, xxiii. 28, ix. 14, vii. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, xxx. 20; Prov. xv. 1, xxx. 23, 21, xix. 13, xxvii. 15, xxv. 24; Eccles. iv. 9; Prov. xxi. 19, xxvii. 16.

SECTION IV.

The good housewife (Prov. xxxi.) set forth by her
- Actions,
  - In her own person;
    - Labours,
    - Bargains,
    - Liberal provision for
      - Herself,
      - The poor,
      - Her family:
        - Husband,
        - Servants.
  - In the oversight of her family.
- Speeches,
- Disposition.

3. She is moreover prudent *and discreet. A wise woman buildeth her house, but the foolish destroyeth it with her own hands:* and *as a ring of gold in a swine's snout, so is a fair woman which lacketh discretion.* 4. She is careful and housewife-like; so as *she will do her husband good, and not evil, all the days of her life:*

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for as for her actions in her own person, whether you look to her labours, *she seeketh wool and flax, and laboureth cheerfully with her hands. She riseth while it is yet night: she girdeth her loins with strength, and strengtheneth her arms. She putteth her hands to the wheel, and her hands handle the spindle:* or whether to her bargains; *she considereth a field, and getteth it, and with the fruit of her hand she planteth a vineyard. She is like the ship of merchants, she bringeth her food from far: she feeleth that her merchandise is good, her candle is not put out by night: she maketh sheets and selleth them, and giveth girdles unto the merchants;* or whether to her liberal provision; for her husband, *who is known in the gates* (by her neat furnishing) *when he sits with the elders of the land:* 2, for herself, *she maketh herself carpets, fine linen and purple is her garment:* 3, for her servants, *she feareth not the snow for her family, for all her family is clothed with scarlet:* 4, for the poor, *she stretcheth out her hands to the poor, and putteth forth her hands to the needy.* For her oversight of her family; *she giveth the portion to her household, and the ordinary* (or stint of work) *to her maids: she overseeth the ways of her household, and eateth not the bread of idleness.* For her speeches; *she openeth her mouth with wisdom, and the law of grace is in her tongue.* Lastly, *strength and honour is her clothing; and in the latter day she shall rejoice.* So worthy she is in all these, that *her own children* cannot contain, but *rise up and call her blessed; and her husband shall praise her,* and say, *Many daughters have done virtuously, but thou surmountest them all: favour is deceitful, and beauty is vanity; but a woman that feareth the Lord, she shall be praised.* Since therefore she is so well deserving, *give her of the fruit of her own hands, and let her own works praise her;* Prov. xiv. 1, xi. 22, xxxi. 12, 13, 15, 17, 19, 16, 14, 18, 24, 23, 22, 21, 20, 15, 27, 26, 25, 28, 29, 30, 31.

PARENTS.

Section V.

Who owe to their children { Provision, Instruction, Correction.

Parents and children are the next pair which do give much joy to each other: *Children's children are the crown of the elders,*

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and the glory of the children are their fathers: to which purpose the parent oweth to the child, 1. Provision: *A good man shall give inheritance to his children's children. All the labour wherein he hath travailed he shall leave to the man that shall be after him. And who knoweth whether he shall be wise or foolish? yet shall he rule over all his labour wherein* he hath *laboured, and showed himself wise under the sun.* Here are therefore two gross *vanities which I have seen:* the one, *There is one alone, and there is not a second, which hath neither son* nor *brother: yet there is none end of his travail, neither can his eye be satisfied with riches; neither* doth he think, *For whom do I travail and defraud my soul of pleasure?* The other contrary; *riches reserved to the owner thereof for their evil. And these riches perish in his evil business, and he begetteth a son, and in his hand is nothing.* 2. *Instruction* and good education: for *he that begetteth a fool* (whether naturally or by ill breeding) *begetteth himself sorrow, and the father of a fool can have no joy.* And, therefore, *teach a child in the trade of his way, and when he is old he shall not depart from it.* 3. *Correction: He that spareth his rod hateth his son; but he that loveth him chasteneth betime; for foolishness is bound in the heart of a child: the rod of correction shall drive it from him:* yea, there is yet great benefit of due chastisement; for *the rod and correction give life; but a child set at liberty makes his mother* (who is commonly faulty this way) *ashamed:* yea, more than shame, death and hell follow to the child *upon indulgence:* (only) *If thou smite him with the rod, he shall not die: If thou smite him with the rod, thou shalt deliver his soul from hell.* Though thy *son* therefore *be tender and dear in thy sight; correct him, and he will give thee rest, and will give pleasures to thy soul:* wherefore, *chasten him while there is hope, and let not thy soul spare to his destruction. The son that is of a great stomach shall endure punishment: and though thou deliver him, yet thou shalt take him in hand again.* Prov. xvii. 6, xiii. 22; Eccles. ii. 18, 19, iv. 8, v. 13, 14; Prov. i. 8, xvii. 21, xxii. 6, xiii. 24, xxii. 15, xxix. 15, xxiii. 13, 14, iv. 3, xxix. 17, xix. 18, 19.

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CHILDREN.

Section VI.

Their duties:
- Obedience to
  - Instructions,
  - Commandments.
- Submission to correction.
- Care
  - of their parents' estate,
  - of their own carriage.

A wise son rejoiceth the father, and *the father of the righteous shall greatly rejoice;* whereas *the foolish is the calamity of his parents:* contrarily, *If thou be a wise son,* or *lovest wisdom, thy father and thy mother shall be glad, and she that bare thee shall rejoice.* Such a one is, first, obedient; for, *a wise son will hear* and *obey the instruction of his father, and not forsake his mother's teaching;* yea, in every command *he will obey him that begot him, and not despise his mother when she is old:* not upon any occasion cursing his parents (as *there is a generation that doth;*) for, *he that curseth his father or mother, his light shall be put out in obscure darkness:* not mocking and scorning them; for, *the eye that mocketh his father, and despiseth the instruction of his mother, the ravens of the valley shall pick it out, and the young eagles eat it:* and not obedient to counsel only, but to stripes, *He that hateth correction is a fool; and he that regardeth it is prudent:* for *those corrections that are for instruction are the way of life;* therefore *he that hateth them shall die.* Secondly, careful, both, 1, of their estate; *He that robbeth his father and mother, and saith it is no transgression, is a companion of a man that destroyeth:* and, 2, of his own carriage; for, *a lewd and shameful child destroyeth his father, and chaseth away his mother. Let therefore even the child show himself to be known by his doings, whether his work be pure and right;* so *his father's reins shall rejoice, when he speaketh,* and doeth *righteous things.* Prov. xv. 20, x. 1, xxiii. 24, xix. 13, xxix. 3, xxiii. 25, xxxi. 1, i. 8, xxiii. 22, vi. 20, xxx. 11, xx. 20, xv. 20. xxx. 17, xii. 1, xv. 5, vi. 23, xv. 10, xxviii. 24, xix. 26, xx. 11, xxiii. 16.

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THE MASTER AND SERVANT.

Section VII.

The master must be { Provident for his servant. / Not { too severe, / too familiar.

The servant must be { Faithful, / Diligent.

The servant is no small commodity to his master. *He that is despised, and hath a servant of his own, is better than he that boasts* (whether of gentry or wealth), *and wanteth bread.* The master, therefore, must provide *sufficiency of food for his family, and sustenance for his maids:* who also, as he may not be over-rigorous in punishing or noting offences; sometimes *not hearing his servant that curseth him:* so not too familiar; for *he that delicately bringeth up his servant from his youth, at length he will be as his son.* He must therefore be sometimes severe, more than in rebukes; (for, *a servant will not be chastened with words; and though he understand, yet he will not regard;*) yet so as he have respect ever to his good deservings: *A discreet servant shall rule over a lewd son; and he shall divide the heritage among his brethren.* In answer whereto, the good servant must be, 1, *Faithful* unto his master; *As the cold of snow in the time of harvest, so is a faithful messenger to them that send him, for he refresheth the soul of his master. A wicked messenger falleth into evil; but a faithful ambassador is preservation:* and, 2, Diligent, whether in his charge; *Be diligent to know the estate of thy flock* (or rather, *the face of thy cattle*), *and take heed to the herds:* or in his attendance; *He that keepeth his fig-tree shall eat of the fruit of it;* so *he that* carefully *waiteth on his master shall come to honour;* where, contrarily, in both these, *As vinegar to the teeth, and smoke to the eyes, so is a slothful messenger to them that send him.* Prov. xii. 9, xxvii. 27; Eccles. vii. 21; Prov. xxix. 21, 19, xvii. 2, xxv. 13, xiii. 17, xxvii. 23, 18, x. 26.

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EPISCOPAL ADMONITION[a].

BY THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

DR. JOSEPH HALL,

LATE LORD BISHOP OF EXETER,

SENT IN A LETTER TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

April 28, 1628.

LONDON, PRINTED FOR C. G. 1681.

GENTLEMEN,—For God's sake be wise in your well-meant zeal. Why do you argue away precious time, that can never be revoked or repaired? *Woe is me! while we dispute, our friends perish, and we must follow them!* Where are we, if we break? And, I tremble to think, we cannot but break, if we hold so stiff. Our liberties and properties are sufficiently declared to be sure and legal: our remedies are clear and irrefragable. What do we fear? Every subject sees the way now chalked out for future justice; and who dares henceforth tread besides it? Certainly, while parliaments live, we need not misdoubt the violations of our freedoms and rights. May we be but where the law found us, we shall sufficiently enjoy ourselves and ours. It is no reason to search for more. *O let us not, whilst we over-rigidly plead for an higher strain of safety, put ourselves into a necessity of ruin and utter despair of redress!* Let us not, in the suspicions of evils that may be, cast ourselves into a present confusion! If you love yourselves and your country, remit something of your own terms: and since the substance is yielded by your *noble patriots*, stand not too rigorously upon points of circumstance. *Fear not to trust a good king, who, after the strict laws made, must be trusted with the execution.* Think that your country, nay, and Christendom, lies on the mercy of your present resolutions. *Relent, or farewell welfare! From him whose faithful heart bleeds in a vowed sacrifice for his king and country.*

EXETER.

[a] Now first printed from a broadside preserved in the British Museum: though neither the matter nor the style, nor even the signature, would seem to warrant the suggestion that the author was Bishop Hall.[—*H.* [Peter Hall.]

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A SHORT ANSWER

TO THOSE

NINE ARGUMENTS

WHICH ARE BROUGHT AGAINST THE

BISHOPS SITTING IN PARLIAMENT.

Those reasons had need to be strong, and the inconveniences heinous, that should take away an ancient and hereditary right, established by law. These are not such.

1. To trade in secular affairs, and to be taken up with them, is indeed a great and just hinderance to the exercise of our ministerial function: but, to meet once in three years in a parliament for some few weeks, at the same time when we are bound to attend convocation business, is no sensible impediment to our holy calling.

2. We do indeed promise and profess, when we enter into holy orders, that we will give ourselves, so much as in us lies, wholly to this vocation: will it therefore follow that we may not, upon any occasion, lend ourselves to the care of the public, when we are thereunto called? And if, this notwithstanding, we may, yea must, take moderate care of our household affairs, and the provision for our family, why not as well of the commonwealth?

3. For ancient canons of councils, will they be content to be bound by them, who urge them upon us? or, will they admit some and reject others? or, will they admit them, where they are contrary to our own laws? Now our Clarendon Constit. have, expressly, *debent interesse omnibus judiciis.* The canons, therefore, must yield to them, not they to the canons.

4. Twenty-four bishops have dependance upon two archbishops:—when was it otherwise? Is it not so in all subordinations of government? If this be a just inconvenience, let all be levelled to an equality, and that shall end in a certain confusion. But they swear to them canonical obedience:—True; but it is only *in omnibus licitis et honestis mandatis.* The supposition implied

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must needs savour of uncharitableness—that the Metropolitans will be still apt to require unlawful things, and the bishops will ever basely stoop to a servile humouring of them.

5. But they have their places only for their lives, and therefore not fit to have a legislative power over the honours, liberties, properties of the subject:—First; If they have their bishoprics but for their lives, yet there are scarce any of them that have not so much temporal estate in fee as may make them no less capable of a legislative power than many of the house of commons who claim this right. Secondly; Is the case other now than it hath been all this while? yet for so many hundred years, there have been good laws and just sentences given by their concurrence, notwithstanding this their tenure for life. Thirdly; If they be honest and conscionable, though they had their places but for a year or a day, they would not yield to determine aught unjustly; and if dishonest and conscienceless, it is not the perpetual inheritance of our places that can make our determinations just.

6. If dependencies and expectations of further preferment lie in our way, why not equally in many temporal lords', who are interested in offices and places in court? Why should we be more miscarriageable by such possibilities or hopes than others, especially when our age is commonly such, and the charges of removes so great, that there is small likelihood of an equal gaining by the change?

7. If several and particular bishops have much encroached upon the consciences of his majesty's subjects, in matter of their property and liberty, what reason is there to impute this unto all? Why should the innocent be punished for the wrongs of the guilty? Let those who can be convinced of an offence this way undergo a condign censure. Let not an unjust prejudice be cast upon the whole calling for the errors of a few.

8. It is not to be expected but the whole number of twenty-six should be interested in the maintenance of that their jurisdiction, which both the laws of men and apostolical institution hath feoffed them in:—Why should they not defend their own lawful and holy calling against all unjust opposition of gainsayers? If their hearts did not assure them their station were warrantable and good, they were beasts if they would hold them; and if their hearts do assure them so, they were beasts if they would not defend them. But there are numbers in all the three kingdoms that cry them down:—true; but there are greater numbers for them,

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perhaps an hundred for one. And if some busy factionists of the meaner sort hereabout (a body compounded of Separatists, Anabaptists, Familists, and such like stuff) make some show and noise, yet what are these to the whole kingdom? Neither do these men more oppugn our votes in parliament than our stations in the Church: so as this argument will no less hold for no bishops than for no votes, as likewise that instance in the practice of Scotland. "Scotland hath abolished episcopacy," they say: the more pity; let them look, *quo jure;* and what answer to make unto that God whose ordinance it is. But I had thought it should have been a stronger argument, "England retains episcopacy; therefore Scotland should;" than "Scotland hath abolished episcopacy; therefore England should do so too." Let there be any other church named in the whole Christian world, that hath voluntarily abandoned episcopacy when it might have continued it; and if their practice be herein singular, why should not they rather conform to all the rest of Christendom than we to them?

9. But the core of all is, that it sets too great a distance between us and our brethren of the clergy; and so nourishes pride in us, discontentment in them, and disquietness in the Church:—an argument that fights equally against all our superiority over our brethren, and against our votes here. By this reason we must be all equal, none subordinate; and what order can there be where none is above other? What is this but old Korah's challenge? *Ye take too much upon you: wherefore lift ye up yourselves above the congregation of the Lord?* Now, I beseech you, whether was there more pride in Moses and Aaron, that governed; or in Korah and Dathan, that murmured and repined? It is *pride*, then, that *causeth contention;* but where is this pride? whether in those that moderately manage a lawful superiority, or in those that scorn and hate to be under government? were those brethren so affected as they ought, they should rather rejoice that any of their own tribe are advanced to those places wherein they might be capable of doing good offices to them and the Church of God, instead of swelling with envy against their just exaltation; and would feel this honour done to their profession, and not to the persons. Lastly, what a mean opinion doth this imply to be conceived of us by the suggesters, that we, who are old men, Christian philosophers and divines, should have so little government of ourselves, as to be puffed up with those poor accessions of titular re-

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spects, which those who are really and hereditarily possessed of can yield without any such taint or suspicion of transportedness!

Shortly, in all these nine reasons, there is nothing that may induce an indifferent man to think there is any just ground to exclude bishops from sitting and voting in parliament.

A SPEECH IN PARLIAMENT.

My Lords:—I have long held my peace, and meant to have done so still; but now, like to Crœsus's mute son, I must break silence. I humbly beseech your lordships to give me leave to take this too just occasion to move your lordships, to take into your deep and serious consideration the woful and lamentable condition of the poor Church of England, your dear mother.

My lords, this was not wont to be her style. We have heretofore talked of the famous and flourishing Church of England; but now, your lordships must give me leave to say, that the poor Church of England humbly prostrates herself, next after his sacred majesty, at your lordships' feet, and humbly craves your compassion and present aid.

My lords, it is a foul and dangerous insolence, this, which is now complained of to you, but it is but one of an hundred of those which have been of late done to this Church and government.

The Church of England, as your lordships cannot choose but know, hath been and is miserably infested on both sides: with papists on the one side, and schismatics on the other. The Psalmist hath of old distinguished the enemies of it into *wild boars* out of the wood, and *little foxes* out of the burrows: the one whereof goes about to root up the very foundation of religion; the other, to crop the branches and blossoms and clusters thereof: both of them conspire the utter ruin and devastation of it.

As for the former of them, I do perceive a great deal of good zeal for the remedy and suppression of them: and I do heartily congratulate it, and bless God for it, and beseech him to prosper it in those hands that shall undertake and prosecute it.

But for the other, give me leave to say, I do not find many that are sensible of the danger of it; which yet, in my apprehension, is very great and apparent. Alas! my lords, I beseech you

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to consider what it is: That there should be in London and the suburbs and liberties no fewer than fourscore congregations of several sectaries, as I have been too credibly informed; instructed by guides fit for them, coblers, tailors, feltmakers, and such like trash: which all are taught to spit in the face of their mother, the Church of England, and to defy and revile her government. From hence have issued those dangerous assaults of our Church-governors: from hence, that inundation of base and scurrilous libels and pamphlets, wherewith we have been of late overborne; in which papists and prelates, like oxen in a yoke, are still matched together. O my lords, I beseech you, that you will be sensible of this great indignity. Do but look upon these reverend persons. Do not your lordships see here, sitting upon these benches, those that have spent their time, their strength, their bodies and lives, in preaching down, in writing down popery? and which would be ready, if occasion were offered, to sacrifice all their old blood that remains to the maintenance of that truth of God which they have taught and written? And shall we be thus despitefully ranged with them whom we do thus professedly oppose? But, alas! this is but one of those many scandalous aspersions and intolerable affronts that are daily cast upon us. Now whither should we, in this case, have recourse for a needful and seasonable redress? The arm of the Church is, alas! now short and sinewless: it is the interposing of your authority that must rescue us. You are the eldest sons of your dear mother, the Church; and therefore most fit and most able to vindicate her wrongs. You are *amici sponsæ*: give me leave, therefore, in the bowels of Christ humbly to beseech your lordships to be tenderly sensible of these woful and dangerous conditions of the times. And if the government of the Church of England be unlawful and unfit, abandon and disclaim it; but if otherwise, uphold and maintain it. Otherwise, if these lawless outrages be yet suffered to gather head, who knows where they will end? My lords, if these men may with impunity and freedom thus bear down ecclesiastical authority, it is to be feared they will not rest there, but will be ready to affront civil power too. Your lordships know, that the Jack Straws, and Cades, and Wat Tylers of former times, did not more cry down learning than nobility: and those of your lordships that have read the history of the anabaptistical tumults at Munster, will need no other item: let it be enough to say, that many of these sectaries are of the same profession. Shortly, therefore, let me humbly move your lordships

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to take these dangers and miseries of this poor Church deeply to heart: and upon this occasion, to give order for the speedy redressing of these horrible insolencies, and for the stopping of that deluge of libellous invectives wherewith we are thus impetuously overflown. Which, in all due submission, I humbly present to your lordships' wise and religious consideration.

A SPEECH IN PARLIAMENT,

[Early in 1640–41.]

IN DEFENCE OF THE

CANONS MADE IN CONVOCATION[a].

My Lords:—I cannot choose but know, that whosoever rises up in this cause must speak with the disadvantage of much prejudice; and therefore I do humbly crave your lordships' best construction. Were it, my lords, that some few doubting persons were to be satisfied in some scruples about matter of the canons, there might have been some life in the hope of prevailing; but now that we are borne down with such a torrent of general and resolute contradiction, we yield: but yet give us leave, I beseech you, so to yield, that posterity may not say we have willingly betrayed our own innocence.

First, therefore, let us plead to your lordships and the world, that to abate the edge of that illegality which is objected to us, it was our obedience that both assembled and kept us together for the making of synodical acts. We had the great seal of England for it; seconded by the judgments of the oracles of law and justice: and upon these, the command of our superior, to whom we have sworn and owe canonical obedience. Now in this case, what should we do? Was it for us to judge of the great seal of England? or to judge of our judges? alas! we are not for the law, but for the gospel: or to disobey that authority which was to be ever sacred to us? I beseech your lordships, put yourselves

[a] [After the dissolution of the parliament which met in April 1640, and was dissolved early in May, the convocation was continued by a special warrant from the king, and required to proceed in the treating of Canons for the better peace and quiet of the Church.]—Clarendon's Rebellion, ed. 1848, vol. i. p. 288.

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a while into our condition. Had the case been yours, what would you have done? If we obey not, we are rebels to authority: if we obey, we are censured for illegal procedures. Where are we now, my lords? It is an old rule of casuists, *Nemo tenetur esse perplexus.* Free us one way or other: and show us whether we must rather hazard censure, or incur disobedience.

In the next place, give us leave to plead our good intentions. Since we must make new canons, I persuade myself we all came, I am sure I can speak for one, with honest and zealous desires to do God and his Church good service; and expected to have received great thanks, both of Church and commonwealth: for your lordships see, that the main drift of those canons was to repress and confine the indiscreet and lawless discourses of some either ignorant or parasitical, I am sure offensive preachers; to suppress the growth of Socinianism, popery, separatism; to redress some abuses of ecclesiastical courts and officers: in all which, I dare say, your lordships do heartily concur with them. And if, in the manner of expression, there have been any failings, I shall humbly beseech your lordships, that those may not be too much stood upon, where the main substance is well meant, and in itself profitable.

In the third place, give me leave to put your lordships in mind of the continual practice of the Christian Church since the first synod of the apostles, Acts xv, to this present day: wherein I suppose it can never be showed that ever any ecclesiastical canons made by the bishops and clergy in synods, general, national, provincial, were either offered or required to be confirmed by parliaments. Emperors and princes, by whose authority those synods were called, have still given their power to the ratification and execution of them, and none others: and if you please to look into the times within the ken of memory, or somewhat beyond it, Linwood's Constitutions, what parliaments confirmed? The Injunctions of queen Elizabeth, the Canons of king James, were never tendered to the parliament for confirmation; and yet have so far obtained hitherto, that the government of the Church was by them still regulated. Compare, I beseech you, those of king James with the present: your lordships shall find them many, peremptory, resolute; standing upon their own grounds, in points much harder of digestion than these, which are but few, and only seconds to former constitutions. If therefore in this we have erred, surely the whole Christian Church of all places and times

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hath erred with us: either, therefore, we shall have too good company in the censure, or else we shall be excused.

Fourthly, give me leave to urge the authority of these canons. In which regard, if I might without offence speak it, I might say that the complainants have not, under correction, laid a right ground of their accusation. They say we have made canons and constitutions: alas! my lords, we have made none. We neither did nor could make canons, more than they can make laws. The canons are so to the Church as laws are for the commonwealth. Now they do but *rogare legem:* they do not *ferre* or *sancire legem:* that is only for the king to do: it is *Le roi le veult* that of bills makes laws. So was it for us to do in matter of canons: we might propound some such constitutions as we should think might be useful: but when we have done, we send them to his majesty; who perusing them *cum avisamento consilii sui,* and approving them, puts life into them, and of dead propositions makes them canons. As therefore the laws are the king's laws, and not ours, so are the canons the king's canons, and not the clergy's. Think thus of them, and then draw what conclusions you please.

As for that pecuniary business of our contribution, wherein we are said to have trenched upon the liberty of subjects and propriety of goods, I beseech your lordships, do but see the difference of times. We had a precedent for it. The same thing was done in queen Elizabeth's time in a mulct of three shillings the pound, and that after the end of the parliament, with the same clauses of suspension, sequestration, deprivation, without noise of any exception, which now is cried down for an unheard of encroachment. How legal it may be, I dispute not, and did then make bold to move: but let the guide of that example, and the zeal that we had to the supply of his majesty's necessities, excuse us *a tanto* at least; if having given these as subsidies sitting the parliament, and the bill being drawn up for the confirmation of the parliament, we now upon the unhappy dissolution of it, as loath to retract so necessary a grant, were willing to have it continued to his majesty's use.

But, my lords, if I may have leave to speak my own thoughts, I shall freely say, that whereas there are three general concernments, both of persons and causes, merely ecclesiastical, merely temporal, or mixt of both ecclesiastical and temporal: as it is fit the Church by her synod should take cognizance of and order for the first, which is merely ecclesiastical; so, next under his

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majesty, the parliament should have the power of ordering the other.

But in the mean time, my lords, where are we? The canons of the Church, both late and former, are pronounced to be void and forceless. The Church is a garden or vineyard enclosed: the laws and constitutions of it are as the wall or hedge: if these be cast open, in what state are we? Shall the enemies of this Church have such an advantage of us as to say, we are a lawless Church? or shall all men be left loose to their licentious freedom? God in heaven forbid!

Hitherto we have been quietly and happily governed by those former canons: the extent whereof we have not, I hope, and for some of us, I am confident we have not, exceeded. Why should we not be so still? Let these late canons sleep, since you will have it so, till we awake them, which shall not be till Doomsday; and let us be where we were, and regulate ourselves by those constitutions which were quietly submitted to on all hands; and for this which is past, since that which we did was out of our true obedience and with honest and godly intentions, and according to the universal practice of all Christian churches, and with the full power of his majesty's authority, let it not be imputed to us as any way worthy of your lordships' censure.

A SPEECH IN PARLIAMENT,

[May, 1641.]

CONCERNING THE

POWER OF BISHOPS IN SECULAR THINGS.

My Lords:—This is the strangest bill that ever I heard, since I was admitted to sit under this roof: for it strikes at the very fabric and composition of this house, at the style of all laws; and therefore were it not that it comes from such a recommendation, it would not, I suppose, undergo any long consideration; but coming to us from such hands, it cannot but be worthy of your best thoughts.

And, truly, for the main scope of the bill, I shall yield it most willingly, that ecclesiastical and sacred persons should not ordi-

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narily be taken up with secular affairs. The minister is called *Vir Dei*, "a man of God:" he may not be *Vir Seculi*. He may lend himself to them upon occasion: he may not give himself over purposely to them. Shortly, he may not so attend worldly things, as that he do neglect divine things. This we gladly yield. Matters of justice, therefore, are not proper, as in an ordinary trade, for our function; and by my consent shall be, as in a generality, waved and deserted: which, for my part, I never have meddled with but in a charitable way; with no profit, but some charge to myself, whereof I shall be glad to be eased. *Tractent fabrilia fabri;* as the old word is.

But if any man shall hence think to infer that some spiritual person may not occasionally be in a special service of his king or country; and, when he is so required by his prince, give his advice in the urgent affairs of the kingdom, which I suppose is the main point driven at; it is such an inconsequence, as I dare boldly say cannot be made good either by divinity or reason, by the laws either of God or man: whereas the contrary may be proved and enforced by both.

As for the grounds of this bill, that the minister's duty is so great that it is able to take up the whole man, and the apostle saith, Τίς ἱκανός; *Who is sufficient for these things?* and that *he who warfares* to God *should not entangle himself* with this world; it is a sufficient and just conviction of those who would divide themselves betwixt God and the world, and bestow any main part of their time upon secular affairs; but it hath no operation at all upon this tenet which we have in hand—That a man dedicate to God may not so much as, when he is required, cast a glance of his eye, or some minutes of time, or some motions of his tongue, upon the public business of his king and country. Those that expect this from us may as well, and upon the same reason, hold that a minister must have no family at all; or, if he have one, must not care for it: yea, that he must have no body to tend, but be all spirit.

My lords, we are men of the same composition with others; and our breeding hath been accordingly. We cannot have lived in the world, but we have seen it, and observed it too; and our long experience and conversation, both in men and in books, cannot but have put something into us for the good of others: and now, having a double capacity, *qua cives, qua ecclesiastici;* as members of the commonwealth, as ministers and governors of the

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Church, we are ready to do our best service in both. One of them is in no way incompatible with the other: yea, the subjects of them both are so united with the Church and commonwealth, that they cannot be severed: yea so as that, not the one is in the other, but one is the other, is both; so as the services which we do upon these occasions to the commonwealth are inseparable from our good offices to the Church: so as upon this ground there is no reason of our exclusion.

If ye say that our sitting in parliament takes up much time, which we might have employed in our studies or pulpits; consider, I beseech you, that while you have a parliament, we must have a convocation; and that our attendance upon that will call for the same expense of time which we afford to this service: so as herein we have neither got nor lost.

But I fear it is not, on some hands, the tender regard of the full scope to our calling that is so much here stood upon, as the conceit of too much honour that is done us, in taking up the room of peers, and voting in this high court: for surely, those that are averse from our votes, yet could be content we should have place upon the woolsacks; and could allow us ears, but not tongues.

If this be the matter, I beseech your lordships to consider that this honour is not done to us, but our profession; which, whatever we be in our several persons, cannot easily be capable of too much respect from your lordships. *Non tibi, sed Isidi;* as he said of old.

Neither is this any new grace that is put upon our calling; which if it were now to begin might perhaps be justly grudged to our unworthiness: but it is an ancient right and inheritance, inherent in our station: no less ancient than these walls wherein we sit: yea, more: before ever there were parliaments, in the Magna Concilia of the kingdom we had our places. And as for my predecessors, ever since the Conqueror's time, I can show your lordships a just catalogue of them that have sat before me here: and truly, though I have just cause to be mean in mine own eyes, yet why or wherein there should be more unworthiness in me than the rest, that I should be stripped of that privilege which they so long enjoyed, though there were no law to hold me here, I cannot see or confess.

What respects of honour have been put upon the prime clergy of old, both by Pagans and Jews and Christians, and what are

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still both within Christendom and without, I shall not need to urge: it is enough to say, this of ours is not merely arbitrary; but stands so firmly established by law and custom, that I hope it neither will nor can be removed, except you will shake those foundations which I believe you desire to hold firm and inviolable.

Shortly, then, my lords, the Church craves no new honour from you, and justly hopes you will not be guilty of pulling down the old. As you are the eldest sons, and, next under his majesty, the honourable patrons of the Church; so she expects and beseeches you to receive her into your tenderest care; so to order her affairs, that ye leave her to posterity in no worse case than you found her.

It is a true word of Damasus, *Uti vilescit nomen episcopi, omnis statua perturbatur Ecclesiæ.* If this be suffered, the misery will be the Church's, the dishonour and blur of the act in future ages will be yours.

To shut up, therefore, let us be taken off from all ordinary trade of secular employments; and, if you please, abridge us of intermeddling with matters of common justice; but leave us possessed of those places and privileges in parliament which our predecessors have so long and peaceably enjoyed.

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A LETTER,

SENT TO AN HONOURABLE GENTLEMAN,

IN WAY OF SATISFACTION,

CONCERNING SOME SLANDEROUS REPORTS LATELY RAISED AGAINST THE BISHOPS AND THE REST OF THE CLERGY OF THIS KINGDOM.

PRINTED IN THE YEAR 1641.

The following tract is now, for the first time, incorporated among the works of bishop Hall. A copy, included among the matchless collection of theological and political pamphlets, presented to the British Museum by king George the Third, is attributed, apparently by a contemporary inscription, to the bishop. On this authority it is inserted under the bishop's name, in the printed catalogue of the Museum, and thence probably transferred by Mr. Lowndes to the columns of the Bibliographer's Manual.—H. [P. HALL.]

TO MY NOBLE FRIEND, SIR W. W., KNIGHT.

MUCH HONOURED SIR,—So soon as (to my great grief and astonishment) I received notice from you of the strange rumour generally scattered abroad, of a thousand horse or more that should be provided by the clergy, and especially by the bishops of this kingdom, for some dangerous but secret exploit; I acquainted some eminent persons of that profession with the news. Who at the first seemed to entertain it with a smiling kind of neglect, as the feigned device of a thing impossible to find belief. But when I told them it was not only seriously divulged, but also credited by many, who seemed not injudicious, they began to be stricken with much horror and amazement, and to lament the condition of

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themselves and the times; and to impute the first invention of this crime to the malice of some ill-affected persons, who meant, by this means, to stir up the envy and unjust hatred of good people against their persons and calling. Good Lord, said they, were we not loaden enough before with the weight of more than our own enormities, but we must be crushed with the heavier pressures of imaginary mischiefs? Alas! what have we done, thus to irritate and enrage the world against us? What can it be that makes us guilty of this fury? How many of us are there that have not yet been taxed with any crime but our rochet! Yet we suffer no less than if it were a crime to be innocent! After they had a little breathed out their sorrow, they recollected themselves, and began to think what they might do to give the world some kind of satisfaction in this odious aspersion that is cast upon them. At last they resolved that, however they doubted not but time would fully manifest their integrity, yet in the mean while it was not fit that their silence should make them accessory to their own causeless infamy; and therefore they earnestly desired me to take and give notice to your worthy self, and all other ingenuous persons, of their serious and solemn protestation before God and the world, of their clear and perfect innocence in this behalf. They do therefore call the God of heaven to witness, that they are so far from having any hand in any business of this kind, that they never heard or received the least intimation of any attempt, word, purpose, or thought tending this way; neither can yet imagine what the meaning of any such combination or enterprise might be; as those who have desired, in all their attendance on these public services, to approve their fidelity to God, their king, and their country. In the conscience whereof, they bade me to challenge all those secret whisperers, who have thus gone about to poison their good names in the opinion of all loyal and true-hearted subjects, to notify and bring forth speedily the grounds of those accusations, and to fix them upon such persons as they dare charge for guilty, that the truth of these criminations may so appear to all the world, as that either themselves may receive shame, or the offenders judgment.

And withal they do most humbly beseech the most honourable lords and commons of the present parliament, that they will be pleased, with all possible speed, to search this matter to the bottom, and to follow this foul slander home to the first rise; that if any of them be found in the least measure guilty of this crime,

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pretended against king or state, he may forthwith suffer condign punishment to the utmost: wherein they profess that their hands shall be the first upon him, as the unworthy and perfidious violator of their sacred order. And if this report shall be found (as they are confident) utterly groundless and merely slanderous, they beseech that highest court of justice, for God's sake, and for the Church's sake, that they will be tenderly sensible of this abominable injury that is herein done to their holy profession, and take some speedy course for the public vindicating of their innocence to all the world.

And lastly, they do earnestly beseech, and, in the name of God, adjure all Christian people to beware how they give light credit to those slanderous suggestions that are, in these deplored times, most untruly raised and cast abroad by uncharitable and malevolent men against those whom God hath set over them, and who desire, in all good conscience, to be approved to God and men, and that they will forbear to hurt their own souls in wronging the innocent.

Thus, noble sir, I have been bold to give you an account of the entertainment of your ill news; not doubting of either your charitable belief of the truth of this unfeigned protestation, or of your just forwardness for the satisfying of others. In which confidence I take leave; not without my humble and fervent prayers to the God of peace, that he would be pleased to temper all hearts, and to compose them so to an happy unity and concord, that we may at the last return to our homes with joy, and with the comfortable expectation of no less blessed times than we have lived to see.

Your much devoted friend,

E. I.

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AN APOLOGETICAL LETTER

TO A

PERSON OF QUALITY,

CONCERNING

A SCANDALOUS AND MALICIOUS PASSAGE IN A CONFERENCE LATELY HELD BETWIXT AN INQUISITOR AT WHITEHALL AND MR. ANTHONY SADLER, PUBLISHED IN HIS "INQUISITIO ANGLICANA."

WRITTEN BY

JOSEPH HALL, BISHOP OF NORWICH,

IN VINDICATION OF HIMSELF.

To the Right Reverend Father in God, Dr. J. Hall, Bishop of Norwich.

R. R. Sir,—With my respective remembrance. I cannot blame you if you were much moved with that wrong which was so publicly done to your name, in that mentioned pamphlet; whereof we, that are your friends, are so sensible, as that I have been advised by several of them to publish that letter of vindication, which you were pleased to address privately to me: whereunto I have been easily induced to consent. For though I had, at the first receipt of it, purposed to conceal it, as supposing it not needful to take notice of that aspersion which was thus cast upon you by a nameless author, well knowing that all wise men were satisfied long ago with that full defence that you made for yourself, and which was so effectually seconded by those reverend bishops and learned doctors, who were in the height of reputation for their profound judgment, and out of all danger of suspicion of any popish inclination; yet now, perceiving that the less judicious and common sort of people are apt to take offence at this imputation, which is so confidently laid upon you by some person that would seem to carry authority in his public employment, I have thought it requisite to let this your short vindication to fly abroad, although thus late, for the satisfaction of those who either have not seen the resolutions and apologetical answers of those learned bishops and doctors, or who are not able to judge of the state of this question, raised, as you have truly said, and bishop Davenant before you, out of a mere misconstruction of words, and not any real difference in matter.

Sir, I hope I have done nothing herein that may be displeasing to you; since what I have done hath been out of a zealous respect to your dear reputation, which herein suffers too much in the weak opinion of vulgar readers.

Commending all your studies and holy endeavours to the blessing of the Almighty, I take leave; and am

Your much obliged friend to serve you,

Nov. 20, 1654. H. S.

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A BRIEF

LETTER OF APOLOGY,

SENT BY

THE REV. DR. HALL, B. N.

TO A PRIVATE FRIEND.

Worthy Sir,—In that strange pamphlet which I received from you yesterday, you cannot marvel if I startled to meet so unexpectedly with the name of bishop Hall disgracefully ranked with Priests and Jesuits, and the man that was executed the other day; for so it hath pleased my unknown accuser, in his great charity, to range my unworthiness.

If my pale and wrinkled cheeks could be any whit capable of the tincture of shame, you may well think what change of countenance these words must needs have wrought in me. Lord, thought I, what so heinous crime is this, for which I am thus shamefully arraigned before all the world, now on the brink of my grave! Forsooth, bishop Hall, as the rest of those meet complices, saith the Church of Rome is a true Church! *Grave crimen, Cai Cæsar!*

What an impotent malice is this, to single out my name thus ignominiously from all the rest of my profession, for an odious paradox, when I say no more than all the orthodox divines of Christendom! How must the reader now needs think, "Sure this bishop Hall is a man of corrupt principles; singular for his dangerous misopinions; a greater friend to Rome than all his fellows!" when as the world knows that I have already, about twenty-eight years ago, clearly vindicated myself from this gross misconstruction; and showed that, in my sense, there is no knowing protestant divine that agrees not fully with me.

You remember that about the time mentioned, when, upon some passages of the "old religion" then published by me, Mr. Burton and some others boggled at that expression, namely, That

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the Church of Rome is yet a true visible church, though extremely corrupted; and that the quarrel began to wax warm, and the press to complain of being pestered with opposite tractates; in a due care to lay this ill-raised spirit, besides my own full and satisfactory Apology then set forth, I appealed to other unquestionable divines, the oracles of our Church; writing my public letters to two famously learned bishops, bishop Morton and bishop Davenant; and to two eminent and approvedly orthodox doctors, Dr. Prideaux and doctor Primrose, pastor of the French Church; earnestly desiring them to declare their judgments freely and fully concerning this point. All which have not only in their published answers declared this to be an undoubted truth in the sense proposed, proving it by sound and convincing reasons, and asserting it, not as their own private opinion, but as conceived by them to be the just and common tenet of all orthodox divines and churches; but withal affirming, that those men little know what prejudice they do to the protestant cause that hold the contrary. The instances whereof it were easy for me to give, were it not that I fear and hate to furnish the adversary with weapons to wound ourselves. I wis, those enemies are quickeyed enough to espy their own advantages, and our exposedness to the danger of self-wronging consequences, without our intimation.

The grave and solid determination of those godly and judicious divines is still extant in a thousand hands; upon the publication whereof the world then rested satisfied, myself acquitted, the adversary silenced, and the controversy quieted, which is now thus uncharitably and unadvisedly raked up from under the ashes of a wise and just silence.

The truth is, nothing but a gross and inconsiderate mistake is guilty of this quarrel. The homonymy of this word "true," as Master Blake in his Answer to Master Tombes, besides the forenamed authors, hath truly observed, makes all this seeming difference. If we take a "true church" for a true believing church, so the Church of Rome is far from a true church. If we take a "true church" for a church truly existing in a visible profession of Christianity, so it cannot be denied to be a true visible church. A thief is no true man; yet he is truly a man: so the Church of Rome, though false in too many of her doctrines, yet hath a true visible being. Her clients vainly flatter her with the title of catholic or universal: we expect no thanks from her, to say she is universally corrupted, yet a church visible still.

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Those gross errors wherewith she abounds have marred her first purity, but do not forfeit her outward churchship. It were a strange uncharitableness to say that a Romanist is no Christian, though too many of their tenets are justly branded for anti-christian: and, where there is a society of Christians not directly and obstinately destroying the foundation, though otherwise foul and erroneous in opinion, there cannot be denied a visible appearance of a church.

Let the Church of Rome then go for as erroneous, impure, false in matter of opinion and practice, as she is; she cannot be denied the face of a church, however rotten at the heart.

All which hath been so judiciously and amply declared by those learned and worthy Contests whom I formerly mentioned, in their public discourses of this point, that I am confident, if Mr. Sadler had had leisure to have considered, he would rather have distinguished than denied; and the Questionist, whoever he was, would, upon second thoughts, have thought good to suffer my innocent name to rest in peace: whereas now, he hath both wronged me and himself more, in drawing upon himself an opinion of either ignorance or uncharitableness, or both. God forgive him! I do.

Thus we too well see how apt nature is, even in those who profess an eminence in holiness, to raise and maintain animosities against those whose calling or person they pretend to find cause to dislike; and perhaps also to brand with the black note of unjust infamy those who concentre not with them in some light opinions, although indivisibly theirs in the brotherhood of the same most holy faith, and meekly affecting to hold with them *the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.*

Truly, sir, to open myself freely to you, nothing hath more wounded my soul, nor drawn deeper sighs from me in secret, than to see, that whereas our dear and blessed Saviour hath so vehemently encharged all his true disciples with the duty of mutual love; and his Chosen Vessel, with so zealous importunity, cries down strife and contention, as arguing mere carnality, and utterly inconsistent with the truth of Christian disposition and practice: yet no grace is such a stranger to us, for the most part, as charity; nor no employment so universally rife amongst us, on all hands, as quarrels and brawlings, both verbal and real, arising commonly from false surmises and misconstructions, and proceeding too often, not to the scratching of faces, but to the ripping of bowels, and to

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the stabbing of hearts, to the infinite scandal of the gospel of peace, and to the sport and triumph of Gath and Ascalon.

Now the God of peace, whom we all profess to serve, be pleased, for his great mercies' sake, to pull out of our bosoms all these roots of bitterness, and to compose our misalienated hearts to perfect love and concord, to the glory of his great Name, and to the comfort of all those that are faithful in his Sion!

Sir, you will pardon me, if I have thus, passionately enough, unloaded myself into the bosom of so faithful a friend, of my justly conceived grief, to be thus scandalously and causelessly traduced. Your love will put the best construction upon these sudden lines; and where you meet with this blur undeservedly cast upon my name, wipe it off with a just and friendly vindication; wherein you shall do an office worthy of the thankful acknowledgment of

Your unfeignedly devoted,
in all Christian affection,
JOSEPH HALL, B. N.

Higham,
Nov. 5, 1654.

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THE REVELATION UNREVEALED.

CONCERNING THE

THOUSAND YEARS' REIGN OF

THE SAINTS WITH CHRIST UPON EARTH.

LAYING FORTH THE WEAK GROUNDS AND STRANGE CONSEQUENCES OF THAT PLAUSIBLE AND TOO MUCH RECEIVED OPINION.

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THE PREFACE.

The difficulty of the Revelation.

If there be any deeps in divine scripture wherein the elephant may swim, they are surely to be found in the Book of the Revelation: wherein many great wits have both exercised and lost themselves.

Arias Montanus, that learned Spaniard, whose labours are famous for that noble edition of the whole sacred volume of God, when he comes to illustrate the Revelation with his commentary, shames himself with his improbable glosses; and by his ridiculous abstracts[a] moves both the wonder and pity of the judicious of either religion. Castellio, whose elegant and painful version of both Testaments hath wont to pass with the learned for an useful paraphrase, when he comes to this Book of the Revelation, is not ashamed to pass a *non intelligo*[b] upon it. Master Junius, though given to this last age for a great light to the holy text, yet professes himself in many of these mysteries[c] to be in the dark; and no marvel, when Deodati grants[d] that there are some parts of this book still reserved under God's secret seal, the explication whereof is utterly uncertain. And, amongst ourselves here at home, one[e], whom no man will envy the reputation of one of the greatest clerks in his age, when a plain man came seriously to him, and asked his opinion concerning an obscure passage in that book, answered, "My friend, I am not come so far."

Yet, I know not how it comes to pass, such is the nature of our inbred curiosity, that there is no book of the whole scripture wherein men are so apt to spend both their time and judgment: like as every man is apt to try his strength in lifting at an overheavy weight, and to offer at the string of that bow which is much too strong for him to draw.

[a] Arias Montanus, in his Commentary upon the Revelation, ridiculously interprets the several prophecies by abstracts: as, "Terrestris industria, paganica rusticitas, &c."

[b] ["Et tamen hujus libri] cujus vix millessimam partem intelligo."—Castal. Annotat. in Apocal.

[c] "Mysteria valde obscura."—Jun. Præfat. [in Apoc.]

[d] Deodati: Argument of the Revelation. [See his notes on the Book of Revelations.]

[e] Dr. Andrewes, bishop of Winchester.

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Whereupon have issued those strange obtortions of some particular prophecies to private interests. Mr. Brightman, a learned and godly divine, thinks to find not England only, but Cecil and Walsingham there. A Belgic doctor, in the synod of Dort, thought to find grave Maurice there. Joannes Brocardus thinks to find Venice there: and a grave divine, whose name I will spare, was so confident to find the Palatinate there, both in the loss and recovery of it, as that he would needs present his thoughts to the judicious eyes of king James himself, with small thanks for his labour. Neither wanted there some that made full account to find the late victorious Gustavus Adolphus therein plainly designed. As if the blessed apostle, now in his Patmos, overlooking all the vast continent betwixt us, should have had his thoughts taken up with our petty occurrences in this other side of the world. What should I tell how many, both of our own and foreign divines, have baffled and shamed themselves, in predefining, out of their mistaken constructions, the utmost period of the world; and have confidently set God a day for his final judgment!

As for this place which we have in hand, how rocky and shelvy it is, appears too well in those ribs of splitted vessels which lie still scattered on the sands.

The true importance of the point controversed.

Not that I think the opinion of our new Chiliasts so deadly and pernicious in itself, as to make shipwreck of their own or others' faith. Far be it from me to be guilty of so much uncharity, as to lay so deep a charge upon my fellow Christians: for what prejudice is it to me, if the souls of martyrs get the start of me, in resuming their bodies a thousand years before me; if in the mean while my soul be at rest in a paradise of bliss? And what can it import any man's salvation, to determine whether the saints reign with Christ on earth or in heaven, while I know that in either they are happy? Surely, in its own terms, the tenet seems to carry no great appearance of offence.

But all the danger is in that train of strange paradoxes and uncouth consequences which it draws in after it, specified in the following discourse: and in the ill uses that are made too commonly of it by some ill advised and mistaken clients. Whereof some[f], vainly imagining this reign of the saints already begun, cast off scriptures and ordinances as utterly useless, and please themselves in a conceited fruition of their happy kingdom, and an immediate conversation with the King of Glory. Others, con-

[f] Five Lights at Walton.

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struing all mutations which befall the Church as either the harbingers or several stages of their Saviour's approach to his new kingdom and theirs, applaud themselves in their imminent and already-descried glory, rejoicing to tell us how far he is on his way; and, lest we should appeal to our own eyes in so important a case, tell us that this object is not for our discerning, but for qualified persons only[5]; men, not like the ordinary sort of professors, who are of a low, poor, pusillanimous spirit, but for such only as are deeply engaged in the Church's cause, and sharers in her troubles and sorrows: whereas, certainly, if those which suffer most may be allowed to be the most quicksighted, it may easily be known whose eyes we may best trust for intelligence. Hence have followed heavy censures and harsh entertainments of the otherwise affected; and an insultation upon dissenting brethren, as the oppressed and down-trodden enemies of this kingdom of Christ.

I desire not to aggravate either these or any other inconveniences, which do usually attend this opinion; as one, that wishes rather to heal than to corrode the public sores.

The intention of the author in the following discourse.

Let me, therefore, preengage my reader not to mistake my discourse or my intentions. For my part, I am persuaded in my soul, that the coming of our Saviour is near at hand; and that, before that great day, God hath decreed, and will yet effect a more happy and flourishing condition of his Church here on earth than we yet see; which I do humbly pray for, and hopefully expect; ambitiously suing to my God, that my poor endeavours might be thought worthy to contribute any thing to so blessed a purpose. But, for the particularities of the time and manner, I both have learned and do teach silence. And if any man think he hath sufficient intimation of either or both of these, in the words of holy scripture; yet, since those clauses are involved in some obscurity and may afford multiplicity of sense, my desire and whole drift is, to beseech him to suspend his judgment concerning these so deep and intricate doctrines, till God shall be pleased to clear them by apparent events; and in the mean time to rest contented with those evident and unquestionable truths of the gospel, which the Church of Christ hath hitherto unanimously taught and maintained: wherein he shall do that, which may happily conduce both to the Church's peace and his own.

[5] Zion's Joy in her King, pp. 24, 25, &c.

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THE

REVELATION UNREVEALED.

Section I.

That this one difficult place of scripture alone expresseth this thousand years' reign.

That prophecies, especially before they are fulfilled, are no other than riddles, needs no other proof, than, amongst other, the two dark passages of the Revelation: the one, concerning the number and name of the beast, *666*; the other, concerning the thousand years' reign of the saints; either of which, I may boldly say, many have guessed at, but no man living hath yet been ever able fully to unfold.

Our business is with the latter; set forth by the beloved disciple and evangelical prophet St. John, towards the shutting up of his divine Revelation[a].

Out of the literal sense whereof, not a few, in these later times, have been raised to such a confidence of the speedy accomplishment of this new kingdom, as if they did already see the clouds breaking under the glorious feet of their returning Saviour, and the chairs of this blessed state set ready for their enthronization. How many have I heard joyfully professing their hopes of an imminent share in that happy kingdom! Yea, some have gone so far, as already to date their letters from New Jerusalem, and to subscribe themselves glorified: whose ungrounded credulity may receive some just correction, if they shall but see the strange variety of construction which this supposed earthly sovereignty hath undergone from men as wise in their own opinion as themselves.

Whereunto, that I may make the better way, I shall lay this for an undoubted ground, That there is no passage in the whole book of God wherein this millenary reign of saints is punctually expressed save only this of the Revelation.

For, as for those sixty-six texts alleged by Alstedius, and the late herald of Zion's Joy, they are too general to make out such

[a] Rev. xx. 4, 5.

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a specialty, both of the term and the personal administration, which is contended for; and, besides, have been, by the judgment of all allowed antiquity and all Christian authors till the fag-end of this last century, understood of the spiritual beauty and glory of the evangelical Church under the happy times of the gospel. Whosoever shall be pleased to take a strict view of these several scriptures shall find them only to import the calling of the Gentiles, the conversion of the Jews, the abundance of rich graces poured out upon believers, God's gracious protection and enlargement of his Christian Church, the subjugation and overthrow of the public enemies thereof: all which may well stand without any relation to this pretended dominion of the raised martyrs or changed saints. So as I cannot but wonder to see Christian authors so apt to humour the refractory Jews, in a literal construction of the prophetical predictions of the restoration of that pompous and secular glory which they have hitherto fondly dreamed of, and hath been hitherto unanimously decried by all the ancient and late doctors of the Christian Church: and to see these evangelical promises thus carnally drained into a wrong channel; which, certainly, whoso shall stand upon in so gross a sense, may as well contend that the New Jerusalem shall really have *twelve gates* of *twelve pearls*, and *streets* of *pure gold*, and *the foundations of the walls all manner of precious stones*[b]: and if these be figurative, why should the other be literal?

SECTION II.

The prophecy of Daniel improperly alleged to this purpose.

But that scripture which might seem to bear most weight in this subject is the prophecy of Daniel; who, in the construction of the favourers of the millenarian opinion, is pretended to speak particularly of the tyrannical reign of Antichrist, of his destruction, of the happy deliverance and peace of the faithful under the gospel; not without a special designation of the punctual time wherein that *man of sin* shall be revealed, and wherein God's people shall enjoy rest and happiness, both in the beginning and termination thereof. Insomuch as besides Alstede, our learned Mede, in a Latin manuscript of his, which came lately to my hands, concerning the revelation of Antichrist, grounds his judgment upon Daniel's prophecy: not a little blaming some late expositors for turning the stream of those predictions another way.

[b] Rev. xxi. 19, 21.

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But reserving a due reverence to so great and eagle-eyed authors, I dare appeal to all unbiassed judgments, whether it do not best suit with all the circumstances of those enigmatical prophecies of Daniel, to confine their relations only to the Jewish Church; making their utmost extent to be the death of the Messiah and the destruction of Jerusalem, without any further meddling with the state of the Church evangelical; saving only in that one touch of the second coming of Christ to judgment, wherein both the whole Church and world is jointly concerned.

To make, therefore, the fourth monarchy to be the Roman tyrannizing over the reformed Church under the gospel, and the little horn with eyes to be the Antichrist of the last times, and to draw the computation of the times mentioned unto an accordance to an imagined calculation, may seem to be no other than a straining of the text beyond the intention of the author. Sure we are, that all those prophetical predictions were literally and really fulfilled to and upon the Jews, under the reign of those kings amongst whom the Grecian empire of Alexander the Great was shared, and that in the just times which were designed; but upon what grounds we may stretch them farther, to a reaccomplishment in these last times, it is neither easy nor safe to determine.

Two things must be yielded: first, that those descriptions which are made by divines[c] of that cruel tyrant and persecutor Antiochus Epiphanes, may well, by just allusion, be applied to the Antichrist under the gospel: secondly, that it hath pleased the Spirit of God to make use of the same expressions in John's description of times which had formerly been taken up by Daniel: but hereupon to infer a revolution of the same condition of the Christian Church in the last age of the world, both in respects of her enemies and several events, seems strangely inconsequent.

Section III.

The most urgent passage of the prophecy of Daniel cleared.

The probablest and most urgent passages of the prophet Daniel, and those which are most stood upon by the forenamed authors, are Dan. xii. 11, 12, *And from the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abomination that maketh desolate set up*, there shall be *a thousand two hundred and ninety days. Blessed is the man that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days.*

[c] Œcolampad. Comment. in Danielem. l. ii.

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Where these two things are taken by these expositors for granted: 1. That the taking away of the daily sacrifice and this desolatory abomination, is to be understood of the last destruction of Jerusalem by Titus: 2. That the days there mentioned are to be understood to be so many years, which shall immediately succeed in the process of the evangelical Church.

So as, by Alsted's confident account, the destruction of Jerusalem falling upon the sixty-ninth year of Christ, presently begins the reckoning of the thousand two hundred and ninety prophetical days; that is, so many years; which do expire in the year of Christ 1359; about which time divers worthy persons, say they, began to oppose Antichristian impiety. From this period, they tell us, we must begin to compute the second number mentioned by Daniel, which is the one thousand three hundred and thirty-five days; that is, years; which shall bring us unto the year of Christ 2694: in which, saith Alstedius, the thousand years of the saints spoken of in the Revelation shall have end; and they being ended, the war of Gog and Magog shall begin, which the last judgment supervening shall put to an end. So then take from these two thousand six hundred and ninety-four years one thousand years of the saints' reign, there remain one thousand six hundred and ninety-four. In this year then, or sooner, saith he, the thousand years of the happy reign of the saints shall take their beginning.

But what a weak and sandy foundation is this whereon to raise so high a structure! a foundation merely laid upon a misconstructive conjecture.

For what if that desolation mentioned be not that of Titus? what if those days be not years? where are we then for the time of our millenary reign?

Let us then obtain leave to inquire a little into both these:

And for the first, it is more than probable, by all circumstances, that this desolating abomination here spoken of, is the same with that which is forementioned, Dan. vii. 25, and viii. 13, 14, wherein the taking away of the daily sacrifice and the desolation specified are foretold by the angel interpreting the vision, and the very same time limited for the fulfilling of it; both which are accordingly, with much clearness of indubitable truth, accomplished in that persecuting tyrant Antiochus Epiphanes. Compare we the texts and the times. *He*, saith the angel, *shall think to change times and laws: and they shall be given into his*

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hand until a time and times and the dividing of time, Dan. vii. 25. *By him the daily* sacrifice *was taken away, and the place of his sanctuary was cast down. And an host was given him against the daily* sacrifice *by reason of transgression, and it cast down the truth to the ground; and it practised, and prospered*, Dan. viii. 11, 12. Now what is *a time, times, and a parcel of time*, by Daniel's own exposition[d], but three years and some days? and what are those three years and few days, but those three years and ten days wherein the rage of persecution continued upon the Jews till the happy restoration of God's worship wrought by Judas Maccabeus, who, in seven months and ten days after this, forced the confirmation of it from the persecutors? And who is the man that shall do this great mischief intimated? Even that bloody Antiochus, which is so exactly deciphered by the prophet, as if he meant to forestall all question that might arise concerning him in the following generations: for it cannot be doubted that the great horn of the goat[e], which was the third monarch, was Alexander the Great; which horn being broken, the four horns that arose instead thereof were unquestionably those four kingdoms towards the four coasts of heaven, amongst which that Grecian monarchy was divided: which were of Egypt towards the south, falling to the share of Ptolemy Philadelphus; of Syria towards the north, which fell to Seleucus Nicanor; of Macedon towards the west, which fell to Cassander; and of Asia the Less to the east, which fell to the share of Antigonus. Now out of one of these, saith the prophet, that is, Seleucus Nicanor king of Syria, shall arise that little horn, the cruel Antiochus Epiphanes, who shall make such woful havock amongst God's select nation the Jews[f]; styled *the people of the saints of the most High*, Dan. vii. 27, in taking away the daily sacrifice, and defacing the sanctuary: whose grievous persecution, for the first stage of it, was of that punctual duration.

And to make the matter yet more clear, if we shall compare Dan. viii. 14 with this instanced text of Dan. xii. 7, we shall find the number of the days pitched upon to be the very same, *for a time, times, and half a time:* so as the 1290 days immediately specified make up that three years and a half wherein the fury of Antiochus's persecution shall continue; without any relation to the Roman Titus, which is pretended by these authors to make good their imagined computation. Reverend Calvin,

[d] *Seven times*, i. e. seven years, Dan. iv. 16. [e] Dan. viii. 8, 9. [f] Ibid. 9.

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whose judgment I so much honour that I reckon him amongst the best interpreters of scripture since the apostles left the earth, is willing to construe this of the last desolation of the Jews by the Roman victors, but knows not what to make of the days specified; professing, that he is no Pythagorean for matter of numbers, and therefore contents himself to take this 1290 only *pro longo temporis tractu*, "for some long indefinite tract of time." But whereas Alstede builds his conceit upon the succession of these two numbers, making the 1335 days (i. e. years) to follow after the former 1290 expiring, out of both making up his accomplished number of the saints' reign; Calvin[g] checks him with a plain *perperam;* and resolves, upon a *certum est*, that both these numbers are coincident, and are to be taken for one and the same, with that small addition of the greater and later sum of years to the former: which if it be yielded, we are altogether to seek for our calculation of the thousand years wherein the saints must reign upon earth.

Only one main rub seems to lie in our way, which we must be careful to remove. Our Saviour himself speaks of *the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet*, standing *in the holy place*, as a thing in his days yet to come[h]; and therefore with undoubted relation to the Roman army led by Titus, and to the final sacking of Jerusalem. All which I do willingly grant, without any the least derogation from that former verity; for what is *the holy place* but the temple of Jerusalem? and what is *the abomination of desolation* but the idolatrous, heathenish, destructive army? such was both that of Titus and that of Antiochus. The place then of Daniel to which our Saviour alludes, with charge to him that reads to observe, is not the forementioned text now insisted upon, but Dan. ix. 27; wherein the angel, after the end of the designed weeks, tells us of the final destruction of the city and the sanctuary, which in the just time was accordingly fulfilled: so as this passage of prophecy hath no affinity at all with that of the xiith of Daniel, being not so much before it in place as after it in time.

Yet, if the event had not punctually made good every jot of this prediction, so construed as we have declared, there might be some doubt of the sense contended for; but now, the issue of the things did so evidently answer to the words thus interpreted, as

[g] "Quidam separant, sed perperam, dies 1290 et 1335. Nam, certum est pro eodem accipi."—Calv. in loc. Dan. Serm. 12. [h] Matt. xxiv. 15.

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one would think there could be no place left for contradiction: for, as Junius, Rolloc, and Deodati have clearly computed it to my hands, from the time that Antiochus Epiphanes began to set up idolatry at Jerusalem, until the time wherein he was compelled by the victorious Maccabeus, both to permit and allow and ratify the reformation thereof by his charter[1], there passed three years, seven months, and about thirteen days; which amount to the thousand two hundred and ninety days, mentioned v. 11. And from the setting up of that idolatry, if we reckon to the time of the full deliverance of God's people from the yoke of that tyranny, it will fall upon the second number mentioned, v. 12, wherein that wicked Antiochus was taken away by death; which makes up the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days: which day whoso should live to see, is declared to be blessed, for his happy freedom, and comfortable enjoying of the holy worship of God.

Section IV.

These pretended doctrines cannot be grounded upon Daniel by way of type, or analogy. Inquiry made whether, since the words are single, the sense be clear.

And now, what is here in the letter of Daniel's prophecy that doth but look towards the thousand years' reign of the saints upon earth? Surely not one syllable that may without a violent angariation be drawn to such a sense.

And if Alstede shall pretend that these mysteries of the later times, concerning the Antichrist and the time of the saints' reign, are to be found in Daniel, not in the express letter, but in a way of type or analogy, because he meets with the same phraseology of time, and the like description of persons and things in the evangelist's revelation which he finds in Daniel's prophecy; surely, he had need of greater authority for the warrant of such application than, I fear, can be produced: and if that were yielded, yet that which we are wont to say of similitude is verified much more in prefigurations that they are not intended to hold universally; and, in short, symbolical divinity is not to be trusted for matter of proof.

What mysteries there may be in numbers, and upon what reason it hath pleased the Spirit of God to take up the same terms of numeration for days, months, years, and times in the case of the Christian Church which he made use of in the Jewish, I suppose it were too much presumption in any man to determine.

[1] 2 Maccab. xi. 33.

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And if the events of things be the best commentaries upon prophecies, how unanswerable those have proved to the computations and sense of our new Chiliasts shall in due place be made manifest.

Now if there be any other amongst those sixty-five places alleged by Alstedius, wherein the favourers of the millenarian reign can place any confidence for the evicting of their opinion, I should be glad to see it driven up to the head. For my part, I must sincerely profess I see none that can so much as raise, much less settle my belief.

Supposing, then, as we well may, that this place of Rev. xx. stands alone; let us inquire whether the sense of it be so clear as that we may with good assurance build upon it, for the certainty of our resolution concerning the state of the whole world, and particularly of all God's saints, for the space of a whole thousand years, lost hitherto in the vulgar account of all Christian divines. Surely, there can be but one truth; and whatever falls beside it is but vain opinion: as, when two points are fixed, there can be but one direct line drawn betwixt them; all other bewray a manifest variation and obliquity. The stars, because they keep a regular course, yield most certain observations of their site and motions; but the clouds, which are raised out by vapours and carried by winds, how far they are from affording a true judgment, let every almanack witness. Now whether this conceit be a star or a cloud shall appear by that which followeth.

SECTION V.

The divers constructions of the thousand years of Satan's shutting up.

Some expositors, then, and those neither few nor mean, have taken the thousand years of Satan's shutting up to be the same thousand wherein the saints shall reign. Others, not fewer, make the saints' reign to follow this binding of Satan for many hundreds of years. And for the time of this chaining up of Satan some take the thousand years for a long time, but indefinite: so Fulke[k] and Deodati[l]. Others construe literally, of that determinate number of years specified. Some define it to be the whole time since the first publishing of the gospel to the end of the world: so Nicholaus Zegerus, Emmanuel Sa, and Estius[m]. Some determine

[k] Fulke in loc.
[l] Deodat. in loc. [Rev. xx. 3.]
[m] Zegerus, Sa [i.e. usque ad diem Judicii], Estius in loc. [adventum Christi, usque in finem sæculi].

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it to be the whole time of the gospel published until the days of their Antichrist; which should be three years and an half before the judgment: so Ribera[n], out of Augustin: so Haymo[o], and Joannes Gagnæus, a divine of Paris.

Some define this number of the 1000 years to begin the 36th year, or thereabouts, after our Saviour's death; when the Jewish Church being overthrown, Satan rushed impetuously upon the Church Christian, and was restrained till the days of Hildebrand: so Junius.

Some define it to begin from the time of Constantine (whom Mr. Brightman conceives to be that angel which, coming down from heaven, and having the keys of the bottomless pit, laid hold on the dragon, and bound him in chains), till the thousand years expired; which ended in the one thousand three hundredth year of Christ, in the days of Boniface the Eighth, and the Ottoman empire: so Napier and Brightman and Mr. Fox.

Some reckon it from first preaching of the gospel by Christ and his apostles until the time of Gregory the Seventh, otherwise called Hildebrand: and the time of Satan's loosing to be 400 or 500 years: so Dent.

Others, ending the time of Satan's shutting up in the year 1300, make the time of his rage to be an hour, a day, a month, and a year; that is, about three hundred and ninety years after: so Brightman.

Some others make the loosing of Satan to be when Mahomet and the pope grew so great; which was at the end of the thousand years after Christ: in all which time the sincere doctrine was taught, till Antichrist came in with the doctrine of the sacrifice of the mass, and the doctrine of merits, satisfactions, &c.: so Fulke.

Some place the beginning of Satan's binding upon the year 1517, when the witnesses were raised; for that from that time all people have not generally drunk any new poison of heresy, which might weaken or overthrow their faith: so Matthæus Cotterius.

Some others imagine the beginning of this chaining up of Satan to be after the taking of Rome by the Goths, and after Augustulus, who was the last emperor of the west; affirming, though upon fickle grounds, that after the fall of the Roman empire, yea after Mahomet, there was peace in the Church for 1000 years: so as

[n] Ribera in loc.

[o] Haymo l. vii. in Apoc.

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Satan was bound, and shut up in the bottomless pit, till this last age now passed: so Mariana.

Others hold that this thousand years of Satan's binding up is not yet begun, but shall be in this age, wherein the saints' reign shall enter about the year 1694: so Alstedius and his followers.

These are some of those varieties of constructions (for, if I listed to look after them, it were easy to cloy the reader with many more; these tendered themselves to me suddenly, and, as it were, unsought) which have passed concerning the thousand years' captivity of Satan, whereby it pleased the Spirit of God to make way to the thousand years' reign of the saints. In the determination whereof there is no less multiplicity of judgment amongst learned and Christian interpreters; some few whereof I shall lay forth before my reader.

SECTION VI.

And, first, concerning the times of this reign.

"A thousand," saith Haymo[p], "is a perfect number; and, therefore, by a thousand years we understand the present life and the future: now the saints reign by faith; and, in the day of judgment, their reign shall not be terminated, but receive a glorious augmentation." So he.

The divers constructions of the thousand years' reign of the saints.

To the same purpose saith Colladon[q]: "The thousand years are the whole series of time here in this world, in which there shall be always a Church of Christ. As the faithful have lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years, that is in the whole space of this life, so they shall reign with Christ a thousand years in the whole duration of the world to come."

And, if this seem too large, surely these men do not shoot farther over than Joannes Brocardus shooteth short; who contracteth the thousand years after the establishment of the gospel into a thousand days here on earth; as, contrarily, Jonas's forty days were stretched out into forty years.

Of those that hold not fit to divide the time betwixt the present and future life, some understand the thousand years' reign to be understood of the flourishing estate of the Church militant during the time of Satan's captivity: "For all the faithful," say they, "do in a sort live and reign with Christ here on earth, when they overcome the world by faith:" so Mr. Dent. Some, again, take it of the whole time between the first coming of

[p] Haymo in Apoc. l. vii. [q] Collado in Apoc. xx.

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Christ and the second: so Œcolampadius, *in Daniele.* Others, waving the present life, define it to be meant of that glorious kingdom which the souls of the saints enjoy in heaven until the day of judgment: so Mariana: so Estius: and Fulke, to the same purpose, thus:—"These martyrs, being delivered from the calamities of this miserable life by the first death, and being taken up into heavenly joys, they live and reign still with Christ through the whole thousand years, so long as Satan shall remain in bonds: not that after that thousand years they shall die; but to express how great a benefit it was to the godly to be all that while in happiness:" thus he; without any supposition of a preceding resurrection. Joannes Piscator, as going yet farther, even half the millenary way, so construes it, as that it is to be understood of the raised martyrs and their ensuing glorification: "This," saith he, "is the singular happiness of the martyrs of Christ, who, before these 1000 years, endured persecution; even their resurrection, which shall be before the general resurrection; and their reign in heaven with Christ for a thousand years before the resurrection of the rest.

Of those which take this 1000 years' reign to be in this life below, there is no small variety of construction. Illyricus[r] takes it to be an inversion of sense; the predicate being set before the subject, the relative before the antecedent; so as the order of the sense should be thus; "I saw the souls of those that worshipped not the beast, &c., and that died for Christ, to live and reign with him, and to sit on their thrones, and judge the wicked; reigning with Christ spiritually, in suffering bodily; as those who, by their martyrdom for Christ, shall reign and triumph, all the time of Satan's repression, over him and his wicked instruments." Aretius thus: "They lived again, and reigned with Christ: that is, their cause was found just before him; and they were openly accounted and pronounced saints." "The thousand years' reign," saith Ribera, "is not to be referred to those which worshipped not the beast; for he speaks not of them as dead: but is to be referred to the souls of those which had been martyred for the testimony of Jesus; that is, to those who, when he wrote this, had suffered death for Christ:" so he. But others take it for a later reckoning. "This reign of 1000 years," saith Brightman[s], "was to begin where the former period ended; that is, in the year 1300: wherein the continuance of the truth is promised

[r] Flac. Illyric. Gloss. in Apoc. [s] Brightman Apocal.

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to be for 1000 years, after the restitution of it in these parts of Europe, whose is the first resurrection: we only have seen three whole hundreds of it passed since the first resurrection:" thus he. "Not so," saith Mr. Cotton[t], "but, after the destruction of Antichrist, the saints shall enjoy that liberty a thousand years together: not any one of them, but men of the same spirit shall reign with Christ a thousand years in the government of the Church upon earth: reign with him; that is, execute, not their own government, but the government of Christ." "Nay," saith Alstede, Mede, and Archer, "that sense falls too short: but the bodies of the martyrs and saints shall rise again in the beginning of those thousand years before the universal and last resurrection; and shall reign here with Christ upon earth, as being appointed governors of the Church with Christ." "No, they shall not rise in their bodies," saith Mr. Cotton; "but there shall rise men of the same spirit; who shall have the judicature and government of the Church, together with these angels or messengers, and ministers of God: those that were branded before for heretics, they shall be the only men to be fit to have crowns on their heads, and independent government committed to them:" thus he.

But I may not tire the reader too much with the enumeration of these differences.

Some take this thousand years' reign to take beginning after the second resurrection: whom Mr. Brightman absolutely rejects.

Others, in the other extreme, imagine themselves now already reigning with Christ; their resurrection or change to be already past; and themselves glorified, and possessed of the new Jerusalem descended from heaven; who, if they do find in themselves these high workings of the Spirit, which they profess; and be so far transported with these raptures as to think themselves already in their new heaven; I should not be more apt to wonder at their ecstasies than to pity their glory.

Mr. Mede makes the 1000 years' reign to be the day of a more visible and apparent judgment; circumscribed with two conspicuous resurrections, as two limited terms. "It shall be," saith he[u], "begun, first, with the particular and timely judgment of Antichrist, and other enemies of the Church then remaining alive, with the glorious appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ, in

[t] Cotton, Resurrection of Churches. [u] Mede, Commentarium Apoc. cap. part 2.

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flames of fire: and at length, after the kingdom of a thousand years granted to his holy Spouse, the new Jerusalem here on earth, and others that shall afterward be born, this great day now drawing to an end, shall be finished, after the letting loose of Satan and utter destruction of the Church's enemies, with the general resurrection and judgment of all the dead; which being performed, the wicked shall be thrust down to hell, to be tormented everlastingly, and the saints translated into heaven, to reign eternally with Christ." So he.

Shortly, some hold this reign of Christ with his saints for the 1000 years shall be personal and visible: so Mede and Archer. Others, that this while Christ shall reign visibly in heaven, invisibly upon earth: so Alstedius. Others leave it *in medio*, whether personal or otherwise: so Mr. Burroughs[x].

And, lastly, whereas this kingdom of the thousand years relates to the resurrection; some hold the first resurrection spiritually, to be understood of rising from sin by a spiritual regeneration: so Fulke and Aretius. Others take it of a bodily resurrection of some elect persons, before the general: as Alstede and Mede. Others take it of a resurrection of churches, when recovered from their apostatical and dead estate in idolatry: so Mr. Cotton[y]. Others, lastly, make the first resurrection to be the glorification of the souls of the elect; and the second, at the general day, the arising to their perfect blessedness, both in souls and bodies: so Gagnæus. Some appropriate this first resurrection and reign to martyrs only: others enlarge it to all the saints.

Now, Lord, where are we? What reader doth not find himself lost in this wilderness of opinions? Or what living man can in such diversities of probable judgments say, this, not the other, is the sense of the Holy Ghost? It was a wise and true word of that father, *Melius est dubitare de occultis, quam litigare de incertis:* "It is better to doubt of things hidden, than to quarrel about things uncertain." And to the same purpose is that discreet and moderate counsel of Deodati: "In all this prophecy," saith he, "it is better and more sure to expect and stay for the explication of the event, than to give it without any certain ground:" which seasonable advice, if it had been accordingly followed by many of our zealous compatriots, had saved me the labour of this not overpleasing discourse.

[x] Burroughs in Hos. Lect. 7. [y] Cotton, Resurrection of Churches.

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SECTION VII.

The history of the ancient Chiliasts briefly reported.

But when I saw so many well-minded Christians, by a credulous trust of some modern authority strongly carried back into the opinion of the ancient Chiliasts, which was so many hundred years ago hooted out of the Christian Church; and so passionately affected therewith, as that they run themselves into wild consequents, both of paradoxes in opinion and resolutions in practice; I might not but break silence; and, if no more, yet charitably to advise them to a safe suspension of judgment in a matter so abstruse and altogether indeterminable.

It is true, that it is not a matter of faith; neither imports salvation either way: so as here can be no warrant for the violation of charity, in over bitter censures of either the defenders or oppugners of it: yet, withal, it must be granted to be such as, in that form wherein it is maintained by some abettors, may draw in some dangerous consectaries, both of act and opinion.

It would be bootless for me to look back at the ancient heresy of the milliaries, as Austin calls them, to show how that gross error, which was first broached by the Epicurean, and, as Lindanus justly calls him, Judaizing Cerinthus, was in a more tolerable sense taken up, not long after, by Papias bishop of Hierapolis, reported by Irenæus to be an auditor of St. John and companion of Polycarpus, a well-meaning man, but σμίκρος τὸν νοῦν, "of a mean judgment," as he is styled; *mente non acri*, as Nicephorus: which yet relished so ill with the Christians of those times, as that this very passage of the Revelation was deemed by them a probable ground to call the divine authority of this whole book into question, as savouring too much of Cerinthus; but the majesty, which shined in that holy prophecy, soon dispelled that cloud, and induced the Church to find a better sense of so obscure a clause than the merely literal.

Wherein yet some eminent authors thought fit still to rest, as Irenæus, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Lactantius: yea, we are told by that worthy and orthodox Dionysius Alexandrinus, that Nepos, an Egyptian bishop, wrote a book in those early times[z] to this purpose, which he called *Elenchus Allegoristarum*[a]; wherein he too grossly maintained that thousand years' reign in all earthly pleasure and delicacy; seconded also by one Coracion, the then famous ringleader of that sect: against whom that reverend and

[z] About the year of Christ 270. [a] Ἔλεγχος Ἀλληγοριστῶν.

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holy Dionysius bent his style, in two books of the Promises of God[b]: confuting that Judaical and literal construction of the large predictions of the outward happiness of the Church, now by some revived: who, not without a preface of the high respects which he gives to the author for his excellent parts and merits, effectually oppugns his misraised opinion; and spends three days' conference with Coracion to so good a purpose, as that he brought him, by strength of argumentation, to cast away and recant his former error: all which is fully laid forth by Eusebius[c].

Yet after this, about the year 370, Apollinaris, that exploded heretic, revives this sect; and adds this error to the company of many, much worse, defended by him: which, say Baronius and Binius, was so condemned in him by a council held at Rome about the year 373, *ut posthac omnino conticuerit;* "that it never so much as whispered since:" but, as it is better observed by Aretius, it held out to the times of Jerome and Augustin; who upon all occasions refel it, and cry it down for a Jewish fable.

Ever since which time, till now of late, there hath been no noise at all of it in the world; so as it hath lien dead for this twelve hundred and forty years; and now is raised up out of the grave of oblivion, by some that think themselves wiser than their predecessors.

Section VIII.

The summary relation of the doctrine of the late millenarians.

But, forasmuch as it doth not so greatly concern us to know what in this case hath been held by former opinionists, as what is now insisted upon for the present, let us both carefully inquire into the substance of this uncouth doctrine lately taken up by some of our brethren, and unpartially examine the grounds whereupon it is maintained.

And, for that I find none hath laid forth this opinion so fully and confidently as a late London divine, Mr. John Archer[d]; one esteemed of so great sanctity and worth, as that no mean person doubted not to file him amongst men as precious as any the earth bore in his time; I shall fearlessly take his word for the point in

[b] Περὶ ἐπαγγελιῶν.

[c] Eccles. Histor. l. vii. c. 22, 23. [24. edit. Burton, 1845.]

[d] In his book of "The Personal Reign of Christ on Earth; laying forth and proving, that Jesus Christ, together with the Saints, shall visibly possess a Monarchical State and Kingdom in this World." Printed and sold by B. Allen, anno 1643.—Mr. Archer abridged, concerning Christ's Kingdom and Coming.

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hand; and shall first sum up his doctrine concerning this subject, and then show the improbabilities and incongruities of it: the rather, for that I perceive his conceptions pass generally for the current tenet of the fautors of this plausible opinion.

First then, he lays for his foundation, that there is a threefold kingdom of Christ: one, providential; which is that universal sovereignty by which Jesus Christ manageth the affairs of all the world, both in heaven and earth: another, spiritual; which is that sovereignty which he exercises over the consciences of some people, and in special the elect; subduing them, by his word and Spirit, to an universal obedience of him: a third, monarchical; wherein Christ, when he enters upon it, will govern as earthly monarchs do; that is, universally over the world, and in a worldly, visible, and earthly glory; not by tyranny and oppression, and sensually, but with honour, peace, riches, and whatsoever in and of the world is not sinful: so as Christ shall administer this sovereignty over all the earth in a visible and worldly manner, for splendour, riches, peace, &c., though not in a fleshly or sinful manner.

He thence descends to the consideration of the manner of this kingdom of Christ both in the extent and qualities of it.

The extent of it he makes to be unto all reasonable creatures; angels, devils, and men: showing that the high ones of the earth, kings and their monarchies, shall fall before the Lord. Both sun and moon, i.e. majesty of an higher and lower rank, shall vanish before him. He shall change all worldly custom; and so all kingly glory; and set up a new, even his own glory.

Secondly, for the opening of the quality of it, he makes a double day of judgment: one, strictly taken, for a partial judgment of some, not all; wherein many, both saints and sinners, shall be judged, and that with great terror and solemnity: the other, general; wherein all men and devils shall be judged; bringing a world of saints and sinners first to the bar of that more partial and strictly-taken judgment, long before the last and general day. But even that former shall be, he saith, a general judging (though not to the second death) of all the ungodly in the world; at least of all that will not stoop to Christ's sceptre: and, secondly, a judging to the saints alive, who shall be blamed for their former failings.

Now these two times and degrees of judgment begin and end Christ's kingdom or monarchies: so as all the time of his reign

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may fitly be called a day of judgment; wherein there is an evening and morning, answerable to the natural day.

In the evening, or first part of Christ's kingdom, there is first an end, or withdrawing and ceasing of the light and glory of the foregoing day: so Christ's kingdom shall begin with the withdrawing of peace and comfort, and in following darkness; in that, great trouble shall begin to arise upon those who shall be the subjects of Christ's monarchy, both believing Gentiles and Jews, with Israelites or the ten tribes, who shall be all converted, and greatly troubled. But when that trouble is at the height, then comes the beginning of Christ's kingdom.

At the first setting up then of this kingdom, Christ shall come from heaven visibly, even as he went thither: which yet is not his last coming to the last judgment, but a middle coming betwixt the two other.

For Christ, he saith, hath three comings: the first, when he came to take our nature; the second, when he comes to receive his kingdom, for the receiving of which he went to heaven; the third, when he comes to judge all, and end the world.

This second coming of Christ shall be long before his coming to the last judgment.

In which second coming Christ will do these three things:

First, he will raise up the saints which are dead before this his coming: not only such as have been martyred, as some think; but all saints, who have died in the faith: for which cause he is said to come with all his saints, Zech. xiv. 5. But all the dead, which are not saints, shall lie still in the dust till the last and general judgment, for the second death. The saints which thus are raised in the first resurrection shall not return to a mortal state of body again, nor yet be so perfectly glorified as they shall be afterwards; for then the people on earth could not bear their presence, for they shall shine as the sun: but they shall be in a middle state, betwixt glory and mortality; as Christ was after his resurrection, before his ascension.

Secondly, he will destroy the wicked people on earth; for they, about the time of his coming, shall combine against the saints, and then will Christ suddenly surprise them to their ruin. Now this ruin of the wicked shall not be as yet universal to every one, only now he will ruin the armies of them; and so he will break the head and the arm of them, as it was with the Egyptians at the Red sea, and the rest he will make slaves to the churches.

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And it seems that some wicked shall be left for a seed to these nations; because, by the end of Christ's kingdom, Gog and Magog shall rise against the saints; which cannot arise out of such as prove hypocrites or excommunicated, for there shall be none such there; but these wicked ones left shall be the nations ruled with iron, Rev. ii. 26, 27.

Thirdly, he shall examine, blame, and shame the saints who are alive at his coming, if they be found to have walked loosely. He will not kill them, nor change them in a moment, but shame them: therefore Peter exhorts to be holy, that we be not blamed at his coming, 2 Pet. iii. 11–14.

SECTION IX.

Mr. Archer's opinion concerning Christ's withdrawing to heaven again, and the government deputed to the saints, with their privileges.

Now when Christ hath thus done, and put his kingdom into form, he will withdraw to heaven again, and leave the government to the dead saints raised up, among whom the apostles chall be chief: and they shall have the government of those saints which are found alive; that is, they and all believers shall rule the world, in which the twelve tribes shall be chief: and they shall not only rule as kings, but as priests; that is, discipline their souls as well as their bodies.

Now, for that it might seem to be no small damage for the souls of saints dead to be fetched from heaven to live again upon earth, with men, in their bodies; he tells us, that it is likely the souls of the departed saints are not in the highest heaven, but in a middle place, better than this world, but inferior to the highest heaven; which place is meant by paradise in the New Testament: which paradise, he conceives, to be below the third heaven; and therefore, surely, to be in the region or element of fire, where the sun and stars are, or in the highest region of air, which is called heaven in scripture.

These saints' souls, fetched from this paradise, and joined with their bodies raised from the dead, (which is the first resurrection,) they rule Christ's kingdom, even all of them, though some of them in more eminent place than others.

The persons that shall be governed, or the subjects of this kingdom, shall be all that live upon earth; and the place they shall govern shall be the whole world. The saints shall be ruled like the Israelites under Solomon; the wicked, as slaves. Those ten of the twelve tribes that are lost, shall be found out and made

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subjects of this kingdom. The cities of the tribes shall be built again, especially Jerusalem, which shall be the most eminent city then in the world. The Israelites shall be first raised to this glory, and at Jerusalem will Christ begin to show himself; and from the Israelites shall glory descend to the Gentiles.

The privileges of this kingdom shall be wonderful. First, all the subjects of it, that aré freemen, shall be holy; and not seemingly saints, but true saints; not any sinners. Nothing that defileth shall be there; no hypocrite; no person excommunicated, as proving bad; nor any of the children of these saints shall prove naught, but all shall be elect, and prove saints, and the seed of the blessed: for if any of their issue should prove hypocrites or wicked persons, it would so affect them, that they should not have everlasting joy, neither could sorrow nor sighing fly away. Now in these times there shall be no sorrow nor weeping. They shall be edified immediately from God in Christ. The sacrament is but to last till the next coming of Christ, to set up his kingdom. Christ will hold them up in fulness of grace, though not in full perfection of grace till the last general judgment, or their translation to heaven. There shall be a full and present answer to all their prayers, there being no sin to keep good things from them. There shall be a fulness of all temporal blessings; as peace, safety, riches, health, long life, or whatsoever can be had in this world. They shall have exemption from all bodily troubles. Every one shall live an hundred years; no infant, nor any other shall die sooner. There shall be no sickness or grief to consume the strength. Although a natural death shall be, yet there shall be no violent or untimely death, by any grief, sickness, or trouble. Satan shall be wholly restrained from tempting them to sin, or others to trouble them. Original corruption shall be kept in, not to break forth into any gross way. To which he adds, they shall not be infected with popery.

This for the evening, or first part of Christ's kingdom.

Section X.

The latter part of this kingdom of Christ set forth by Mr. Archer, both in the occasion and time of it.

Now when this kingdom of Christ hath lasted to many generations, the slaves and tributaries will be grown to multitudes. These, under the name of Gog and Magog, upon whom the devil shall be let loose, shall be drawn by Satan to assault the saints: which trouble shall not be long: it shall be sudden and

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violent, but short. For Christ shall suddenly come from heaven, and with fire kill all the wicked ones, not leaving one of them alive upon earth.

This assault of the wicked will Christ take for the occasion of his coming to the last and general judgment: before which, he shall in a moment change the bodies of all his saints that are not dead, but alive at his coming; and raise up the dead bodies of the saints who lived and died during this kingdom of Christ; and they, together with the changed saints, shall meet the Lord Jesus in the air, coming again from heaven, never more to be parted.

Then shall all the wicked be raised up, from Cain to the last wicked man that is found on the earth: and now shall be the judgment, which we call the day of judgment; which being finished, the saints shall be carried with Christ for ever into heaven, and the wicked sent with the devil into hell: which hell shall not be the same which is now so called, but another: this being now but as a prison; that, the place of execution and torment; the hell that now is, serving only to reserve condemned spirits, which have no bodies, till the execution at the last day; at which time this hell shall cease, and be swallowed up. The hell that shall be for torment shall be all this lower and visible world of earth, waters, and the lower heavens, reduced by God then to their first chaos of confusion.

Now this kingdom of Christ, though for the evening, or the first part of it, it is expressly determined to last a thousand years, or ten generations; yet the dawning or latter part of it is not expressed in scripture how long it shall endure, but doubtless will last a long time: and though called but a day of judgment, yet it may last a thousand years, as the other is to do; because this is the time in which God's mercy, justice, truth, power is to be gloriously revealed before all men and devils, so as every sinner is to be silenced in his reasonings, or convinced; which must require much time. Secondly, this is the time in which Jesus Christ is to triumph and lord it over all reasonable creatures, to be worshipped and acknowledged by every one in heaven, earth, and under the earth. Thirdly, the solemnity of it were to little purpose if it were not to last long; as we deride great preparations and pomp for a short show. Lastly, every act of reasonable creatures being immortal, shall not only abide for ever in heaven or hell, but be revived and brought forth in that day before all the world; and

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all these acts, from Adam to the last of mankind, shall be orderly and clearly proceeded in by books, as in a court of justice.

When all this is done, and the final sentence pronounced upon all creatures, both blessed and cursed, then will Christ resign his kingdom to the Father; and this world, together with his kingdom, shall end.

For the beginning of this monarchy of Christ, it must be set up, saith he, the last in the world, after the other four are past whereof the Roman is the last; that being divided into the eastern and western monarchy; and out of the western, ten horns or kingdoms arising; and, among them, another little horn most blasphemous, which is the papacy. When these ten kingdoms and the papacy shall be put to an end, then is the beginning of this kingdom of Christ; which, saith he, by comparing of Daniel with the Revelation, shall be anno 1666; the number of the beast, only the thousand, because it comes seldom, left out. Three years and an half before this 1666, the papal power shall have support in Europe: all the ten kingdoms apostatizing to popery, and yet one of them shall return to the truth. In the years of Christ 1650 or 1656, the Israelites are to be delivered, by being called to Christianity; both Jews which were two tribes, and the ten tribes of Israel: both which shall, after their conversion for forty-five years after, suffer great trouble from Mahometans, heathens, papists. Upon all which computations, it is likely, saith he, that Christ's coming from heaven, and the raising the dead, and beginning his kingdom, and the thousand years, will be about the year of our Lord 1700, for it is to be about forty-five years after 1650 or 1656.

Now it being found out when Christ's kingdom, or the thousand years, shall begin, it is easy, he saith, to guess when the time of the last general judgment and the world's end shall be; which neither angel, nor Christ himself as man, did, in those days, when the disciples asked the question, know; for it was locked up in the Father's secrets. But after Christ's sufferings and ascension, all the Father's secrets were revealed to him; for he was worthy; and he reveals them to the churches by John; opening the meaning of Daniel's *time, times, and half a time*, which no creature could expound to be *forty-two months*, or *one thousand two hundred and sixty days*. He tells us expressly, that his kingdom should last, after it was fully settled, a thousand years, and then should be a little

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disturbance; so as we have some comfort, that there is hope the troubles of us Gentile-Christians shall cease about 1666; but till those days we are like to see sad times, for it is to be feared that popery shall again overrun Europe, and bring back under papal power every king in Europe, and suppress all their opposers in every kingdom. By this revolting of the kingdoms to popery, it comes that the witnesses are slain and lie dead in the streets. But ere Antichrist can have time to triumph four years, the witnesses shall be raised up, and one of the ten kingdoms fall off from him, and ruin the city of Rome. But yet the papacy shall breathe, and by degrees get head, and join with Turk, Tartar, and the Christians in Europe; but from this danger will Christ save all Christians by his coming, and setting up of his kingdom.

SECTION XI.

That strain of error which runs through the whole discourse of Mr. Archer and is the common ground of this misopinion.

Thus have I faithfully related the opinion, and summarily contracted the larger discourse, of Mr. Archer: who, upon the grounds of Alstedius and Mede, runs his own descant plausibly enough; for every clause of his tractate calling up the testimonies of the sacred scripture.

The several allegations whereof upon every passage, I could be most willing thoroughly to scan, if I had less care to spare myself than the reader.

For whose satisfaction, that I may be neither unpardonably tedious, nor in any sort deficient in the managing of this subject, I shall, first, show that universal strain and ground of error which runs through the whole writing of this author; then, I shall note some of the chief of those bold paradoxal and unwarrantable assertions which I meet with in this opinion and discourse; in the third place, I shall lay forth those strangely improbable consequents which will inevitably follow upon both; and, lastly, I shall subjoin such fair, safe, and orthodox constructions as may be warrantably admitted of that dark passage of scripture, the misprision whereof is guilty of this controversy.

For the first, that which is the general fault, not of this author only, but of all other that look towards the millenary way, and indeed the main ground of all their heterodoxy in this point, is, that they put a merely literal construction upon the prophecies and promises of scripture, which the Holy Ghost intended only to be spiritually understood.

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Hence it is, that those frequent predictions which we meet in every page of the prophets concerning the kingdom of Christ, the reedifying of the Jewish cities, the pomp and magnificence of restored Israel, their large privileges and marvellous achievements, are altogether drawn to a gross, corporal, and syllabical sense; which the judgment of the whole Christian Church, seconded by the event, hath upon good grounds ever construed not of the letter but the spirit.

I remember some thirty years or more ago a learned gentleman, an eminent serjeant at law[e], a man very skilful in the holy tongue, and that professed no less acquaintance with the laws of God than of man, published a large volume concerning, not the imminent conversion only, but also the royal state of the Jews, their absolute and universal monarchy, their awful sovereignty over all the kings of the earth, the glory of their empire, the splendour of their court and cities; gathering up to this purpose all the glorious promises which occur every where in the prophets: at the sight whereof, that deeply judicious king James of precious memory was highly offended; and, after the perusal of some offensive passages, commanded me, then attending him, to carry the book to the synod at Westminster then sitting, for their censure; who, upon a serious examination, with much zeal unanimously sentenced it to a speedy suppression, as that which did *hærere in cortice*, and savoured too strong of the flesh, as being too servilely addicted to the letter.

And now those very texts, whose misunderstanding hath hitherto led the Jews into a fool's paradise, by expecting an earthly glory, are no less confidently taken up by the favourers of this opinion, as the main ground of their defence.

For instance, the Lord, by his prophet Zechariah, hath said, *The Lord shall inherit Judah his portion in the holy land, and shall choose Jerusalem again. Sing and rejoice, O daughter of Zion: for, lo, I come, and will dwell in the midst of thee, saith the Lord,* Zech. ii. 12, 10: this is, by the author of "Zion's Joy," applied to that repaired and happy estate of the city of Jerusalem, at this second coming of Christ in glory: whereas the prophet only foretells the restoration of that city and country after their then present captivity; and under that figure describes the comfortable condition of the evangelical Church.

[e] [Sir Henry Finch, serjeant at law, author of "The world's great restauration, or the Calling of the Jewes."]

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So again, by the prophet Isaiah, God saith, *I will bring forth a seed out of Jacob, and out of Judah an inheritor of my mountain: and mine elect shall inherit it, and my servants shall dwell there,* Isa. lxv. 9. This the same author cites, in a literal way, to make good the resettlement of the Jews in that ancient city of their inheritance.

Why doth he not as well add that which followeth? *And Sharon shall be a fold of flocks, and the valley of Achor a place for the herds to lie down in. But ye are they that forsake the Lord, that forget my holy mountain.* Surely, if one of them be applicable to the new Jerusalem, the other must be so also.

The truth is, these prophecies have their reference either to God's merciful dealing with Jerusalem upon their return from their Babylonish captivity, or, by an usual allegory, express his gracious purpose to the Church under the gospel, without any respect at all to an earthly reestablishment of the Jewish nation in their long-since forgotten possessions.

It were as easy as tedious to pass through all those scriptures which are wont to be alleged in this case: whereof I dare say there is scarce any one whose either words or context do not evidently bewray their misapplication; or, if that did not, yet the event would; forasmuch as the time is now at hand, wherein these promises of the general call and outward magnificence of these ancient people of God should, according to the construction of our new Chiliasts, be either well forward or accomplished, as we shall see in the sequel; whereas there is not yet the least motion towards it in all the world. Besides, some of their misconstrued texts will necessarily cross the way of us, upon occasion of the several passages which we are about to examine.

SECTION XII.

The first paradox of millenarism:—a monarchical state of Christ's kingdom in a visible and worldly manner.

Of paradoxes, let it be the first, but not the least, that Christ, the Son of God, now glorified, shall come and personally set up and administer a monarchical state of a kingdom here upon earth, in a visible and worldly manner for splendour, riches, peace, &c.

I had thought we had heard him say, *My kingdom is not of this world.* Now to what world do riches and honour and earthly contentments belong, if not to this? If he govern as earthly monarchs have done, in a worldly, visible, earthly glory, (such are the words,) how is his kingdom not of this

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world? Surely, this is more than ever the very Jews expected or dreamed of. They have looked for a Messiah that should exercise kingly authority in the world; but they never looked for a glorified Messiah to come down from heaven to rule upon earth. Zebedee's wife certainly never thought of such a kingdom, wherein her sons should be the primere peers. Neither did the good thief think of such a state when he said, *Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom.* We have heard of an absolute sovereignty of Christ, as God; of a delegated sovereignty, as Mediator: we have heard of his rule in the heart, of his rule in the Church: but of his monarchical rule in the world, for a whole thousand years, in a worldly, visible, earthly glory, we never yet heard, and think it very strange news to Christian ears. But much more strange news it is, that *all the prophets, since the world began*[e], have spoken of this marvellous monarchy, and yet, that we never heard of it in the writings of all the fathers and doctors of the Christian Church, till this day. It is no whit strange, that God's people should be abused by the feigned glosses of men, drawing those scriptures, which speak of Christ's coming to the final judgment of the world, to the sense of that imaginary kingdom, which hath being no where but in their own brain. But without any intention of a formal confutation, I purpose only to give some light touches at those paradoxal and unwarrantable positions which meet with me in this discourse.

Second paradox: —the change of all worldly custom and putting down kingly power.

That, in this visible monarchy of Christ, he shall change all worldly customs, and put down all kingly power and greatness, however just, and set up a new; so as there shall be no more lords but he; even as the earthly monarchies swallowed all kingly power under them; may well pass for a sufficient paradox.

We grant, indeed, there shall be none in competition with him, even in his spiritual rule; but that there shall be none in subordination to him in his supposed visible monarchy were too bold a word.

Third paradox: —a double judgment.

That there shall be a double judgment, one a thousand years before the other: the one, wherein many, both saints and sinners, shall be judged, and that with great terror and solemnity, which shall be a general judging (though not to the second death) of all the ungodly in the world; at least of all that will not stoop to Christ's sceptre:

[e] Acts iii. 21.

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the other, of all devils and men, upon the expiration of those thousand years, in that universal appearance before God at that great day[g], is an assertion as bold as groundless.

We have heard of a particular doom passing upon every soul immediately upon the parting from this house of clay; and of a general judicature in those common assizes of the world; but of a middle sessions, betwixt both these, in which all the ungodly shall be arraigned, and sentenced to a temporal death or perpetual vassalage, was never either spoken of by God or heard of by men.

SECTION XIII.

Fourth paradox:—a threefold coming of Christ.

That there is a threefold coming of Christ: the first, when he came to take our nature; the second, when he comes to receive his kingdom; the third, when he comes to judge all and end the world; may well pass for a paradox, not inferior to the rest.

Besides the metaphorical comings of Christ to any soul or nation, whether in mercy or judgment, we have ever heard of one coming of our Saviour, past, in human weakness; another, to come, in divine power and glory: but that there should be a third coming down from heaven to earth, betwixt these, is strange news to Christian ears; which were heretofore wont to be inured to our old Apostolic, Athanasian, and Nicene Creeds; and to hear, "From thence shall he come to judge the quick and the dead." No coming, therefore, till he come to judgment: and, that there may be no thought of an intermediate and partial judgment in the beginning of that thousand years, the Creed, which we were wont to profess in our baptism, ran thus; "We believe, that in the end of the world he shall come to judge the quick and the dead:" lo, in the end of the world, not a thousand years before it. Let all good Christians stick close to their old Creeds, *the faith which was once delivered to the saints*, Jude 3, and not suffer themselves *to be carried away with every gale of new doctrine*. That of Tertullian is a sure rule, *Primum verum*, "The first is true."

Fifth paradox:—a double resurrection.

Necessarily depending upon this, is that other gross conceit of a double general resurrection: the one, of those saints which were dead before this coming of Christ, which shall be raised up 1000 years before the rest,

[g] Pp. 12, 13, 14.

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at his next coming; the other, of all flesh at the end of the world, and the final coming and judgment[h].

But whether that first resurrection shall be only proper and peculiar to martyrs that have died for the name of Christ, or common to all the saints, let our Chiliasts argue amongst themselves. Their opinions do no less disagree from each other than they all from the truth. Alas, good Martha, thou wert much deceived when thou saidst concerning thy brother Lazarus, *I know he shall rise again in the resurrection, at the last day*, John xi. 24: why, woman, the resurrection of that saint, thy brother, shall be 1000 years sooner than thou thoughtest of. Neither did St. Paul ever take notice of this first resurrection of the saints, while he adjures his Timothy, *before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge the quick and the dead at his appearing*, 2 Tim. iv. 1; for surely the Lord Jesus's judging of the quick and dead, indefinitely spoken, must suppose a resurrection of all the dead whom he judgeth: but here, saith the Chiliast, is only in Christ's next appearing a resurrection of the dead saints, and a judging of none but the wicked which are found alive; for their raising out of their graves is reserved for the last and universal judgment; so as by that rule Christ should not at his appearing judge both the quick and the dead.

Section XIV.

Answerable to this double resurrection is the paradox of Christ's threefold ascension into heaven: for, saith the author, when Christ hath thus put his kingdom into form, he will withdraw from earth to heaven again, and leave the government to the dead saints raised up; they and all believers shall rule the world.

Sixth paradox: —a threefold ascension of Christ into heaven, pp. 23, 24.

And if these all shall govern, who are those that shall be governed? There are none left upon earth but saints raised to immortality; and saints found alive, who are perfect believers; and some few slaves, spared from death for servitude. See now what an honourable employment and singular privilege and honour here is, for saints immortalized, and translated from death to life, to be the governors of some sturdy and rebellious vassals! In the mean time Christ, the glorious King of his Church, is returned back into heaven, and will govern the earth

[h] Pp. 17, 18.

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by his deputies. What a mean conceit is this which these men profess to have of the King of eternal glory! that he, who hath said, *Behold, I am with you always, even until the end of the world,* whose majesty fills heaven and earth, should come down to put on his kingdom here below, to be governed by certain delegates, and then withdraw to his heaven: what is this but poorly to circumscribe the infinite Majesty of heaven within the terms of a finite administration! And now, in this second ascension, we hear no news of the attendance of his retinue: he that brought down the souls of his saints to wait upon him in this descent, for the receiving of this inferior kingdom, shall leave them behind him with their old (but new raised) partners, to spend 1000 years upon earth; at the end whereof, he shall come down again, and fetch them up with him, in his third ascension, to the highest heaven. What an high presumption is this in flesh and blood, to send the Son of God, the Lord Jesus, from heaven to earth, and from earth to heaven, upon an errand of their own making! when himself, in his holy scriptures, never speaks but of a double ascent of Christ: the one, which is past, from mount Olivet, (where the impressions of his sacred feet are still said to be), forty days after his resurrection; the other, future, when, after the general judgment of the world, he shall carry up all the elect with him to his heavenly glory.

SECTION XV.

A literal interpreter is no other than a slave to his syllables, binding himself up to a mere sound of words, with neglect of the true sense intended; which is too well seen in this present subject. The subjects of this kingdom, if any may be such where all are either princes or slaves, are to be the twelve tribes of the Jews and the nations of the Gentiles. What if ten of those twelve tribes be lost? they shall be found again, and be made saints, that they may become subjects; for else they should but be found out for a worse confusion. So, then, the cities of the tribes shall be built again, and inhabited by natural Israelites[1]; especially Jerusalem, which shall be the most eminent city in the world, or that ever was in the world; and at Jerusalem will Christ begin to show himself: and then, by and from the Israelites, shall glory descend to the Gentiles. Thus runs the letter.

Seventh paradox:—the total reduction of the ten lost tribes of Israel.

[1] Page 26.

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But the best interpreter, St. Paul, tells us of *a Jew outwardly*, and *a Jew within*; of *circumcision in the flesh*, and *circumcision of the heart*; of *circumcision in the spirit*, and *in the letter*[k]; of *children of the flesh*, and *children of the promise*[l]. Which distinction whosoever shall have duly digested will easily find how wild a paradox it is to tie those frequent and large promises of the prophets made to Judah and Israel, Zion and Jerusalem, to a carnal literality of sense; and to make account of their accomplishment accordingly, which were never otherwise than spiritually meant: and thereupon to affirm, as this author doth, that even those ten tribes of Israel, which were, 2340 years ago, so dispersed, as the dust with the wind, that no man could since their dissipation say of any one of them, "This was an Israelite," neither have they now any known being in the world, that they should be suddenly fetched up again, out of the forlorn rubbish of paganism and Mahometism, wherein they are in many hundred generations irrecoverably long since lost, and made the founders and citizens of a new and more glorious Jerusalem, *credat Judæus Apella*. It is true, that nothing is impossible to an omnipotent power: had the Almighty said the words to their sense, no difficulty could hinder our assent: he can as easily raise Israelites out of Turks, Tartars, Indians, as out of their graves: but we know the sense of these prophetical promises and predictions to be, as that father said, *in medulla*, not *in superficie*. In this just construction, there is no Jew but a Christian; and Jerusalem is built up, not in the soil of old Jebus, but in the hearts of believers. Shortly, that we may clearly evince the moral impossibility at least of this misconceit of the reduction and flourishing estate of all the twelve tribes wholly converted to Christ their King, and the magnificent reedifying of Jerusalem, the event is instead of a thousand arguments. It is but the next year, 1650, or at farthest 56, which this author, comparing Daniel with John according to his own calculation, hath pitched for the performance of these great matters concerning the Jewish people: in which, saith he, the Israelites are to be delivered, by being called to Christianity; both the Jews which are two tribes, and the Israelites which are ten tribes, &c. And now where is the man that can tell us tidings but of a thrave of Jews newly converted, or of one stone laid in the new foundation of the new Jerusalem? so as the issue plainly tells our millenarian brethren they have mis-

[k] Rom. ii. 28, 29. [l] Rom. ix. 8.

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taken their aim, and sends them to seek for a truer and more verifiable sense.

SECTION XVI.

Eighth paradox:—the saints in their glorious and immortal condition, meddling with their earthly affairs.

Well may it pass for a further paradox, that the dead saints now raised to an immortal life, shall, in those their spiritual bodies—so the apostle calls them—meddle with the outward administration of the affairs of the Church, and have continual conversation with mortal men; controlling their actions, and ordering their processes according to their secular occasions.

We find that, in the attendance of Christ's resurrection, many of the dead saints rose out of their graves, *and went into the holy city, and appeared to many*[m]: but that they ever offered to touch with any either secular or sacred business, we never find. These ecclesiastical services, how holy soever, are too mean for so glorious agents. And if they shall manage them, how and in what fashion shall they govern? shall they abate any thing of the privileges of their glory and immortality? shall they be always visible? shall they be clothed or naked? since clothes are only to hide shame, and to defend from the injuries of the air; and there can be no place for shame in an immortalized body, and amongst saints, where there shall be no sin: and since their raised bodies are now impassible, and apt to the quick motions of spiritual substance, shall they confine themselves to these low places upon earth, and not lodge when they please in their former paradise?

SECTION XVII.

Ninth paradox:—the living saints mortal, and yet sinless.

As for those living saints, who, if any at all, must be their subjects, in what an impossible condition doth he make them! They must be mortal, and yet sinless. What man or angel can reconcile these two? They must still have original corruption in them—that cannot be denied; but it shall be so yoked and restrained, that it shall get little or no ground of them.

What a paradox is this! If little, if any at all, surely they are sinners: and sin, wherever, whatever it be, defileth! now nothing *that defileth* or *worketh abomination* shall be there, Rev. xxi. 27. None shall be in this kingdom but such as shall be saved, such as are elected: but is it the privilege of election to exempt from sin? I had thought the fruit of God's gracious election had been the

[m] Matt. xxvii. 52, 53.

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remission, not the freedom from the commission of sin. All here shall be saints: no one, he saith, shall be an hypocrite[n]: O happy kingdom, where there is no taint of hypocrisy! But shall men have hearts then? and are not the hearts of men deceitful above all things? Though Satan be never so close chained up, yet the innate corruption of that deceitful heart is able enough to breed store of hypocrisy. But what news is it, that no person excommunicate shall be there? what place can there be possibly imagined for an excommunication in a kingdom, after a sort heavenly, wherein there shall be no use of sacraments? no use of any other ordinances? wherein all shall immediately feed from God in Christ? wherein Christ will hold them all up in fulness of grace[o]? Yea, when there shall therefore be no use of pastors, doctors, elders, deacons, preaching, censures in this holy and glorious estate, what spiritual government is that which the raised saints shall exercise in the new Jerusalem? Neither shall the persons only of the then-living saints be freed from depravation by sin, but all their children, in all the succeeding generations: none of them shall prove bad; none reprobate: all shall be called the seed of the blessed. What! though they be begotten and conceived in sin? what! though they propagate sin to the fruit of their loins? yet their issue shall not prove sinners. As much as to say, there shall be fire, but neither heat nor smoke: there shall be a poisonous fountain, but it shall yield no unwholesome water. Neither can there be any danger of their languishing in grace, though they have neither word nor sacraments. Neither shall they have use of any improvement by the heavenly counsel or examples of those glorious and immortal saints which they shall converse with, which one would think should avail much to the continuation and increase of their holiness; but they shall have an immediate fellowship with God, and shall be edified immediately from God in Christ[p]. But what! shall there be any use of their prayers? are not those a part of God's ordinances? and the fellowship, he saith[q], which they shall have with God is not by ordinances, but by God and the Lamb: and what need they pray for that, which they do indefeasibly enjoy? However, let it be scored up for none of the least paradoxes, that God's ordinances should be useless unto God's people any where out of heaven.

[n] Page 27. [o] Pp. 17, 29. [p] Pp. 28, 29. [q] Page 29.

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SECTION XVIII.

That under this monarchy of Christ there shall be to the saints for a thousand years all fulness of all temporal blessings; as peace, safety, riches, health, long life, and whatsoever else was enjoyed under any monarchy, or can be had in the world, or may make their lives comfortable, savoureth too strong of a Jewish or Mahometan paradise; as being extended, in a fairer and more modest expression, to those carnal pleasures, both of the bed and the board, which have been dreamed of by those sensual Turks and Talmudists.

Tenth paradox:—the fulness of all temporal blessings, of riches, honour, long life, under this monarchy of Christ.

It is true, that God hath been as exceeding rich in mercies, as no less large in promises of all blessings to the children of the kingdom: but those riches and delights are of another nature, purely spiritual; such as may be proper for the fruition of saints. As for those outward favours, they are such as the worst may have, and the best may want: such, as that a man may be happy without them, and he that enjoys them most miserable: such as, wise Solomon tells us, bewray neither the *love* nor *hatred* of the Almighty[r]. And surely if Gog and Magog did not find themselves enabled with strength and health of body, with vigour of spirits, with outward wealth and power, they would never offer, during the time of that kingdom, to rise up against the saints in an open war. Shortly, we know *the kingdom of God* doth not consist in *meats and drinks*, in houses and lands, in mines and metals, in flocks and herds; but in *righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost*, Rom. xiv. 17. The enjoyment of good things for a moment is scarce to be reckoned amongst blessings; since the grief of their cessation doth more than counterpoise the contentment of their fruition. But here, a long life shall make up the happiness of the rich, honourable, frolic patriots of this new kingdom; for not one of them shall die early. What! not though it be to be translated from mortality to eternal blessedness? Is it an advantage to be held off long from heaven? But who told this man, that no one should die under 100 years old? It is true, he finds in the letter of Isaiah, *There shall be no more thence an infant of days, nor an old man that hath not filled his days; for the child shall die an hundred years old*, Is. lxv. 20: but he might have found also in the next words preceding, *In Jerusalem the voice of weeping shall be no more heard, nor the*

[r] Eccl. ix. 1.

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voice of crying, ver. 19. Well, then, the husband or wife or child must die at the last: and shall there be no tear shed for them? shall all the subjects be exempted from all afflictions whatsoever; and yet be obnoxious to death, the utmost of all terribles? And how doth that promise extend to a freedom from all outward violences and inward sicknesses, grief and trouble, which are the means and harbingers of dissolution; and yet give way to that worst of evils to which all these are but the gentle preparations? The truth then is, these are high allegorical expressions, whereby it pleaseth the Spirit of God to set forth, under bodily resemblances, whether the prosperous and comfortable condition of the evangelical Church, or the happy estate of the glorified children of the resurrection; which, whoso shall construe literally, shall in vain expect to see *the wolf and the lamb* to *feed together*, *and the lion* to *eat straw like the bullock*, Isaiah lxv. 25.

Section XIX.

May it not well pass for a further paradox, that, while there are so many thousand saints reigning upon earth, and endued with so much majesty and power to govern the world, the slaves and underling-tributaries should be suffered to grow up under them, to such a head, as to defy their governors, and to bid battle to all those immortal rulers, any one whereof were able to quell a world of weak sinners.

Eleventh paradox:—that so many thousands of glorious and immortal saints reigning, the wicked, slaves and tributaries, should be able to raise war against them.

Who can think that the malice of these men should so far exceed their wit, as that, knowing, by long and daily experience, that these raised and glorious saints, under whose iron sceptre they lived, are immortal, and utterly impassible, they should yet hold it safe or possible to oppose them with any hope of success? And if, to make the matter more credible, it shall be suggested, as it is by this author, that they are drawn in by some deceitful trick of Satan; they could not but know the wisdom and knowledge of these glorious saints to be such, as that they might, much better than the apostle, say, *We are not ignorant of his devices;* so as, if Gog and Magog shall hope, either by wiles or violence, to prevail against invulnerable, spiritual, and half glorified powers, they shall approve themselves more mad than malicious. And to make this paradox perfect, how strange is the intimation, that this shall be taken for the

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occasion of Christ's coming the third time to his general judgment; even the ruin of these assailants, whom he will come from heaven to destroy! as if this witless and vain insurrection of Gog and Magog could not be suddenly and powerfully crushed by so over-puissant opposites: as if the blowing upon all the legions of earth and hell could not scatter them in an instant: as if one of God's mighty angels, who, in one night, destroyed an hundred fourscore and five thousand Assyrians[s], could not as easily turn Gog and Magog into heaps or ashes; and yet the Son of God still keep his heaven.

SECTION XX.

Twelfth paradox:—the day of judgment to hold a thousand years.

The third time, then, he saith, Christ shall come down from heaven to earth, for his final judgment of the world: the day whereof shall dawn immediately upon the expiration of the thousand years' reign; but may, for aught he knows, last another thousand years, as the former. The scripture indeed, he confesses[t], sets not down the time how long it shall last; but long, certainly, it must last.

And why so very long! and what do we talk of years, when the angel before this *swore that time should be no more?* What a bold weakness is this, to measure the infinite God by ourselves! The necessity of the length of that time of judgment is evinced, he saith, by the great work to be accomplished in it: for therein God's mercy, justice, truth, power, &c. is to be gloriously revealed before all mankind and devils; and the truth of every scripture cleared; and sinners silenced or convinced. And, secondly, this is the time in which Christ Jesus is to triumph and lord it over all reasonable creatures, and wherein every knee shall bow to him: as if the Almighty should be limited to do his acts by leisure: as if he, that made the world in six days, and could have made it in an instant, cannot as well in that space of time judge it. Alas! what is time, but a poor circumstance of finite mortality; not reaching up to the acts of the Eternal? That Ancient of Days may not have his workings confined to hours, days, months, years: and justly do we say, that he, who is of himself one most pure and simple act, works in an instant: he can therefore gloriously reveal his justice, truth, power, to men and devils, without any such leisurely respirations: and if in an instant he can raise all flesh from their graves, why should we question whether he cannot as soon judge them? As for the

[s] 2 Kings xix. 35. [t] Page 39.

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triumph of the Lord Jesus over all his enemies, as it is partly accomplished already, when *he ascended up on high*, and *led captivity captive;* so shall it be fully perfected in the act of his last judgment, when his foes shall be made his footstool, without any such lingering forms of a protracted solemnity. For the performance whereof, it is supposed by this author, and his contests in opinion, that whereas the Lord Jesus, in his first coming down from heaven, stayed not full thirty-four years upon earth; and, in his second coming down, continued his visible presence amongst men, but till he had settled his government here in the world, and then returned to his heaven; now, upon his third descent to judgment, shall, for some thousand years, remain visibly upon earth, out of the local heaven from whence he descended: a conceit that would have sounded very strangely in the ears of our unenlightened forefathers; who were ever wont to conceive, that this great business of the last judgment, being managed by the infinite wisdom and power of the Son of God, should be of a speedy despatch; and that their returning Saviour should come to fetch up the bodies and souls of his elect to the instant fruition of their glory in heaven, not to call them to a thousand years' attendance on his visible presence here on earth; and if they found the thrones set, and the books opened, and all the process out of records, they were wont to construe these expressions as such wherein the Spirit of God meant to condescend to our weakness, setting forth his own incomprehensible acts, by the forms of our human judicatures, which must necessarily both take up time and require open evidences and convictions, whereof there is no more use when we speak of an infinite God, than of parchments, scribes, registers.

Section XXI.

Thirteenth paradox: — a new determination of a double hell, and the place thereof.

Well, then, towards the end of the second thousand years, the judgment is ended, the final sentence passed both of life and death, the elect are carried up to their bliss, the wicked sent to their place; both settled in their eternity.

But here, I confess, I stand amazed at the confident and peremptory assertion of this author, and other favourers of his opinion, concerning the place of the present and future hell. Doubtless, the departed souls of wicked and unrepentant sinners are not in custody only, but in torture; as being both separated eternally from the face of that God *in whose presence is the fulness*

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of joy, and seized upon immediately by the dreadful executioners of divine vengeance: although not in that full exquisiteness of torment which awaits for them in that great day, when their bodies, which were partners with them in their crimes, must also partake of their everlasting punishments. Tophet, we know, is prepared of old; and there is a peculiar place of unconceivable horror for the devil and his angels and vassals: but where this place is I have not so much warrant as to inquire, much less to determine. I must therefore wonder whence these men receive their light: certainly, (that which was denied to the damned glutton in the gospel,) no man hath been sent thence to them, to inform them of these infernal regions of darkness; and I am sure God hath nowhere revealed this to them in his holy scripture. As not daring, therefore, so much as to scan this point, much less to unlock so deep a secret, I lay my hand upon my mouth in silence and dread; referring it to the glorious angel that hath the keys of the bottomless pit, and leaving these bold and curious dogmatists to their own conceits.

SECTION XXII.

Strange and improbable consequents that follow upon this opinion and discourse.

But though I may well fear I have overwearied my reader with the enumeration of those ill-sounding paradoxes, which have not incidently fallen from the pens, but have been studiously maintained by the hands and tongues of the abettors of this millenary reign; yet I must crave leave to put his patience to a further task, in viewing some of those incommodious, misbecoming, and improbable consequents, which will necessarily follow upon that opinion.

I find, in a published letter from Dr. Twisse of Oxford to Mr. Mede of Cambridge, that this subject was privately much agitated betwixt those two learned divines; and that the doctor had furnished twelve complete arguments against this tenet, which, if they could have come to my hands, might both have given me light, and perhaps have saved me labour. In the want of them, I shall insist upon some of those harsh inferences which offer themselves to my thoughts.

1. That in the Lord's Prayer we pray for this monarchy.

Let the first be, that, in the Lord's Prayer, we are taught to pray, *Thy kingdom come*[u]: therefore we do therein pray for the accomplishing of this monarchical and personal reign of Christ with his saints on

[u] Archer, p. 10.

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earth; when as, both such a kingdom was never acknowledged nor believed by the universal Church of Christ from that day till this hour; and it is clear, that it was Christ himself, who taught the disciples herein to pray to his Father for the accomplishing of his Father's kingdom, which is merely spiritual; not for his own personal and visible, as Mediator.

2. That Christ in his second coming to judge the earth should leave many wicked men alive.

Secondly, how strangely doth it hang together, that the Son of God, in his second coming with much terror for a general judging of all the ungodly in the world, shall yet leave many wicked men alive to breed enemies to his saints; to be slaves and tributaries to them in their new kingdom! For as for those saints that are raised up from the dead to an immortal estate, they can have no use of such drudges. And for the saints living, either they shall know the wicked courses of those surviving vassals or they shall not know them: if they know them not, they shall be defective in their care and oversight: if they do know them, they shall be afflicted with the sight of their wickedness; according to the profession of the Psalmist, *Mine eyes gush out rivers of waters, because men keep not thy law;* and if so, they are not in that happy estate freed from sorrow, which is strongly pretended, for in these times *there shall be no sorrow or weeping,* Rev. xxi. 4.

Section XXIII.

3. That Christ, who hath all power, should descend from heaven to depute new governors, &c.

Thirdly, there had need to be a firm ground whereon to build a belief of so unlikely a truth, that the Son of God, who a little before his ascension could say, *All power is given unto me, both in heaven and in earth;* and who, ever since, rules the Church by a vicariate of his Spirit, as Tertullian expresses it, according to that order of government which he hath appointed; should now, the second time, come personally down from heaven to depute new governors in this his monarchy, and having settled the administration in their hands should again take his leave of the earth. Further, if those of the ungodly which will not stoop to the sceptre of Christ shall be the subjects of his destruction[x], who can imagine that, when he shall come in such heavenly glory and majesty, and in such astonishing terror, there can be any person upon earth that will not readily crouch unto him, and offer to lick the dust under his feet? Moreover, if Christ shall come down, and after deputation of governors ascend again into

[x] Archer, p. 13.

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heaven, how can it be stood upon, that this reign of his is personal for 1000 years upon earth? since personal presence and deputation cannot stand together: there may be a virtual presence of the prince, in delegation of power to others; but a personal there cannot be.

SECTION XXIV.

Fourthly, if this new kingdom must consist of raised saints and men living, what a strange composition shall here be of a government! what an unimaginable commixture of subjects! what a contemperature of heaven and earth! The bodies raised are spiritual; the living bodies, fleshly; the raised saints, immortal; the saints living, mortal, and at an hundred years dying. What kind of commerce shall here be? how unequal! how unsuitable! How can it be other than a disparagement, to creatures immortal and glorious, to be matched with flesh and blood? How can it be but too much honour for mortal and earthly creatures, ordinarily to consort with the blessed denizens of paradise?

4. The strange composition of this imagined government.

Fifthly, if all saints that ever were before Christ's second coming shall be raised, and the wicked destroyed, and the saints then found living continued in the world, how shall that be verified which was spoken by him who is the Truth: *When the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith upon the earth?*

5. All saints: yet faith hardly to be found on earth.

Sixthly, if all saints from the first man Adam to the last that expired before Christ's coming, and all the believers then living, shall be rulers and princes[y], who shall obey? And if amongst the raised saints, the apostles shall, in their sense, sit upon twelve thrones, and as a monarchical state on earth judge the twelve tribes of Israel, how is that verified which our Saviour said to them, *It shall not be so with you?*

6. If the apostles shall sway this monarchy, how doth it agree to our Saviour's words, *It shall not be so with you?*

Seventhly, what an apparent disadvantage should this be to the blessed souls of the saints departed, to be fetched down from heaven where they are in perfect bliss, to spend a thousand years upon earth, ere the consummation of their glory! to change the company of angels for men, heaven for earth!

7. A disadvantage to the souls of the saints in heaven, to be fetched down to the earth.

To which main and choking objection there is wont to be offered a double solution.

[y] Archer, p. 8.

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First[z], were those departed souls in the highest heaven, yet it becomes them, as the angels do, to come down to serve the saints; and, with Lazarus's spirit, to return to their bodies again, at the commandment of Christ. True: all creatures owe their obedience to their Maker and Redeemer; and the more holy they are, the more ready still they are to pay this tribute of their humble obsequiousness to the will of their God, which is the supreme law, without all pleas of their own inconveniences: but in this case, where shall we find any such command? where the least signification of the divine pleasure? Surely should he bid any of them glide down to the dreadful regions of hell itself, he would not stick at the condition; but as soon shall they find the Almighty's charge for the one as for the other.

Secondly[a], they say, it is likely the souls of the dead saints are not in the highest heaven, but in a middle place, better than this world, but inferior to the Empyreal heaven, which is meant in the New Testament by paradise.

Wherein, certainly, Mr. Archer hath shot strangely wide, both for the name and the place. Here can be no thought of the terrestrial paradise, as Epiphanius weakly imagined, which doubtless was long since defaced by the deluge. That the celestial paradise, then, should either be called or be a lower place than the highest heaven, is no other than a gross misprision. I appeal to the blessed apostle, who was rapt up thither: who tells us, that the man he knew was *caught up to the third heaven*, 2 Cor. xii. 2; and straight, as describing paradise for some more eminent part in that highest heaven, he adds, that he, the same man, *was caught into paradise, and heard unspeakable words*, ver. 4: where, that we shall not need to imagine a double rapture of St. Paul, as some of the fathers out of this place have done, it seems clear that, contrary to this author's assertion, the paradise of the New Testament is the highest and most glorious place of the Empyreal heaven; which must certainly be hence evinced, unless we will grant, either two several raptures of the apostle, or an unnecessary and tautological repetition of one: for, having first said, *I knew such a one caught into the third heaven*, he subjoins, *And I knew such a man, whether in the body or out of the body, I cannot tell, God knoweth: how that he was caught into paradise, and heard unspeakable words;* so as his taking up into paradise must needs be a farther advance of that his exta-

[z] Archer, p. 22. [a] Ibid. p. 23.

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tical rapture, the first rise whereof was no lower than the third heaven. Add to this, that when our Saviour said to the dying convert on the cross, *This day thou shalt be with me in paradise*, he could intend no less than a place of heavenly glory: the thief speaks of a kingdom, our Saviour of a paradise: the kingdom that was spoken of was the paradise which was promised. To this purpose is that which our learned Gregory observes out of Irenæus[b], who describes the receipt, of just and perfect men, to be a certain paradise in the eastern part of the third heaven; professing to receive that tradition from the disciples of the apostles. So as this paradise, according to the best interpreters, is *cœli pars nobilior et eminentior;* "a more noble and eminent part of heaven." And if there may be any damage, then, or disadvantage in the change of a place of more excellence for a meaner, in the change of the company of blessed angels for the society of mortal men, surely it lies strongly against this opinion, which fetcheth the saints down from the fruition of an heavenly glory to the government of the earth. But who told this author that the souls of the departed saints are only ἐν προθύροις, as some ancients have expressed it? in some "outer porch" belonging to the court of heaven, and not in the inner rooms of those glorious mansions? in a place wherein they have full joy and perfect happiness, yet not where Christ's body is? and that in this place they are kept till this kingdom of Christ come? We are sure we hear our Saviour say, *Father, I will that they also, whom thou hast given me, be with me where I am; that they may behold the glory which thou hast given me*, John xvii. 24: and in his last sacramental banquet with his disciples, we hear him say, *I will drink no more of this fruit of the vine, till I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom:* we are sure we hear the Chosen Vessel, who had viewed those heavenly palaces, say, *We know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens*, 2 Cor. v. 1: lo, in the heavens, not beneath them; and that immediately upon the dissolution of this earthly tabernacle, not three thousand years after it; and more than so long it must be, by their rule, ere the apostles can be admitted into heaven: a thousand six hundred years are already passed, and yet the thousand years' reign is not begun: a thousand years after that must pass ere the end of the last judgment,

[b] Greg. Observat. Iræn. advers. Hæres. l. v. c. 5. [Notes and Observations, Lond. 1650. p. 76.]

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which shall enter them into the possession of their heaven. But a full confutation of any incident passages is no part of my intention; otherwise, I should willingly fall upon the discussion of those scriptures which are strained to the defence of that assertion, whereof yet there would be the less need, for that the argument holds strongly enough, even upon their own concessions: for if that paradise, which they imagine to themselves, be, though not the third heaven, yet a place of perfect joy and happiness, certainly the exchange of it during those thousands of years for so base and dungeon-like an habitation in this lower world, must needs be greatly disadvantageous.

But if not in the highest heaven, where will he think to place his paradise? Surely, saith this author, in the element of fire.

A strange soil wherein to plant a blissful paradise! But what if there be no element of fire? Such tenets, surely, the schools afforded our younger days. Some Patricius[c] would tell him, that if there be an excess of heat in those upper regions, under the concave of the moon, yet it is neither fire nor elemental. But if, upon some new principles, he shall make the substance of the starry heaven (which we had wont to call quintessential) to be the element of fire, I shall choose rather to wonder at that strange philosophy than to wrangle about it; wishing that it were no more unsafe to broach our own singular imaginations in these points of divinity than in these harmless speculations of nature.

However it be, whether either of them may be the receptacle of the departed souls of the faithful till Christ's next coming, it is too much curiosity to inquire, and no less presumption to determine. Sure we are, and it is agreed on all hands, that, immediately upon their freeing from this clog of earth, *they are in peace*[d] and unspeakable happiness, whether in a local or virtual heaven: neither need we doubt to say, that the full complement of their glory shall be in that great day, when their old consorts, their bodies, shall be joined with them in the partnership of their consummate blessedness.

Section XXVI.

8. Children of the saints conceived and born in sin, yet still saints.

Eighthly, how ill is it contrived to match such contrarieties in the same subject! The children of the saints, who are the free subjects of this kingdom, shall be begotten in sin, conceived and born in sin, and yet be true saints; as if only gross actual sins, from which they shall be

[c] [Patritius, or Patricius, Franciscus, De rerum naturâ.]

[d] Wisdom of Solomon iii. 3.

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restrained, were inconsistent with holiness: *Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean?* saith Job, ch. xiv. 4. If, then, they be pretended to be true saints, why are they not cleared from all sin whatsoever? unless we will bring in the justly-exploded distinction of sins venial and mortal, sins besides, not against the law; and shall free concupiscence from the taint of sin; and so shall in the new kingdom find out sinning saints, or holy sinners. And how insufficiently is it pleaded, that there can be no hypocrites in this kingdom; for that, it being administered by the raised saints, they cannot possibly pass undiscerned by so piercing eyes! as if those sharp eyes of the raised saints could penetrate the bosoms of men, and look into the heart, which the Maker of it hath locked up for his own only search and intuition.

SECTION XXVII.

9. No use of ordinances, yet prayers heard[e].

Ninthly, it suits not over well, that the subjects of this kingdom shall not converse with God by ordinances, and yet that they shall have a full and perfect answer from God to all their prayers; since it cannot be denied that prayer is none of the meanest ordinances of the Almighty.

10. Heaven dispeopled of all the ancient glorious inhabitants for 2000 years.

Tenthly, upon this first resurrection of all saints at the next coming of Christ, how hard and harsh a consequent must it needs seem, that heaven, or (as he will have it) paradise, shall be, for two thousand years at the least, dispeopled of all their ancient and glorious inhabitants, the souls of God's saints, which have departed from the beginning of the world, to the very instant of our Saviour's return: all which are for that time housed again with their raised bodies upon earth, and there continued upon the employment of their kingly administration!

Eleventhly, how incongruous doth it justly seem, that the souls of God's saints, after their first dissolution, should be in so various, different, and unequal condition, as that some of them should be ruling on earth, clothed with their bodies; while others, which departed after Christ's coming down, should, as new guests, be triumphing in heaven!

Twelfthly, how can it accord with that which the apostle hath taught us concerning the last coming of Christ to judgment, *them also which sleep in Jesus will the Lord bring with him*, 1 Thess. iv. 14, if the saints shall be found all on the earth before him, as being raised by him at his second coming, to reign here below till his return to the final judgment of the world?

[e] Page 29.

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These and many other absurd inferences may be brought, as necessarily following upon the doctrine of this first resurrection and reign of all saints, if I did not fear to cloy my reader with distasteful superfluities.

Section XXVIII.

The opinion of the first resurrection of only martyrs confuted.

But perhaps I may meet with some of our millenarian brethren, who, disclaiming this more common opinion of the raising and reigning of all the saints, will choose rather to adhere to the conceit of Alstedius and his complices, who appropriate this privilege of the first resurrection and thousand years' reign to martyrs only[f]; as the first fruits unto God; as purchased by a particular prerogative from among men. For which purpose, they think fit to interpret that 1 Thess. iv. 14, *those that sleep in Jesus*, by a strained construction of the preposition—"those that sleep for the sake[g] of Jesus."

Wherein, certainly, they are not well advised, and will find themselves strongly confuted out of the very scope and context of the place. It was the apostle's drift there to comfort his Thessalonians, and to mitigate their extreme sorrow for the death of those which were dear unto them; whose decease he terms *a sleep*. Can they think they grieved for the parting only from their martyred friends? or did none but they sleep? The word is first general and absolute, ere it be restrained by any preposition; and, in the sequel, those which are asleep are contradistinguished to those that are *alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord;* so as all the faithful, which died before, are those that are asleep in Jesus.

Neither can their interpretation find any relief from Rev. xiv. 13, *Blessed are those dead which die in the Lord, &c.;* that is, as they take it, "for the Lord:" the next words refel it; *for they rest from their labours, and their works follow them.* Do none but martyrs find rest from their labours in death? do none else find the happy reward of their works?

And well may their opposers say, We find not the *four and twenty elders*, which sat *clothed with white raiment*, and with *crowns of gold on their heads*, to have been martyrs; and yet we heard them say, *Thou hast made us unto our God kings and priests, and we shall reign upon earth*, Rev. iv. 4, v. 10.

[f] [Intelliguntur itaque martyres quos mactarunt Impp. Ethnici, &c.—Alsted. Apocal. XX. 4.]

[g] Ἐν, *propter quem.* [The original text is διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, not ἐν.]

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Indeed, if there shall be any reign of the saints on earth at all for those thousand years, Alstedius is sure too straitlaced to restrain this honour to martyrs only. How many thousands of saints have there been, that have been no less holy, and won no less honour to God in their stations, than those which have bled for him? What shall we say to Abraham, the father of the faithful? to him that wrestled with God, and prevailed? to the rest of the holy patriarchs? to Moses, the man of God, that conversed so familiarly with the Almighty? to Elias, that was rapt up to heaven? and to all the other holy prophets? to the blessed apostles? to the laborious planters of the evangelical churches amongst pagans? to those painful preachers of the gospel which have willingly wasted themselves to give light unto others? Shall we suppose that they shall lie still in the dust, while one sudden stroke of an axe shall advance those other to the prevented resurrection of a thousand years?

Besides, if he will needs be literal, how much lower must the restriction yet fall! *I saw*, saith St. John, *the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God; and which had not worshipped the beast, nor his image; neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands; and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years.*

For how many thousands have suffered martyrdom for good causes before the beast was bred, or his image, or his marks heard of; or before Christ came in the flesh! Such was the righteous Abel, the protomartyr of the world. Such were the *fourscore and five persons that wore a linen ephod*, murdered by the command of Saul[i]. Such was Zechariah, the son of Jehoiada, slain by the command of Joash[k]. Such were those many thousands of God's people, that were massacred under the tyranny of Antiochus. Neither doubt I to say, that whosoever he be that suffers for the testimony of a good conscience, because he dares not violate any one of the moral laws of God, is as true a martyr, as he that dies for the maintenance of any of the twelve articles of his creed.

Besides, our histories tell us[l] of some very Arians and other heretics, that have yet given their lives up to heathen persecutors for the name of Christ. Shall we say that these men shall receive more privilege from God than the most orthodox confessors, which kept their souls within their teeth; yet suffered grievously, and lived and died more holily?

[i] 1 Sam. xxii. 18. [k] 2 Chron. xxiv. 21.
[l] Socrat. Hist. Eccl. l. iv. c. [33, ed. Hussey.]

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Shortly, then, if we shall count this preventive resurrection a special blessing of God, it must needs be an injurious partiality in those, who shall make such a difference of saints, as that the more holy shall, in the retribution of the just God, carry away the lesser reward; and the less holy shall, for one act of an instantany suffering, be crowned with so great and long-lasting glory before them.

Howsoever it be taken, surely that so much-urged text of 1 Thess. iv. 14 favoureth neither of them: for when the apostle saith, *Those that sleep in*, or for, *Christ, shall rise first*, he speaks of one and the same resurrection, not of two resurrections, a thousand years asunder. Neither is there any clause in the whole book of God that doth so much as seem to countenance, no not to intimate, this double resurrection, in the sense pretended; or this reign of either martyrs or other saints upon earth: which in a verity of such importance is without all example: for all the holy doctrines of divine scripture do, as that father said aright, *συναληθεύειν*, "contruth with" each other; making good both themselves and their fellows; whereas this not only (if it could be true) stands alone, but hath many sore brushes of contradiction, both of text and reason, to discard it from our belief.

Section XXIX.

Alstedius's evasion concerning this single expression of the millenary reign, answered.

As for that evasion of Alstedius, that the single expression of this supposed truth is no more derogation from the undoubted certainty of it, than that of the seventy weeks of Daniel, which, though but once mentioned in scripture, yet is and ever hath been received as a most sure, comfortable, and undeniable verity, it cannot serve his turn in the case we have in hand. There is no less difference in the comparison than in the time. The one, a thing past, and punctually fulfilled; the other, in very pretence, future. The one, clearly laid forth without any ambiguity in the relation, save only that weeks of years, not of days, are plainly signified; the other, full of doubtful construction. As well might he have instanced in many hundred passages of scripture, especially in matter of history, wherein the Holy Ghost contents himself with single and but light touches of report, and yet challenging no less belief than upon a thousand reduplications.

Far be it from him to entertain so uncharitable thoughts of us, as if we durst not trust God on his word, though but once spoken. We know him to be Amen; and that repetitions add nothing to

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plain truths: but all the question is here, not of words, but of sense; not of what is said, but of what is meant: so as we have reason to expect and require, that, when a strange doctrine is raised out of the construction of a doubtful text, it should be showed to be seconded by the accordant testimony of other scriptures, which upon this matter lying now before us can never be effected.

SECTION XXX.

No necessity from the text, of admitting this strange tenet of the reign contended for.

We are now fallen upon the last part of our task, which is to show that we are not, by any necessity of this text, cast upon the admission of these strange tenets, of a double resurrection of the body, and of such a reign of the saints upon earth as is pretended; since the words may well bear other more commodious and safe constructions, wherein our sober predecessors contented themselves to rest.

For the terms here used are, if we observe them, of much latitude. He saith, *I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, &c., and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years. This is the first resurrection.*

1. We know the *souls* are sometimes taken for the spirit that animates us; sometimes for the whole person, so the protomartyr tells us, *Jacob brought down into Egypt threescore and fifteen souls*, Acts vii. 14.

2. *That were beheaded;* though in a grammar sense it signifies the time past; yet commonly, in a prophetical sense, it signifies the future; it being the ordinary phrase of the prophets, by reason of the infallible certainty of the events, to speak of things to come as already past; the instances are obvious and infinite.

3. The *living and reigning with Christ* is either in this life or in heaven; present or future; in grace or in glory; in way of government or of a blessed fruition.

4. The *thousand years*, either punctually determinate or indefinite.

5. The *first resurrection*, either of the soul or body; either the resurrection of the soul from sin and a dead state of unregeneration, or the resurrection of the body from the grave; and in the former construction, a resurrection either of a reformed community or of particular persons.

All these, then, well put together, cannot but afford us our choice of orthodox and probable interpretations without any violence offered to the sense.

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Amongst the rest, I shall pitch upon these two as the most clear and free from all just exception.

SECTION XXXI.

The safe and allowed construction of the text insisted on.

The former, relating to the condition of God's faithful servants here on earth after those bloody and general persecutions. Thus: "I saw upon the restraint of Satan from that furious and universal violence, which by the hands of those cruel emperors he had exercised against the Church of Christ, such honour put upon his faithful and constant confessors, during the time of Satan's shutting up, as that the power was committed unto them of managing the affairs of God's Church, and executing due censures upon the offenders. And I saw those godly persons, which, in true zeal of God's glory, either had suffered, or were ready to suffer and lay down their lives for the testimony of Jesus Christ; and those which conscionably refrained from and abhorred the errors and idolatries of the times; those, I saw to enjoy a comfortable life and spiritual reign with Christ, in a sanctified and gracious estate here on earth, all the time of the thousand years of Satan's restraint. But for the rest, which lay spiritually dead in their sins and impious courses, they did not, either in that space or afterwards, at all attain to this life of grace, and to the true knowledge and fruition of God. Now this abandoning of the sinful corruptions of the times, and attaining to the true knowledge and love of the saving truth of God, and a conscionable obedience thereto, is the first resurrection. Blessed and holy is he that hath his part in this spiritual resurrection; for on such a one the second death, which is an eternal separation of the soul from the presence of God, shall have no power," &c.

The other, relating to the happy estate of the souls glorified in heaven, to this sense: "I saw the souls of the blessed martyrs, after they were, by a violent death, for bearing witness to the name of Christ, freed from the calamities of this wretched life, received up to glory; and, reigning in heaven with their glorious Redeemer in everlasting happiness, even during those thousands of years wherein Satan was in his fetters, and, after that, to all eternity."

If either of these constructions may fitly explicate the text, and fully suit with all other scriptures, to what purpose should we ransack the grave, and rake in the ashes of an odious Cerinthus, or an exploded Papias, for the long since condemned conceits of old and hitherto forgotten millenarism?

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I might easily, if it would requite the cost of time, lay before my reader the just exception that may be taken against divers of those other expositions, and the opinions thereon grounded, which I formerly specified; but I do willingly forbear them, as more worthy of silence and neglect. I had rather spend my time and breath in exhorting all good Christians to keep close to their old tenets, and to beware of all either new devised or redivived errors of opinion, whereof this last age of ours is deplorably fruitful.

SECTION XXXII.

Among the rest, let me beseech them to stick fast to their received principles in these four points, which are incident to the matter that lies before us.

An exhortation to stick fast to the old principles: and, first, not to believe any kingdom of Christ but spiritual and heavenly.

First, that they fix not their belief upon any kingdom of Christ our Saviour but spiritual and heavenly. I am sure no other can be enforced upon them by the text; for it is not said that Christ shall reign with them on earth, but they shall reign with Christ; rather intimating, that they should be fetched up to him, than that he should come down to them: and besides, this reign is attributed to the souls, not to the bodies of the martyred saints. If it be urged that this reign of theirs is upon a resurrection from the dead, it is as easily returned, that the resurrection intimated is no less spiritual than the soul which it concerns: *Awake, thou that sleepest, and stand up from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light*, Eph. v. 14, saith the Spirit of God: lo, that sleep is death, and both that dead sleep and the awaking out of it is purely spiritual. Neither, indeed, is this personal and visibly monarchical reign of Christ other than disagreeable to the heavenly condition of the Son of God in the fulness of his glorification; which, certainly, if ever he would have exercised, it should have been when he was here, like unto us, a man amongst men, that so he might have ruled over subjects suitable to himself; but now that his human body is in a celestial and glorious estate, and his blessed Deity shining forth in the full beams of resplendent majesty which mortal eyes are not capable to behold, to bring him down from the highest heaven to take the personal government of men, subject to sin and death, as Alstedius yields them, seems to be extremely incongruous. And if we would imagine a visible and personal monarchy, here must be all things correspondent thereunto; the place, the form, the attendants, the officers, the laws, the process, the rewards and punishments, in an outward, bodily, and little other

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than secular way; all which, how probable it may sound to Christian ears, I leave to the judicious reader to judge.

Section XXXIII.

Had our blessed Saviour while he was here on earth, or his inspired apostles after him, given us the least hint of this his future monarchy, we should humbly have prostrated our souls to the belief and expectation of it; but if men will be raising such doctrines out of their private constructions of an enigmatical text capable of a more safe and received sense, we must crave pardon to withhold our assent, and to leave them to their own imaginations.

Secondly, not to think of any absolute freedom from sin or affliction here below.

Secondly, that they do not, out of this conceit of a personal and visible kingdom of Christ, flatter themselves into an opinion of an absolute freedom from either sin or bodily affliction here in this earthly life; since both these are and ever will be the unavoidable companions of frail humanity, and the miserable symptoms of our fleshly nature. It is a true word of Eliphaz the Temanite: *What is man, that he should be clean? and he that is born of a woman, that he should be righteous?* Job xv. 14. Certainly, we must cease to be men when we begin to be sinless. Sin, though it be not of the essence of our nature, as some have erroneously thought, yet it is a proper and inseparable adjunct thereof, which we cannot hope to be quit of by the most perfect regeneration. And as for affliction, he hath told us that cannot deceive us, even Truth itself, *In the world you shall have tribulation,* John xvi. 33; and his blessed apostles, to the same purpose, *That through many tribulations we must enter into the kingdom of heaven,* Acts xiv. 22. And if Alstedius shall hope to avoid the blow by shifting his foot, and referring the words to the present condition of the persecuted disciples, which yet should afterwards be interchanged with vicissitudes of calm and peaceable times, he might well have considered, that this life of ours is necessarily obnoxious to many other afflictions beside violent persecutions, and might have paralleled that sentence with the experimental observation of the great pattern of patience, *Man that is born of a woman is of a few days, and full of trouble,* Job xiv. 1. Neither indeed can this conceit of theirs stand with that old and never contracted distinction of the Church militant and triumphant: for if this Church of Christ upon earth shall after the next return of him be freed both from Satan, who is now chained up, and from all whatsoever afflictions, with

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what warfare shall we say it is exercised for the space of a whole 1000 years? what adversary can it meet with for confliction? And if Alstedius shall tell us, that in this mean while the living saints, though not the raised, are still combated inwardly in their breasts with their rebelling corruptions, we send Mr. Archer to enter the lists with him; who offers to make good upon him, that those very saints whom our returning Saviour shall find alive are both in themselves and in their children, in all succeeding generations, freed from all the power of sin; so as, though they have an original corruption still within them, yet it shall never break forth to the prejudice of their souls. So as by this rule there should be no church in the world till towards the end of that thousand years, but triumphant; which surely a man had need of a strong faith to believe.

SECTION XXXIV.

Thirdly, that they do not entertain the thought or expectation of any other future coming of their Saviour, but that one only of his return to the final judgment of the world. Surely the blessed apostle knew of no other, when he charged Timothy *before God and the Lord Jesus, who shall judge the quick and the dead at his appearance,* to *preach the word,* 2 Tim. iv. 1, 2: when he prayed for his Thessalonians, that God would *stablish* their *hearts unblamable in holiness, at the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ with all his saints,* 1 Thess. iii. 13. Lo, if there should be imagined a third coming of Christ, we cannot say that he comes *with all his saints;* since the greatest part of them, according to this tenet, are already upon earth before him, and do rather stay for him below, than come from above with him. And, indeed, wherefore should it be imagined that the Lord Jesus should make this middle descent from heaven to earth? Great actions must have answerable motives: what necessity or use can they frame to themselves of this wonderful appearance? Is it to receive his kingdom? He hath it already: *Thou hast put all things in subjection under his feet,* saith the apostle, Heb. ii. 8: already *hath God highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above all names: that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth,* Phil. ii. 9, 10. Is it to settle the government of that his better reformed Church? It is done already: *He that descended is the same also that ascended up far above all heavens, that he might fill all things. And he gave some, to be apostles; some,*

Thirdly, to expect no other coming of Christ but that one to his final judgment.

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prophets; some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; to what purpose? *For the perfecting of the saints, &c., for the edifying of the body of Christ,* Ephes. iv. 10, 11, 12. And how long? *Till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ,* ver. 13. Is it to subdue and destroy his enemies? Hath he not infinite power in his hand to effect that without a bodily descent? When he destroyed the first world of wicked men, did he descend from heaven to do it? So then we may, with all Christian assurance, rest upon the word of his holy apostle Peter, that *the heavens must receive* him *until the restitution of all things,* Acts iii. 21: which is that of the general resurrection, as we may see by comparing of St. Peter with St. Paul, Rom. viii. 23, termed by our Saviour, *the day of our redemption:* till when (which cannot be long) we have no ground to expect our Saviour's return.

Section XXXV.

Not to put the day of the last judgment far from us: nor yet punctually to determine the time of it.

Fourthly, that we do neither, out of a credulous security, put the day of the last judgment far off from us, nor, out of a misgrounded presumption, pass our punctual predeterminations of it.

In both which extremes, these last times have been too fault-worthy. The time was, when the apostle was fain to beat off his Thessalonians from the expectation of the then instant appearing of Christ to judgment; now we have more need, after sixteen hundred years' continuance, to persuade our people of the approach of this great day. They did then believe that Christ was at the door; now we are hardly induced to believe that he is upon the way to that dreadful judicature. Surely, this operation hath this millenary doctrine had upon the hearts of men, that, though they are thereupon apt to expect an appropinquation of their Saviour for their happy advantage, yet they resolutely put off the thought of his coming to the general judgment of the world for many generations. A man hath a good estate in his farm for almost an hundred years; another, that is about to purchase the inheritance in reversion after so long a term, is told it were better to spare that cost, since in all likelihood the world would ere then be at an end: he answers, "Tush! no, the thousand years are not yet entered wherein the saints shall reign upon earth before that day." In which yet this opinionist can be no other than grossly overseen. For is he

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a saint, or is he none? if none, even the next coming of Christ destroys him, and mars his purchase: if a saint, though he make no purchase now, he shall then (according to their doctrine) live in all fulness of riches and earthly contentment. But what if that thousand years' reign be to be accomplished in heaven, not in earth, as some construe it? or if on earth, what if it be already accomplished, as others? Where is then the confidence of this delay? Certainly, notwithstanding this unhappily raised suggestion, nothing appears why we should not make full account that the world is near to its last period; and that our Lord Jesus is at hand for his final judgment. For if, in the time of the blessed apostles, it was justly computed to be the last hour, needs must it now be drawing towards the last minute: neither have we any reason to say, with the evil servant in the gospel, *the Lord defers his coming.*

It may be a question, whether it may be more out of boldness, to maintain that dilatory assertion of the last judgment which hath passed the pens of Alphonsus, Conradus, Cotterius, and others, or the confident and punctual assignation of the time of those universal sessions determined by Alstedius, Archer, and others of that way. Who can but be startled at those lines of Mr. Archer? "Now," saith he[m], "having found out when Christ's kingdom, or the thousand years, shall begin, it is easy to guess when the time of the last and general judgment and the world's end shall be." Thus he. Truly, the evidence is much alike of both: for when shall that 1000 years' reign begin? "About the year of our Lord 1700," saith he, following the steps of Alstedius; who, upon the same ground, casts it upon the year 1694: and both of them ground the epochas of their calculation upon that forementioned place of Dan. xii. 11, 12: *From the time that the daily* sacrifice *shall be taken away, and the abomination that maketh desolate set up*, there shall be *a thousand two hundred and ninety days. Blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days:* where the days, as I formerly intimated, are taken to stand for years; and, withal, it is supposed that the 1335 years are, in order of time, to take their original after the expiration of the 1290 years; and both of them to take their rise from the termination of the seventy weeks, viz. anno 169. All which put together make up the number of 2694, which is the utmost period of the 1000 years' reign of the saints: from which, therefore, if we deduce the said thousand, there must

[m] Personal Reign, p. 50.

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remain 1694, the *initium regni* of the Lord of glory here upon earth. But if either the taking away of the daily sacrifice and the desolatory abomination be not understood in that place of the act and army of the Romans; or the days there mentioned be not intended to stand for so many years, as being only to signify the short time of Antiochus's cruel persecution; or, lastly, if those two several numbers were not meant to be successive one to the other in the whole computation of them, (which learned Calvin plainly censures for a vain and groundless conceit,) all this aim and labour is lost; and we are yet to seek where to pitch the account either for beginning or termination. Shortly, what heed is to be given to this reckoning appears in that first parcel of it which concerns the total conversion of the Jews; which Mr. Archer, with the like confidence, places upon 1650, now entered upon by our almanacks, or at the farthest 1656: wherein we see his prognostication fails him, and his prediction is sufficiently checked by the event. No otherwise than Mr. Brightman's: by whose account the Turkish tyranny should have lasted but seven years after he wrote his "Revelation;" whereas now near forty years are since passed, and that empire holds up still in too much vigour, without any appearance of diminution.

What should I need to show how others, both of our countrymen and foreigners, who thought themselves wiser than their fellows, have been shamefully baffled in their fore-determining of the last day of the world; which themselves have been suffered to overlive? It will well become modest Christians to rest in revealed truths; and leave the unlocking of the secret cabinets of the Almighty to the only key of his divine wisdom and omniscience: as remembering the words of our Saviour; *Of that day and hour knoweth no man; no, not the angels of heaven.*

Let it be our care to be ever in a perpetual posture of readiness for that awful and glorious coming of our Lord and Saviour, whensoever it shall be; and to see that our accounts be set right for that great audit: so shall we meet our returning Master with a comfortable and happy assurance; and hear from him that blessed *Euge, Well done, good and faithful servant, enter into thy Master's joy.*

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THE PEACE OF ROME,

PROCLAIMED TO ALL THE WORLD

BY HER FAMOUS

CARDINAL BELLARMINE,

AND THE NO LESS FAMOUS CASUIST

NAVARRE.

WHEREOF THE ONE ACKNOWLEDGETH AND NUMBERS UP
ABOVE THREE HUNDRED DIFFERENCES OF OPINION
MAINTAINED IN THE POPISH CHURCH.

THE OTHER CONFESSES
NEAR THREESCORE DIFFERENCES AMONGST THEIR OWN DOCTORS
IN ONE ONLY POINT OF THEIR RELIGION.

GATHERED FAITHFULLY OUT OF THEIR WRITINGS,
IN THEIR OWN WORDS;

AND DIVIDED INTO FOUR BOOKS, AND THOSE INTO SEVERAL DECADES.

WHERETO IS PREFIXED

A SERIOUS DISSUASIVE FROM POPERY.

BY J. H.

LONDON, 1609.

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A SERIOUS

DISSUASIVE FROM POPERY.

TO W. D. [W. DRURY.] REVOLTED, &c.

You challenged me for my bold assertion of your manifold divisions: I do here make it good, with usury.

Those mouths that say they teach you the truth, say also, and you have believed them, that they all teach the same. As you find them true in this, so trust them in the other.

For me, I cannot, without indignation, see, that in this light of the gospel God and his truth should thus be losers by you; and that a miserable soul should suffer itself, thus grossly cozened of itself and glory. Many can write to you with more profoundness; none with more sincere fervency, and desire to save you.

I call heaven and earth to record against you this day, that, if you relent or answer not, your perishing is wilful. We may pity your weakness, but God shall plague your apostasy. If you had been bred in blindness, your ignorance had been but lamentable; now, your choice and love of darkness is fearful and desperate.

Alas! you cannot be condemned without our sorrow and shame. What should we do? We can but entreat, persuade, protest, mourn, and gage our souls for yours: if these avail not, who can remedy that which will perish? Hear this yet, you weak revolter, if there be any care left in you of that soul which you have thus prostituted to error; if you have any regard to that God whose simple truth you have contemned and forsaken. What is this that hath driven you from us, allured you to them? For God's sake let me but expostulate a little, ere my silence. Either be convicted, or inexcusable.

Our bad lives have set you off: woe is me that they are no holier! I bewail our wickedness: I defend it not.

Only ask how they live in Italy: if they be not, for the more part, filths to the worst of ours, go with them and prosper. Let all indifferent tongues say, whether that very see, whereon your faith depends, even within the smoke of his holiness, be not, for viciousness, the sink of the world. We may condemn ourselves: their lives shall justify us.

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But you list not to look so far: you see their lives at home; you see ours:—the comparison is not equal: they take this, for the time of their persecution; we, of our prosperity. The stubbornest Israelite and the most godless mariner could call upon God in his trouble. We are all worse with liberty. Look back, and see how they lived in former times while they prospered: "no Turks," saith Erasmus, "more abominably;" though now, at the worst, how many holy professors might you find which would scorn that the most strict hermit or austere capucin should go before them in a gracious life, and in true mortification! Even amongst twelve, there will be one devil. I wish they were so good that we might emulate them; but, for my part, I never yet could know that papist which made conscience of all God's ten moral laws.

Shortly, whatsoever is upbraided to us; the truth is pure, though men be unholy; and God is where he was, whatsoever becomes of men.

For you, if you had not fallen to cool affections and a loose life, you had been still ours. It is just with God to punish your secure negligence with error and delusion; and to suffer you thus to lose the truth, who had lost your care of obedience and first love. And now you do well to shift off this blame to others' sins, which have most cause to accuse your own.

From manners to look towards our doctrine: the novelty of our religion, you say, hath discouraged you: theirs hath drawn you with the reverence of her age.

It is a free challenge betwixt us: let the elder have us both. If there be any point of our religion younger than the patriarchs and prophets, Christ and his apostles, the fathers and doctors of the primitive Church, let it be accursed, and condemned for an upstart. Show us evidence of more credit and age, and carry it.

The church of Rome hath been ancient; not the errors: neither do we in aught differ from it, wherein it is not departed from itself.

If I did not more fear your weariness than my own, forgetting the measure of a preface, I would pass through every point of difference betwixt us, and let you see in all particulars which is the old way; and make you know that your popish religion doth put on a borrowed visor of gravity upon this stage, to outface true antiquity: yet, lest you should complain of words, let me, without your tediousness, have leave but to instance in the

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first of all controversies betwixt us; offering the same proof in all, which you shall see performed in one. I compare the judgment of the ancient Church with yours: see, therefore, and be ashamed of your novelty.

First, our question is, Whether all those books which in our Bibles are styled Apocryphal, and are put after the rest by themselves[a], are to be received as the true scriptures of God:—

Hear, first, the voice of the old church.

To let pass that clear and pregnant testimony of Melito Sardensis, in his Epistle to Onesimus, cited by Eusebius[b]; let Cyprian, or Ruffinus rather[c], speak in the name of all: "Of the Old Testament," saith he, "first were written the five books of Moses; Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy: after these, the book of Joshua, the son of Nun; and that of the Judges, together with Ruth: after which were the four books of the Kings, which the Hebrews reckon but two; of the Chronicles, which is called the Book of Days; and of Ezra are two books, which of them are accounted but single; and the book of Esther: of the prophets, there is Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel; and besides, one book, which contains the twelve smaller prophets: also Job, and the Psalms of David, are single books: of Solomon, there are three books delivered to the Church; the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs. In these, they have shut up the number of the books of the Old Testament. Of the New, there are four Gospels; of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John: the Acts of the Apostles, written by Luke: of Paul, the apostle, fourteen Epistles: of the apostle Peter, two Epistles: of James, the Lord's brother and apostle, one: of Jude, one: of John, three: lastly, the Revelation of John. These are they, which the fathers have accounted within the canon, by which they would have the assertions of our faith made good. But we must know there are other books, which are called of the ancients, not canonical, but ecclesiastical; as the Wisdom of Solomon: and another book of Wisdom, which is called 'of Jesus, the Son of Sirach;' which book, of the Latins is termed by a general name Ecclesiasticus: of the same rank is the book of Toby and Judith, and the books of the Mac-

[a] Especially Toby, Judith, Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, Maccabees.

[b] Euseb. l. iv. c. 26. [ed. Burton, 1856.]

[c] Primi omnium Mosis quinque libri, &c.....Hæc sunt, quæ Patres intra Canonem concluserunt, ex quibus fidei nostræ assertiones, &c. Alii libri sunt, qui non canonici, &c. Exposit. Symboli Veteris Instrumenti. [Symb. Ruff. tom. iv. p. 112. ed. Basil. 1537.]

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cabces." Thus far that father. So Jerome, after that he hath reckoned up the same number of books with us in their order, hath these words: "This Prologue of mine," saith he[d], "may serve as a well defenced entrance to all the books which I have turned out of Hebrew into Latin; that we may know, that whatsoever is besides these is apocryphal: therefore that book which is entitled Solomon's Wisdom, and the book of Jesus the Son of Sirach, and Judith, and Tobias, and Pastor, are not canonical. The first book of the Maccabees I have found in Hebrew; the second is Greek: which book," saith he, "indeed the Church readeth, but receiveth not as canonical." The same reckoning is made by Origen, in Eusebius[e], word for word: the same, by Epiphanius, by Cyril, by Athanasius, Gregory Nazianzen, Damascen, yea, by Lyranus, both Hugoes[f], Cajetan, Carthusian, and Montanus himself, &c.

All of them, with full consent, rejecting these same apocryphal books with us.

Now hear the present Church of Rome in her own words, thus:

"The holy synod of Trent hath thought good to set down, with this decree, a just catalogue of the books of Holy Scripture; lest any man should make doubt which they be which are received by the synod: and they are these, underwritten: of the Old Testament, five books of Moses; then Joshua, the Judges, Ruth, four books of the Kings, two of the Chronicles; two of Esdras, the first, and the second which is called Nehemias; Tobias, Judith, Esther, Job; the Psalter of David, containing one hundred and fifty psalms; the Proverbs of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, the Book of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Isaiah, Jeremiah, &c. two books of the Maccabees, the first and the second. And if any man shall not receive these whole books, with all the parts of them, as they are wont to be read in the Catholic Church, and as

[d] Hic Prologus scripturam quasi galeatum principium omnibus libris, quos de Hebræo, &c. Ut scire valeamus, quicquid extra hos est, inter Apocrypha esse ponendum: igitur Sapientia, quæ vulgo Salomonis inscribitur, et Jesu, &c. non sunt in Canone, &c. In Prologo Galeato. tom. iii. p. 6. [Hieron. in Lib. Regg. Præfatio. ed. Basil. tom. iii. 1536.]

[e] [Οὐκ ἀγνοητέον δ' εἶναι τὰς ἐνδιαθήκους βίβλους ὡς Ἑβραῖοι παραδιδόασιν δύο καὶ εἴκοσι.] Haud ignorandum autem fuerit, Veteris Instrum. libros sicut Hebræi tradunt 22. Ἀρχαίας μὲν ἴθηκα, &c. δύω καὶ εἴκοσι βίβλους.— Euseb. l. vi. c. 25.

[f] Hæc sunt Apocrypha; Jesus, Sapientia, Pastor, et Maccabæorum libri, Judith atque Tobia.— Hugo Card. [Postilla, Paris. 1530.]

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they are had in the Old Vulgar Latin edition, for holy and canonical, let him be accursed[g]." Thus she.

Judge you now of our age; and say, whether the opinion of the ancient Church (that is, ours) be not a direct enemy to popery, and flatly accursed by the Romish.

Pass on yet a little further.

Our question is, whether the Hebrew and Greek originals be corrupted; and whether those first copies of Scriptures be not to be followed above all translations:—

Hear first the ancient Church, with us.

"But," saith St. Augustin[h], "howsoever it be taken; whether it be believed to be so done or not believed; or, lastly, whether it were so or not so; I hold it a right course, that when any thing is found different in either books," the Hebrew and Septuagint, "since, for the certainty of things done, there can be but one truth, that tongue should rather be believed from whence the translation is made into another language." Upon which words Ludovicus Vives, yet a papist, saith thus: "The same," saith he[i], "doth Jerome proclaim every where, and reason itself teacheth it; and there is none of sound judgment that will gainsay it: but in vain doth the consent of all good wits teach this; for the stubborn blockishness of men opposeth against it." Let Jerome himself, then, a greater linguist, be heard speak: "And if there be any man," saith he[k], "that will say the Hebrew books were afterwards corrupted of the Jews, let him hear Origen, what he answers in the eighth volume of his Explanations of Isaiah to this question: That the Lord and his apostles, which reprove other faults in the Scribes and Pharisees, would never have been

[g] Sacrorum vero librorum indicem huic decreto adscribendum censuit, &c.: Sunt autem infra-scripti: Testamenti Veteris quinque libri Mosis, &c. Tobias, Judith, Sapientia Salomonis, Ecclesiasticus, Maccab. 2. Si quis autem libros ipsos integros, cum omnibus suis partibus, prout in Ecclesia Catholica legi consueverunt, et in Veteri Vulgata Latina editione habentur, pro Sacris et Canonicis non susceperit, [et traditiones prædictas sciens et prudens contempserit.] anathema sit — Concil. Trident. Decr. de Canon. Scrip. 8 April. promul. in 4 Sessione.

[h] Sed quomodolibet istud accipiatur, &c. Ei linguæ potius credatur, unde est in aliam [per interpretes] facta translatio.—Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. xv. c. 13.

[i] Hoc ipsum Hieronymus clamat, ubique; hoc ipsum docet ratio, &c. sed, frustra consensus bonorum ingeniorum hoc docet [censet].—Ludovic. Vives, ibid. [August. Op. tom. v. p. 183, Paris. 1531.]

[k] Quod si aliquis dixerit Hebræos libros postea a Judæis falsatos, &c.—Sin autem dixerint post adventum Domini Salvatoris, &c. Hebræos libros fuisse falsatos, cachinnum tenere non potero, ut Salvator [et evangelistæ et apostoli ita testimonium protulerunt ut Judæi postea falsaturi erant].—Hieron. l. iii. [cap. 16.] Com. in Esaiam.

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silent in this, which were the greatest crime that could be. But if they say that the Hebrews falsified them after the coming of Christ and preaching of the apostles, I cannot hold from laughter, that our Saviour and the evangelists and apostles should so cite testimonies of scripture as the Jews would afterwards deprave them." Thus Jerome. And the canon law itself hath this determination: "That the truth and credit of the books of the Old Testament should be examined by the Hebrew volumes; of the New, by the Greek[l]." And pope Innocentius, as he is cited by Gratian[m], could say, "Have recourse to the divine scriptures in their original Greek." The same, lastly, by Bellarmine's own confession[n], "The Fathers teach every where, as Jerome in his book against Helvidius, and in his epistle to Marcella, that the Latin edition of the gospel is to be called back to the Greek fountains; and the Latin edition of the Old Testament is to be amended by the Hebrew; in his Comment upon Zechariah, chap. viii." The very same hath Austin in his second book of Christian Doctrine, chap. xi. xii. xv. and Epist. xix. and elsewhere.

This was the old religion and ours.

Now hear the new.

The present Church of Rome hath thus: "The holy synod decreeth, that the old vulgar Latin edition in all lectures, disputations, sermons, expositions, be held for authentical," saith the council of Trent[o]. And her champion, Bellarmine, hath these words: "That the fountain of the originals in many places runs muddy and impure, we have formerly showed: and indeed, it can scarce be doubted but that, as the Latin Church hath been more constant in keeping the faith than the Greek, so it hath been more vigilant in defending her books from corruption[p]." Yea, some of the popish doctors maintain that the Jews, in hatred of the Christian faith, did, on purpose, corrupt many places of scripture: so holds Gregory de Valentia, Jacobus Christopolitanus in his Preface to the Psalms, Canus in the second book of his Common-Places[q]. But, instead of all, Bellarmine shall shut up all

[l] Ut veterum librorum fides de Hebræis voluminibus examinanda est, ita novorum Græci sermonis normam desiderat.—Decr. p. 1. dist. 9. c. 6. *Ut veterum.*

[m] Ad divina recurre scripta Græca.—Decr. p. 1. dist. 20. c. 3.

[n] Accedit quod patres passim docent, ad fontes Hebræos et Græcos esse recurrendum: et Hieron. in lib. contr. Helvid. et in Epist. ad Marcellam, &c.—Bellar. l. de Verb. Dei, ii. cap. 11. sect. 3.

[o] Sacrosancta synodus statuit, ut hæc ipsa vetus, &c. pro authentica habeatur —Concil. Trid. sess. 4.

[p] Nunc autem fontes multis in locis turbidos fluere, &c.—Bell. de Verb. l. ii. c. 11.

[q] Omnino contendunt Judæos in odi-

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with these words: "The heretics of this time, in hatred of the vulgar edition, give too much to the Hebrew edition; as Calvin, Chemnitius, Georgius Major: all which would have every thing examined and amended by the Hebrew text, which they commonly call a most pure fountain[r]."

See now whether that which Bellarmine confesses to have been the judgment of Jerome, Austin, and all the ancient fathers, be not here condemned by him, as the opinion of the heretics. Ours was theirs; and theirs is condemned under our names. Judge whether in this also popery be not an upstart.

Yet one step more.

Our question is, Whether the scripture be easy or most obscure; and whether, in all essential points, it do not interpret itself; so as what is hard in one place is openly laid forth in another?—

Hear the judgment of the old church and ours.

"All things are clear and plain, and nothing contrary in the scriptures," saith Epiphanius[s]. "Those things which seem doubtfully and obscurely spoken in some places of scripture are expounded by them which in other places are open and plain," saith Basil[t]. What could Calvin and Luther say more? "There is no so great hardness in the scriptures, to come to those things which are necessary to salvation," saith Austin[u]. "In those things which are openly laid down in scripture are found all those things which contain our faith and rules for our life," saith the same father[x]; who yet again also saith thus[y]: "The Spirit of God hath royally and wholesomely tempered the holy scriptures so, as both by the plain places he might prevent our hunger, and by the obscure he might avoid our nice slothfulness: for there is scarce any thing that can be fetched out of those obscurities

um Christianæ relig. studiose depravasse: ita docet Jacobus Christopolitanus et Canus, &c.—Bell. ii. de Verb. Dei, p. 100. So Raynolds, in his Refutation, p. 303, against Isaac Valla, Andradius, Monta, &c.

[r] Hæretici hujus temporis, odio editionis Vulgatæ, nimium tribuunt editioni Hebraicæ, &c. omnia examinari volunt ad Hebræum textum, quem, non semel, purissimum fontem appellant.—Bell. de Verbo Dei, l. ii. c. 2. [Ed. Ingolst. 1596, p. 87.]

[s] Omnia sunt clara et lucida, &c. [Πάντα γὰρ σαφῆ τῇ θειᾷ γραφῇ &c.]—Epiphan. contra Anomœos. Hæres. 76.

[t] Quæ ambigue et obscure videntur dici in quibusdam locis sacræ script. et reg. 267.—Basil. in Ascet. or Regul. Breviores.

[u] Non tanta in scripturis difficultate, pervenitur ad ea, quæ necessaria sunt saluti, &c. [Non quod ad ea quæ necessaria sunt saluti tanta in eis perveniatur difficultate, Ep. 137. § 3. ed. Bened. 1638.]—Aug. Ep. 3.

[x] In iis, quæ aperte in scriptura posita sunt, inveniuntur illa omnia, quæ continent fidem moresque vivendi.—Aug. de Doctr. Christ. l. ii. c. 9. [14.]

[y] Magnifice et salubriter Spirit. Sanct. ita script. &c.—De Doctr. Christ. lib. ii. cap. 6. [8.]

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which is not found most plainly spoken elsewhere." And because Bellarmine takes exception at this *fere*, "scarce," compare this place with the former, and with that which he hath in his third epistle thus[z]: "The manner of speech in which the scripture is contrived is easy to be come to of all, although it be throughly attained by few. Those things which it containeth plain and easy, it speaks like a familiar friend without guile to the heart of the learned and unlearned, &c. But it invites all men with an humble manner of speech, whom it doth not only feed with manifest truth, but exercise with secret, having the same in readiness which it hath in secrecy." Thus Austin. To omit Irenæus and Origen: Chrysostom, whom Bellarmine saith we allege alone for us, besides many other plain places, writeth thus[a]: "Who is there to whom all is not manifest which is written in the gospel? Who that shall hear, *Blessed are the meek, Blessed are the merciful, Blessed are the pure in heart*, and the rest, would desire a teacher to learn any of these things which are here spoken? As also the signs, miracles, histories, are not they known and manifest to every man? This pretence and excuse is but the cloak of our slothfulness. Thou understandest not those things which are written: how shouldest thou understand them which wilt not so much as slightly look into them? Take the book into thy hand: read all the history; and what thou knowest remember, and what is obscure run often over it." So Chrysostom. Yea, he makes this difference betwixt the philosophers and apostles: "The philosophers speak obscurely; but the apostles and prophets," saith he[b], "contrarily, make all things, delivered by them clear and manifest; and, as the common teachers of the world, have so expounded all things, that every man may of himself, by bare reading, learn those things which are spoken." Yea, lastly, so far he goes in this point, as that he asketh[c], "Wherefore needs a preacher? all things are clear and plain in the divine

[z] Modus ipse dicendi quo sancta scriptura, &c. Sed invitat omnes humili sermone, &c.—Aug. Epist. 3. [137. § 18.]

[a] Cui non sunt manifesta, quæcunque in Evangel. &c.? Quomodo possis intelligere, quæ ne leviter quidem inspicere velis, &c.? Sume librum in manus: lege, &c. [τίνι γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι δῆλα, &c. ed. Bened. tom. i. p. 740.]—Chrysost. Hom. iii. de Lazaro.

[b] Apostoli vero et prophetæ omnia, contra, fecerunt manifesta claraque: quæ prodiderunt, exposuerunt nobis, veluti communes orbis doctores, ut, per se, quisque discere possit ea, quæ dicuntur, ex sola lectione.—Citat. ab ipso Bellarm. Chrys. Hom. 3. de Laz. [ut supra, p. 739.]

[c] Quamobrem opus est concionatore? omnia sunt plana ex scripturis divinis: sed quia delicatuli estis, &c.—Hom. 3. in 2 Thess. [τί γὰρ χρεία δμιλητοῦ. Ed. Ben. tom. xi. p. 528.]

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scriptures: but, because ye are delicate hearers, and seek delight in hearing, therefore ye seek for preachers."

You have heard the old religion, now hear the new.

Bellarmine hath these words[d]: "It must needs be confessed, that the scriptures are most obscure." "Here therefore," saith he[e], "Luther hath devised two evasions: one, that the scripture, though it be obscure in one place, yet that it doth clearly propound the same thing in another: the second is, that though the scripture be clear of itself, yet to the proud and unbelievers it is hard, by reason of their blindness and evil affections." So, "The Lutherans," saith Eckius[f], "contend that the scriptures are clear and plain." So, Duræus against Whitakerus[g]. So, the Rhemists, in their Annotations[h]; and, generally, all papists.

Judge now if all these forenamed fathers, and so the ancient Church, were not Lutherans in this point; or, rather, we theirs: and yield that this their old opinion, by the new Church of Rome, is condemned for heretical; and in all these, say, upon your soul, whether is the elder?

Let me draw you on yet a little farther.

Our question is, Whether it be necessary or fit, that all men, even of the laity, should have liberty to hear and read the scriptures in a language which they understand.

Hear, first, the voice of the old religion.

To omit the direct charges of Gregory Nyssen[i] and Ambrose[k], thus hath Jerome upon the Psalms[l]: "The Lord will declare: and how will he declare? not by word, but by writing: in whose writing? in the writing of his people, &c. Our Lord and Saviour therefore tells us, and speaketh in the scriptures of his princes. Our Lord will declare it to us in the scriptures of his people, in the holy scriptures: which scripture is read to all the people;

[d] Necessario fatendum est scripturas esse obscurissimas.—Bellarm. lib. iii. de Verbo, cap. 1. [Ingoldst. 1596, tom. i. p. 162.]

[e] Lutherus duo effugia excogitavit; unum, quod scriptura etiamsi alicubi obscura, tamen illud idem alibi clare proponat, &c. ibid. sect. 2.

[f] Lutherani contendunt scripturas sacras esse claras.—Eckius in Enchirid. c. 4. [Ed. Col. Agr. 1600, p. 66.]

[g] Duræus. contr. Whitak. lib. vi. (tom. i. p. 143, sect. 5. in Whitakeri Opera, Genevæ, 1610.—A.)

[h] Rhemists in 2 Pet. iii. 16. and in their preface at large, &c.

[i] Homil. in 4. Dominic. ad Epiphan.

[k] Amb. ser. 35.

[l] Dominus narrabit: et quomodo narrabit? non verbo; sed scriptura: in cujus scriptura? in populorum, &c. Dominus narrabit in scripturis populorum, in scripturis sanctis: quæ scriptura populis omnibus legitur; hoc est, ut omnes intelligant; non ut pauci intelligerent, sed ut omnes.—Hieron. in Psal. lxxxvi. [Paris. 1699. tom. ii. p. 350.]

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that is, so read as that all may understand; not that a few may understand, but all." "What faithful man," saith Augustin[m], "though he be but a novice before he be baptized and have received the Holy Ghost, doth not with an equal mind read and hear all things which, after the ascension of our Lord, are written in canonical truth and authority, although as yet he understands them not as he ought?" But, of all other, St. Chysostom is every where most vehement and direct in this point: amongst infinite places, hear what he saith in one of his Homilies of Lazarus: "I do always exhort, and will never cease to exhort you," saith he[n], "that you will not here only attend to those things which are spoken, but when you are at home you continually busy yourselves in reading of the holy scriptures: which practice also I have not ceased to drive into them which come privately to me. For let no man say, "Tush, they are but idle words, and many of them such as should be contemned: alas! I am taken up with law causes; I am employed in public affairs; I follow my trade; I maintain a wife and children, and have a great charge to look to: it is not for me to read the scriptures, but for them which have cast off the world, which have taken up the solitary tops of mountains for their dwellings, which live this contemplative kind of life continually." What sayest thou, O man? Is it not for thee to turn over the scriptures, because thou art distracted with infinite cares? Nay, then it is for thee more than for them; for they do not so much need the help of the scriptures as you, that are tost in the midst of the waves of worldly business." And soon after[o]: "Neither can it be possible that any man should without great fruit be perpetually conversant in this spiritual exercise of reading." And straight[p]: "Let us not neglect to buy ourselves books, lest we receive a wound in our vital parts." And after he hath compared the books of scripture to gold, he addeth[q]: "But what, say they, if we understand not those things

[m] Omnia, quæ post ascens. &c. quis fidelis, vel etiam catechumenus antequam Spiritum Sanctum baptizatus accipiat, non æquo animo, &c. Aug. Tract. in Joh. 96. and to the same purpose, l. ii. de Doct. Christ. c. 8.

[n] Semper hortor, et hortari non desinam, ut non hic tantum attendatis, &c. 'Ego forensibus causis affixus sum, &c. . . uxorem alo et liberos: familiæ curam gero, &c. . .qui montium vertices occuparunt, &c.' Quid ais, homo? Non est tui negotii, scripturas evolvere, &c. Imo tuum magis est, quam illorum, &c. [Ed. Ben. tom. i. p. 737, 8, 9. καὶ τοῦτο ἀεὶ παρακαλῶ, &c.]—Chrys. Hom. 3. de Lazar.

[o] Neque nunc fieri potest, ut quisquam, &c.

[p] Ne negligamus nobis parare libros, &c.

[q] Quid igitur, inquiunt, &c. . .publi-

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which are contained in those books? what gain we then? Yes, surely, though thou dost not understand those things which are there laid up, yet by the very reading much holiness is got: although it cannot be that thou shouldest be alike ignorant of all thou readest; for therefore hath the Spirit of God so dispensed this word, that publicans, fishers, tentmakers, shepherds, and goatherds, plain unlettered men, may be saved by these books; lest any of the simpler sort should pretend this excuse, "That all things which are said should be easy to discern; and that the workman, the servant, the poor widow, and the most unlearned of all other, by hearing of the word read, might get some gain and profit." And the same father elsewhere: "I beseech you," saith he[r], "that you come speedily hither; and hearken diligently to the reading of the holy scriptures; and not only when you come hither, but also at home take the Bible into your hands, and by your diligent care reap the profit contained in it." Lastly, in his Homilies upon the Epistle to the Colossians, he cries out[s], "Hear, I beseech you, O all ye secular men; provide you Bibles, which are the medicines for the soul; at least, get the New Testament."

Now, on the contrary, let the new religion of Rome speak; first, by her Rhemish Jesuits, thus: "We may not think that the translated Bibles into the vulgar tongues were in the hands of every husbandman, artificer, prentice, boy, girl, mistress, maid, man; that they were sung, played, alleged of every tinker, taverner, rhymer, minstrel[t]." The like words of scorn and disgrace are used by Hosius, and by Eckius; and by Bellarm. de Verb. l. ii. c. 15. "The wise will not here regard," say our Rhemists, "what some wilful people do mutter, that the scriptures are made for all men," &c. And soon after, they compare the scriptures to fire, water, candles, knives, swords; which are indeed needful, &c., but would mar all, if they were at the guiding of other than wise men. "All the heretics of this time," saith Bellarmine[u],

cani, piscatores, tabernaculorum opifices, pastores, et apostoli, idiotæ illiterati, &c. Note, that which is read in Chrysostom, ἀποστόλους, in some better copies is αἰπόλους, which signifies goatherds, more agreeable to the place. Ut et famulus, et vidua mulier, et omnium hominum indoctissimus, exaudita lectione, aliquid lucri utilitatisque reportet.

[r] Obsecro, ut subinde huc veniatis, &c. —Hom. in Gen. 29. [Ed. Ben. tom. iv. p. 281.]

[s] Audite, obsecro, seculares omnes, &c.—In Coloss. Hom. 9. [Ed. Ben. t. xi. p. 390 ἀκούσατε ὅσοι ἐστὲ κοσμικοί, &c.]

[t] Rhemists, in their Preface to their Testament.

[u] Hæretici hujus temporis omnes in eo conveniunt, ut oporteat scripturas

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"agree that the scriptures should be permitted to all, and delivered in their own mother tongue. But the Catholic Church forbids the reading of the scriptures by all, without choice; or the public reading or singing of them in vulgar tongues; as it is decreed in the Council of Trent, Sess. 22. c. 8, and can. 9." "If you think," saith Duræus[x], "that Christ bade all Christians to search the scriptures, you are in a gross error. For how shall rude and ignorant men search the scriptures?" &c. And so he concludes that the scriptures were not given to the common multitude of believers.

Judge now what either we say, or these papists condemn, besides the ancient judgment of the fathers; and if ever either Calvin or Luther have been more peremptory in this matter than St. Chrysostom[y], I vow to be a papist. If ours be not in this the old religion, be not you ours.

Yet this one passage further, and then no more, lest I weary you.

Our question is, Whether the scriptures depend upon the authority of the Church, or rather the Church upon the authority of scriptures?—

Hear first the ancient Church, with and for us.

"The question is," saith St. Austin[z], "betwixt us and the Donatists, where the Church is. What shall we do then? shall we seek her in our own words, or in the words of her Head, the Lord Jesus Christ? I suppose we ought to seek her rather in his words, which is the truth, and knows best his own body; for the Lord knows who are his. We will not have the Church sought in our words." And in the same book; "Whether the Donatists hold the Church," saith the same father[a], "let them not show but by the canonical books of divine scriptures. For neither do we therefore say they should believe us, that we are in the Church of Christ, because Optatus or Ambrose hath commended

omnibus permittere, imo et tradere in sua lingua, &c. At Catholica Ecclesia, &c. prohibet ne passim omnibus sine discrimine concedatur ejusmodi lectio, &c. [ut supra, p. 139.]—Bellarm. de Verb. lib. ii. cap. 15.

[x] Si Christianis omnibus ut Scripturas scrutentur a Christo dictum esse intelligis, in magno certe errore, &c... Promiscuæ fidelium turbæ, &c. [Whitak. Op. tom. i. p. 143.]—Duræus contra Whit. lib. vi.

[y] Basil. Ep. 82.

[z] Inter nos autem et Donatistas quæstio est, ubi sit Ecclesia: quid ergo facturi sumus? in verbis nostris eam quæsituri, &c.—Aug. de Unitate Ecclesiæ, sive Epist. contra Petilianum Donatistam, cap. 2. [Ed. Ben. tom. ix. p. 338.]

[a] Utrum ipsi Ecclesiam teneant, non nisi divinarum scripturarum canonicis libris ostendant, &c.—Aug. ibid. cap. 19. [Ed. Ben. ut supra p. 373.]

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this Church unto us, which we now hold; or because it is acknowledged by the councils of our fellow-teachers; or because so great miracles are done in it: it is not therefore manifested to be true and catholic: but the Lord Jesus himself judged that his disciples should rather be confirmed by the testimonies of the Law and the Prophets: these are the rules of our cause: these are the foundations: these are the confirmations." And upon the Psalms, "Lest thou shouldst err," saith the same Augustin[b], "in thy judgment of the Church; lest any man should say to thee, 'This is Christ,' which is not Christ; or, 'This is the Church,' which is not the Church: for many, &c.; hear the voice of the Shepherd himself, which is clothed in flesh, &c. He shows himself to thee; handle him, and see. He shows his Church, lest any man should deceive thee under the name of the Church," &c. Yet Chrysostom more directly, thus[c]: "He that would know which is the true Church of Christ, whence may he know it in the similitude of so great confusion, but only by the scriptures? Now the working of miracles is altogether ceased; yea, they are rather found to be feignedly wrought of them which are but false Christians. Whence then shall he know it, but only by the scriptures? The Lord Jesus therefore, knowing what great confusion of things would be in the last days, therefore commands that those which are Christians, and would receive confirmation of their true faith, should fly to nothing but to the scriptures. Otherwise, if they fly to any other help, they shall be offended and perish, not understanding which is the true Church.

This is the old faith.

Now hear the new, contradicting it and us.

"The scripture," saith Eckius[d] a popish doctor, "is not authentical, without the authority of the Church: for the canonical writers are members of the Church. Whereupon let it be objected to an heretic, that will strive against the decrees of the Church, by what weapons he will fight against the Church; he will say, 'By the canonical scriptures of the four gospels, and Paul's epistles.' Let it be straight objected to him, how he

[b] Ne in Ecclesia errares, ne quis, &c. Multi enim dixerunt carnem non habuisse: ostendit, &c. Aug. in Ps. lxix. in illa verba, Omnes qui quærunt te, &c. [Ed Ben. tom. iv. p. 715.] So Ep. 166, and in Ps. lvii. &c.

[c] Qui vult cognoscere quæ sit vera Ecclesia Christi, unde cognoscet nisi, &c.—Chrysost. Hom. in Matth. 49.

[d] Scriptura non est authentica, sine authoritate Ecclesiæ: scriptores enim canonici sunt membra Ecclesiæ. Unde, heretico, volenti contendere, &c.—Eckius in Enchirid. c. De Ecclesia. [Ed. Col. Agr. 1600. p. 18.]

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knows these to be canonical but by the Church." And, a while after, "The scripture," saith he[e], "defined in a council, *It seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, that you abstain from things offered to idols, and blood, and strangled.* The Church, by her authority, altered a thing so clearly defined and expressed: for it useth both strangled and blood. Behold, the power of the Church is above the scripture." Thus Eckius. And besides Cusanus, Bellarmine saith[f] thus: "If we take away the authority of the present Church, and of the present council" of Trent, "all the decrees of all other councils and the whole Christian faith may be called into doubt." And in the same place, a little after[g]: "The strength of all ancient councils and the certainty of all opinions depends on the authority of the present Church."

You have heard both speak: say now, with whom is true antiquity; and, on God's name, detest the newer of both.

It were as easy to bring the same, if not greater evidence, for the perfection and all-sufficiency of scripture: and so to deliver all the body of our religion by the tongues and pens of the fathers, that either you must be forced to hold them novelists with us, or yourselves such against them. How honest and ingenuous is that confession of your Erasmus! who, in his epistle to the bishop and cardinal of Mentz, could say[h], "It is plainly found, that many things in Luther's books are condemned for heretical which in the books of Bernard and Austin are read for holy and orthodox."

This is too much for a taste. If your appetite stand to it, I dare promise you full dishes. Let me therefore appeal to you, if light and darkness be more contrary than these points of your religion to true antiquity. No, no: let your authors gloze as they list, popery is but a young faction, corruptly raised out of ancient grounds. And if it have, as we grant, some ancient errors, falsehood cannot be bettered with age. There is no pre-

[e] Scriptura definit in Concilio, Visum est Spiritui Sancto, &c. rem tam clare definitam et expressam, Ecclesia, sua authoritate, mutavit, &c. Ecce potestas Ecclesiæ super scriptura.—Eckius ibidem. [p. 20.]

[f] Si tollamus authoritatem præsentis Ecclesiæ et præsentis concilii, in dubium revocari poterunt omnium aliorum conciliorum decreta, et tota fides Christiana, &c.—Bell. de Effectu Sacr. l. ii. c. 25. p. 300. [Ingolst. 1597. tom. ii. p. 243.]

[g] Omnium dogmatum firmitas, &c. [Ibid.] So Pigh. l. i. de Hier. Ec. [c. iii.] Stapl. l. ix. Princ. Doct. c. 1.

[h] Compertum est ab his damnata, ut hæretica, in Lutheri libris, quæ in Bernardi Augustinique libris, ut orthodoxa, imo ut pia leguntur.—Eras. Epist. ad [Albertum] Card. Mogunt. p. 401. [Lib. xii. Ep. 10. Lond. 1642. p. 585.]

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scription against God and truth. What we can prove to be erroneous, we need not prove new. Some hundreds of years is an idle plea against the Ancient of Days.

What can you plead yet more for your change?

Their numbers, perhaps, and our handfuls. You heard all the world was theirs; scarce any corner ours. How could you but suspect a few?

These are but idle brags. We dare and can share equally with them in Christendom. And if we could not, this rule will teach you to advance Turcism above Christianity; and paganism above that: the world above the Church; hell above heaven. If any proof can be drawn from numbers, he that knows all says the best are fewest.

What then could stir you? Our divisions, and their unity?—

If this my following labour do not make it good to all the world, that their peace is less than ours, their dissension more, by the confession of their own mouths, be you theirs still, and let me follow you. I stand not upon the scoldings of priests and Jesuits; nor the late Venetian jars; nor the pragmatical differences now on foot, in the view of all Christendom, betwixt their own cardinals in their sacred conclave, and all their clergy, concerning the pope's temporal power: neither do I call any friend to be our advocate: none but Bellarmine and Navarrus shall be my orators; and if these plead not this cause enough, let it fall. See here dangerous rifts and flaws; not in the outward bark only, but in the very heart and pith of your religion: and if so many be confessed by one or two, what might be gathered out of all? and if so many be acknowledged, think how many there are that lurk in secret, and will not be confessed? How loath would we be, after all exclamations, that your busy Jesuits could rake out so many confessed quarrels out of all our authors, as I have here found in two of yours! We want only their cunning secresy in the carriage of our quarrels. Our few and slight differences are blazoned abroad with infamy and offence: their hundreds are craftily smothered in silence.

Let your own eyes satisfy you in this, not my pen: see now what you would never believe.

What is it then that could thus bewitch you to forsake the comely and heavenly truth of God, and to dote upon this beastly strumpet? to change your religion for a ridiculous, sensual, cruel, irreligious faction?

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A religion, if we must call it so, that made sport to our plain forefathers, with the remembrance of her gravest devotions! How oft have you seen them laugh at themselves, while they have told of their creeping-crouch, kissing the pax, offering their candles, signing with ashes, partial shrifts, merry pilgrimages, ridiculous miracles, and a thousand such may-games, which now you begin, after this long hissing at, to look upon soberly, and with admiration!

A religion, whose fooleries very boys may shout and laugh at: if for no more but this; that it teaches men to put confidence in beads, medals, roses, hallowed swords, spells of the gospel, *Agnus Dei*, and such like idle baubles; ascribing unto them divine virtue; yea, so much as is due to the Son of God himself, and his precious blood! I speak not of some rude ignorants: your very book of holy ceremonies shall teach you what your holy fathers do, and have done. That tells you, first, with great allowance and applause, that pope Urban the Fifth sent three *Agnos Dei* to the Greek emperor, with these verses:

> "Balsam, pure wax, and chrismes-liquor clear
> Make up this precious Lamb I send thee here.
> All lightning it dispels, and each ill sprite;
> Remedies sin, and makes the heart contrite;
> Even as the blood that Christ for us did shed.
> It helps the child bed's pains, and gives good speed
> Unto the birth. Great gifts it still doth win
> To all that wear it, and that worthy bin.
> It quells the rage of fire; and cleanly bore,
> It brings from shipwreck safely to the shore[i]."

And lest you should plead this to be the conceit of some one fantastical pope, hear, and be ashamed, out of the same book[k], what, by prescription, every pope useth to pray, in the blessing of the water which serves for that *Agnus Dei*. If you know not, thus he prayeth: "That it would please thee, O God, to bless those things, which we purpose to pour into this vessel of water,

[i] Balsamus, et munda cera, cum chrismatis unda conficiunt Agnum, quod munus do tibi magnum, &c. Fulgura de sursum, &c. Peccatum frangit ut Christi sanguis et angit, &c.—[Sacr. Cærem. lib. i. p. 91. ed. Col. Agr. 1572.]

[k] Ut ea, quæ in hoc aquarum vasculo, ad Nominis tui gloriam preparato infundere [et immergere] decrevimus, benedicas, et benedicta sanctifices: quatenus, ipsorum veneratione et honore, nobis, famulis tuis, crimina diluantur, abstergantur maculæ peccatorum, impetrentur veniæ, gratiæ conferantur, ut, tandem, una cum sanctis et electis tuis, vitam percipere mereamur æternam. Amen. Sacr. Cærem. lib. i. p. 88. ed. Col. Agrip. 1572.

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prepared to the glory of thy Name: so as by the worship and honour of them, we thy servants, may have our heinous offences done away, the blemishes of our sins wiped off, and thereby we may obtain pardon, and receive grace from thee; so that, at the last, with thy saints and elect children, we may merit to obtain everlasting life. Amen." How could you choose but be in love with this superstition, magic, blasphemy, practised and maintained by the heads of your Church?

A religion, that allows juggling equivocations and reserved senses, even in very oaths. Besides all that hath been shamelessly written by our Jesuits to this purpose, hear what Franciscus Victoria, an ingenuous papist, and a learned reader of divinity in Salmantica, writes, in the name of all: "But what shall a confessor do," saith he[l], "if he be asked of a sin that he hath heard in confession? May he say, that he knows not of it? I answer, according to all our doctors, that he may. But what if he be compelled to swear? I say, that he may and ought to swear, that he knows it not; for that it is understood that he knows it not, besides confession; and so he swears true. But say, that the judge or prelate shall maliciously require of him, upon his oath, whether he know it in confession or no: I answer, that a man thus urged, may still swear that he knows it not in confession: for that it is understood, he knows it not to reveal it, or so as he may tell." Who teach and do thus in another's case, judge what they would do in their own. O wise, cunning, and holy perjuries, unknown to our forefathers!

A religion that allows the buying and selling of sins, of pardons of souls: so as now, purgatory can have no rich men in it; but fools and friendless. Devils are tormentors there; as themselves hold from many revelations of Bede[m], Bernard, Carthusian: yet men can command devils; and money can command men.

A religion, that relies wholly upon the infallibility of those, whom yet they grant have been and may be monstrous in their lives and dispositions. How many of those heirs of Peter, (by confession of their own records,) by bribes, by whores, by devils, have climbed up into that chair! Yet to say that those men, which

[l] Sed quid faciet confessor, cum interrogatur de peccato? &c.—Respondeo, secundum omnes, quod sic. .. Sed fac quod judex aut prælatus ex malitia exigat a me juramentum, an sciam in confessione: Respondeo, quod coactus juret se nescire in confessione, quia intelligitur se nescire ad revelandum, aut taliter quod possit dicere.—Fran. a Victoria Ordin. Predicatorum, Sum. Sacram. art. 184. p. 104.

[m] [Bede Hist. l. iii. c. 19.]

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are confessed to have given their souls to the devil that they might be popes, can err while they are popes, is heresy, worthy of a stake and of hell.

A religion, that hoodwinks the poor laity in forced ignorance, lest they should know God's will, or any way to heaven but theirs; so as millions of souls live no less without scripture than if there were none; that forbids spiritual food, as poison, and fetches God's book into the Inquisition.

A religion, that teaches men to worship stocks and stones with the same honour that is due to their Creator; which practice, lest it should appear to her simple clients how palpably opposite it is to the second commandment, they have discreetly left out those words of God's law, as a needless illustration, in their Catechisms and Prayer Books of the vulgar.

A religion, that utterly overthrows the true humanity of Christ; while they give unto it ten thousand places at once, and yet no place; flesh and no flesh; several members, without distinction; a substance, without quantity, and other accidents; or substance and accidents, that cannot be seen, felt, perceived. So they make either a monster of their Saviour or nothing.

A religion, that utterly overthrows the perfection of Christ's satisfaction. If all be not paid, how hath he satisfied? If temporal punishments in purgatory be yet due, how is all paid? and if these must be paid by us, how are they satisfied by him?

A religion, that makes more scriptures than ever God and his ancient Church; and those which it doth make, so imperiously obtrudes upon the world, as if God himself should speak from heaven; and while it thunders out curses against all that will not add these books to God's, regards not God's curse, *If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book.*

A religion, whose patrons disgrace the true scriptures of God with reproachful terms, odious comparisons, imputations of corruption and imperfection; and, in fine, pin their whole authority upon the sleeves of men.

A religion, that erects a throne in the conscience to a mere man, and gives him absolute power to make a sin, to dispense with it, to create new articles of faith, and to impose them upon necessity of salvation.

A religion, that baffoules all temporal princes; making them stand barefoot at their great bishop's gate; lie at his foot; hold

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his stirrup, yea, their own crowns at his courtesy: exempting all their ecclesiastical subjects from their jurisdiction, and, when they list, all the rest from their allegiance.

A religion, that hath made wicked men saints, and saints gods. Even by the confession of papists, lewd and undeserving men have leaped into their calendar. Whence it is, that the pope, before his canonization of any saint, makes solemn protestation, that he intends not in that business to do aught prejudicial to the glory of God or to the catholic faith and church[n]. And once sainted, they have the honour of altars, temples, invocations; and some of them in a style fit only for their Maker. I know not whether that blessed Virgin receive more indignity from her enemies that deny her, or these her flatterers that deify her.

A religion, that robs the Christian heart of all sound comfort, while it teacheth us that we neither can nor ought to be assured of the remission of our sins, and of present grace and future salvation; that we can never know whether we have received the true sacraments of God, because we cannot know the intention of the minister, without which they are no sacraments.

A religion, that racks the conscience with the needless torture of a necessary shrift, wherein the virtue of absolution depends on the fulness of confession; and that, upon examination, and the sufficiency of examination, is so full of scruples, besides those infinite cases of unresolved doubts in this feigned penance, that the poor soul never knows when it is clear.

A religion, that professes to be a bawd of sin, while both (in practice) it tolerates open stews, and prefers fornication in some cases to honourable matrimony, and gently blanches over the breaches of God's law with the name of venials and favourable titles of diminution; daring to affirm, that venial sins are no hinderance to a man's cleanness and perfection.

A cruel religion, that sends poor infants remedilessly unto the eternal pains of hell for want of that which they could not live to desire; and frights simple souls with expectation of feigned torments in purgatory, not inferior, for the time, to the flames of the damned. How wretchedly and fearfully must their poor laics

[n] Papa facit protestationem, ante canonizationem, se nihil intendere facere, quod si contra fidem aut ecclesiam Catholicam [sive honorem Dei.]—Aliqui tamen clarissimi viri dicunt, &c. Quia papa quodammodo cogebatur ad canonizandum quendam contra suam voluntatem. Lib. Sacr. Cæremon. [Ed. Col. 1572. p. 74.]

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needs die! for, first, they are not sure they shall not go to hell; and, secondly, they are sure to be scorched if they shall go to heaven.

A religion, that makes nature vainly proud, in being joined by her, as copartner with God, in our justification, in our salvation, and idly puffed up in a conceit of her perfection, and ability to keep more laws than God hath made.

A religion, that, requires no other faith to justification in Christians, than may be found in the devils themselves; who, besides a confused apprehension, can assent unto the truth of God's revealed will. Popery requires no more.

A religion, that, instead of the pure milk of the gospel, hath long fed her starved souls with such idle legends as the reporter can hardly deliver without laughter, and their abettors not hear without shame and disclamation. The wiser sort of the world read those stories on winter evenings for sport, which the poor credulous multitude hears in their churches with a devout astonishment.

A religion, which, lest aught should be here wanting to *the doctrine of devils*, makes religious prohibitions of meat and differences of diet, superstitiously preferring God's workmanship to itself, and willingly polluting what he hath sanctified.

A religion, that requires nothing but mere formality in our devotions. The work wrought suffices alone, in sacraments, in prayers. So the number be found in the chaplet, there is no care of the affection; as if God regarded not the heart, but the tongue and hands, and, while he understands us, cared little whether we understand ourselves.

A religion, that presumptuously dares to alter and mangle Christ's last institution, and sacrilegiously robs God's people of one half of that heavenly provision which our Saviour left for his last and dearest legacy to his Church for ever; as if Christ's ordinance were superfluous, or any shaveling could be wiser than his Redeemer.

A religion, that depends wholly upon nice and poor uncertainties and unprovable supposals: that Peter was bishop of Rome: that he left any heirs of his graces and spirit; or, if any, but one in a perpetual and unfailable succession at Rome: that he so bequeathed his infallibility to his chair, as that, whosoever sits in it, cannot but speak true: that all, which sit where he sat, must, by some secret instinct, say as he taught: that what Christ said to him

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absolutely, ere ever Rome was thought of, must be referred, yea, tied to that place alone, and fulfilled in it: that Linus or Clemens or Cletus, the scholars and supposed successors of Peter, must be preferred, in the headship of the Church, to John, the beloved apostle, then living: that he, whose life, whose pen, whose judgment, whose keys may err, yet, in his pontifical chair, cannot err: that the golden line of his apostolical succession, in the confusion of so many, long, desperate schisms, shamefully corrupt usurpations and intrusions, yielded heresies, neither was nor can be broken. Deny any of these, and popery is no religion. O, the lamentable hazard of so many millions of poor souls that stand upon these slippery terms; whereof if any be probable, some are impossible! O miserable grounds of popish faith, whereof the best can have but this praise, that perhaps it may be true!

A religion, that hath been oft dyed in the blood of princes; that in some cases teaches and allows rebellion against God's anointed; and both suborneth treasons, and excuses, pities, honours, rewards the actors.

A religion, that overloads men's consciences with heavy burdens of infinite unnecessary traditions, far more than ever Moses commented upon by all the Jewish masters; imposing them with no less authority, and exacting them with more rigour, than any of the royal laws of their Maker.

A religion, that cozens the vulgar with nothing but shadows of holiness, in pilgrimages, processions, offerings, holy water, Latin services, images, tapers, rich vestures, garish altars, crosses, censings, and a thousand such like, fit for children and fools, robbing them in the mean time of the sound and plain helps of true piety and salvation.

A religion, that cares not by what wilful falsehoods it maintains a part: as Wickliffe's blasphemy; Luther's advice from the devil; Tindal's community; Calvin's feigned miracle and blasphemous death; Bucer's neck broken; Beza's revolt; the blasting of Huguenots; England's want of churches and Christendom; queen Elizabeth's unwomanliness, her episcopal jurisdiction, her secret fruitfulness; English catholics cast in bears' skins to dogs; Plesse's shameful overthrow; Garnet's straw; the Lutherans' obscene night revels; Scory's drunken ordination in a tavern; the edict of our gracious king James, anno '87, for the establishment of popery; our casting the crusts of our sacrament to dogs: and ten thousand of this nature, maliciously raised and defended, against

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knowledge and conscience, for the disgrace of those whom they would have hated ere known.

A religion, that, in the conscience of her own untruth, goes about to falsify and deprave all authors that might give evidence against her, to outface all ancient truths, to foist in Gibeonitish witnesses of their own forging, and leaves nothing unattempted against heaven or earth that might advantage her faction and disable her innocent adversary.

Lo, this is your choice. If the zeal of your loss have made me sharp, yet not malicious, not false. God is my record, I have not, to knowledge, charged you with the least untruth; and if I have wronged, accuse me; and if I clear not myself and my challenge, let me be branded for a slanderer. In the mean time, what spiritual frenzy hath overtaken you, that you can find no beauty but in this monster of errors? It is to you and your fellows that God speaks by his prophet: *O ye heavens, be astonished at this, be afraid and utterly confounded, saith the Lord: for my people hath committed two evils; they have forsaken me, the fountain of living waters, to dig them pits, even broken pits, that can hold no water.* What shall be the issue? *Et tu, Domine, deduces eos in puteum interitus: Thou, O God, shalt bring them down into the pit of destruction.* If you will thus wilfully leave God, there I must leave you: but if you had not rather die, return, and save one. Return to God; return to his truth; return to his Church; your blood be upon my head if you perish.

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TO THE HIGH AND MIGHTY PRINCE,

HENRY, PRINCE OF GREAT BRITAIN;

THE SECOND JOY AND HOPE OF OUR TIMES; ALL HAPPINESS.

MOST GRACIOUS PRINCE:

God calleth your highness, by just inheritance, to defend his faith. This divine royalty accompanies your princedom in a blessed society: wherein your challenge is not more true than your pattern admirable. He that gives you right to the succession of this claim gives you such an example, as what father ever gave a son? His sceptre hath not more defended it than his pen. We bless God, and wonder. In this right, then, all propugnations of truth are yours. How much more from him whose glory it is to have sworn your service! Yet here I offer to your highness not so much any fight of ours against them of Rome, as theirs against themselves; and therein for us. What can be more advantage to us or shame to them? One blow of an enemy dealt to his brother is more worth than many from an adverse hand. All our Apologies cannot hurt them so much as their own divisions. Behold, here your highness shall sit still, and see all the Romish doctors, after all their brags of peace, scuffling and grappling together before you; and, which is most worth, in Bellarmine's own theatre. No adversary can give them more deep wounds than their own swords. And if civil discord can give us hope of their ruin, Rome cannot stand[a]. Lo, these are the men that gloried in their unity, and upbraided us, not once, with our dissensions; and have warned the world, because we differ in one point, not to trust us in any. The confidence of their secrecy made them peremptory, not either their innocence or our guilt. If God have not now opened their own mouths to convince them of bold falsehood, let them have no accusers. I know the view of this popish fray could not, in their conceits, fall more unhappily into any eyes than your highness's: whom they grieve to see, in this early spring of your age, so firmly rooted in the truth; and, before Hannibal's years, threatening hostility to error. So let your highness still move their envy and our joy. So much shall God more love you, as you hate their abominations. Neither shall it, I hope, ever be forgotten, that in their bloody project your limbs also should have flown up to heaven with your soul. That God, which hath reserved you for the second hope and stay of his Christian world, go on to prosper your gracious proceedings but according to the promise of their entrances, that we may be still happy in your highness, and you in him for ever! So be it! Yea, so it will be: how can it be, that so many and faithful prayers of all God's faithful ones through the world should have other success? Amongst the rest are vowed, and duly paid to this purpose, the daily poor devotions of your highness's unworthy yet loyal servant,

JOS. HALL.

[a] Suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit.—Hor.

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ADVERTISEMENTS TO THE READER.

UNDERSTAND, good reader, that in all these passages following, I have brought in C. Bellarmine speaking in his own words; except in some few plain references, where I mention him in the third person.

2. That the edition of C. Bellarmine which I have followed, and quoted in every page, is that in octavo, (the commonest, I think,) set forth at Ingolstadt, from the press of Adam Sartorius, in the year MDXCIX.

3. That all those authors which thou seest named over the head of every section are papists of note: whose quarrels C. Bellarmine confesseth.

4. That such great doctors could not be singular in their judgments; but must needs, in all probability, (which yet is not confessed,) be attended with many followers, in every point of variance. Every master hath the favour of his own school. The sides taken by their scholars is not more secret than likely.

5. That one doctor Pappus[a], a learned German, hath undertaken the like task, but somewhat unperfectly. For of my 303 contradictions he hath noted but 237. The edition followed by him was not the same, and therefore his trust could not be so helpful to me. Besides that, two or three of Card. Bellarmine's works are since published.

6. That I have willingly omitted divers small differences, which, if I had regarded number, might have caused the sum to swell yet higher.

7. That thou mayest not look to find all these acknowledged differences main and essential. All religion consists not of so many stones in her foundation. It is enough, that deep and material dissensions are intermingled with the rest, and that scarce any point is free from some.

8. That Card. Bellarmine acknowledges those dissensions only which fall into the compass of his own controversies (if all those): omitting all others. For instance: of all those sixty and two differences in the matter of penance, which I have here gathered out of Navarre and Fr. à Victoria, he hath not confessed above five or six; so that by the same proportion, whereas three hundred and three contradictions are acknowledged, there cannot but be many hundreds wittingly by him concealed.

Gen. xi. 7. *Venite igitur descendamus, et confundamus ibi linguam eorum; ut non audiat unusquisque vocem proximi sui: atque ita divisit eos Dominus, ex illo loco, in universas terras; et cessaverunt ædificare civitatem; et idcirco vocatum est nomen ejus Babel*, &c.

[a] Contradictiones Doctorum nunc-Romanæ Ecclesiæ; indice et teste R. Bellarmino. Cum præf. Joh. Pappi. Argent. 1597. 4to.—A.

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AN ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER.

(Prefixed by the Author to a subsequent Edition.)

THE reader may please to take notice, that in the former edition there was added unto this discourse a just volume of above three hundred contradictions and dissensions of the Romish doctors, under the name of "The Peace of Rome;" which because it was but a collection out of Bellarmine and Navarre, and no otherwise mine but as a gatherer and translator, I have here thought good to omit.

*** [It appears from a note in Mr. Peter Hall's edition, that this treatise had never before been included in any collection of the Bishop's Works. The present edition has been printed from that which was probably the first, viz. London, 1609.]

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THE PEACE OF ROME.

BOOK I.

FIRST CENTURY OF DISSENSIONS.

DECADE I.

First, Bellarmine against Nic. Lyra, Carthusian, Hugo and Thomas, cardinals, and Sixtus Senensis.

THERE have not wanted some which have held the seven last chapters of the book of Esther, because they are not in the Hebrew text, spurious and counterfeit: in which opinion was St. Jerome, (as is gathered out of his preface,) and, following him, not only before the Council of Trent, Nicholas Lyra, Dionysius Carthusianus, Hugo and Thomas de Vio, cardinals, but also, since the said council, Sixtus Senensis, in the first and eighth book of his Bibliotheca Sancta.

Non defuerunt etiam, qui librum quidem, &c.

But that they[a] are sacred and divine is sufficiently proved by all those decrees of popes and councils, and those testimonies of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin fathers, which we have noted formerly in the fourth chapter of this book; and so those other chapters which are not in the Hebrew, &c.—*Bellarmine in his first book of the Word of God, (see at large his Confutation of Sixtus Senensis, in the same place,)* chap. vii. p. 30.

At librum hunc, &c.

Secondly, John Driedo against Bellarmine.

Johannes Driedo (a catholic writer) denies the book of Baruch to be canonical, in his first book, the last chapter, at the last argument: but the authority of the catholic church persuades us the contrary, which in the Council of Trent (the fourth sitting) numbers the prophet Baruch among the sacred books.—*Bellarmine, the same book*, chap. viii. p. 41.

Ex Catholicis, Johannes Driedo, &c.

Thirdly, Erasmus and Johannes Driedo against Bellarmine.

Not only heretics, pagans, Jews, but of catholic Christians Julius Africanus of old, and, of late, Johannes Driedo in his first book de Script., &c. chap. last, and of semi-Christians Erasmus in his Scholia upon Jerome's Preface to Daniel, have rejected the story of Susanna as new, and foisted into the canon. But not-

Nec solum hæretici, pagani, et Judæi, &c.

[a] Those additions to Esther which we reject as Apocryphal.

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withstanding, it is certain that all these parts of Daniel are truly canonical.—*Bellarm. the same book*, chap. ix. p. 43.

Fourthly, Cajetan, a cardinal, and some other nameless, against Bellarmine.

Ecclesia eos libros recipit, quos B. Hieron.

Some object that the Church receives those books that St. Jerome receives, and refuseth those which he rejecteth, as it appears, Distinct. 15. *Canon. Sancta Romana.* But Jerome flatly affirms all these five books not to be canonical: so reasoneth Cajetan, otherwise a catholic and a holy doctor. Some answer, that Jerome saith only that these are not canonical among the Jews; but that cannot be, for he mentioneth also the book of the Pastor, which was accounted to the New Testament.....But I admit that Jerome was of that opinion, because no general council as yet had defined of these books; except only of the book of Judith, which Jerome also afterwards received. That, therefore, which Gelasius saith in the distinct. above cited, is to be understood of the books of the doctors of the Church, Origen, Ruffin, and the like; not of the books of Scripture.—*Bellarm. ibid.* chap. x. p. 53.

Fifthly, Bellarmine against Erasmus and Cajetanus.

Nostris temporibus Erasmus.

In our times Erasmus in the end of his notes upon this Epistle, and Cajetan in the beginning of his Commentaries upon this Epistle, have revived and renewed a question, that hath long slept in silence, concerning the author and authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Bellarmine undertakes to confute their several reasons, drawn, first, from Hebr. i. 5. compared with 2 Sam. vii. 14; secondly, from Hebr. ix. 4. compared with 1 Kings viii. 9; thirdly, from Heb. ix. 20. compared with Exod. xxiv. 8. —*Bellarm. ibid.* chap. xvii. p. 77.

Sixthly, Beda, Lyranus, Driedo, Mercator, Sulpitius, Genebrard, Benedictus; Bellarmine dissenting.

Duæ sunt sententiæ principales, &c.

There are two principal opinions about the story of Judith: some would have that story to have happened after the Babylonish Captivity, either in Cambyses' time, so Beda, Lyranus, Jo. Driedo; or under Darius Hystaspes, as Gerardus Mercator: Severus Sulpitius refers it to Artaxerxes Ochus; some others hold it to have been after the captivity, either in Sedecias' times, as Gil. Genebrardus; or Josias', as John Benedictus. But neither of these seems to me probable enough, saith Bellarmine, who, confuting all them, placeth this story in the reign of Manasses, king of Judah. —*Bellarm. same book*, chap. xii. p. 58.

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Seventhly, Erasmus and Cajetan against Bellarmine and all other true Catholics.

Erasmus, in his notes upon these Epistles, affirms, that the Epistle of James doth not savour of an apostolic gravity: he doubts of the Second Epistle of Peter: he affirms the Second and Third Epistles of John were not written by John the apostle, but by another: of Jude's Epistle he saith nothing. Cajetan doubts of the authors of the Epistle of James, of Jude, of the Second and Third of John, and therefore will have them to be of less authority than the rest. —*Bellarmine justly refutes their opinion,* chap. xviii. p. 86.

Erasmus, in annotationibus ad has epistolas, &c.

Eighthly, Erasmus against all true Catholics.

Erasmus, in the end of his notes upon the Revelation, seeks out many doubtful conjectures, whereby he would prove this book of the Revelation not to be written by John the apostle. His three reasons are truly answered by *Bellarmine,* chap. xix. p. 94.

Erasmus, in fine annotationum, &c. Nec defuerunt olim Catholici, qui de hujus libri authoritate dubitarent.

Ninthly, Genebrardus against Bellarmine.

The fourth book of Esdras is indeed cited by Ambrose, in his book *De Bono Mortis;* and in his second book upon Luke, and in the twenty-first Epistle to Horatian; but doubtless it is not canonical: since that it is not by any council accounted in the canon, and is not found either in Hebrew or Greek, and contains in the sixth chapter very fabulous toys. I wonder, therefore, what came into Genebrard's mind, that he would have this book pertain to the canon; in his Chronology, p. 90.—*Bellarmine,* chap. xx. p. 99.

Quartus autem Esdræ, &c.

Tenthly, Jacobus Christopolitanus and Canus against Bellarmine.

Omitting those, therefore, which falsely attribute too much purity unto the Hebrew text, we are to meet with others, which in a good zeal, but I know not whether according to knowledge, defend that the Jews in hatred of the Christian religion have purposely depraved many places of Scripture; so teaches Jacob, bishop of Christopolis, in his preface to the Psalms, and Canus in his second book and thirteenth chapter of Common Places. These Bellarmine confutes by most weighty arguments, as he calls them, and shows that by this defence the Vulgar edition should be most corrupt: in the second book of the Word of God, chap. ii. p. 108.

His igitur omissis, qui Hebraico fonti nimiam puritatem falso attribuunt, &c.

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DECADE II.

First, Pagnin, Paulus Forosempron, Eugubinus, Jo. Mirandulanus, Driedo, Sixtus Senensis, altogether by the ears.

Non parva quæstio est, &c.

Concerning this Vulgar Latin edition, there is no small question. That it is not Jerome's is held by Sanctes Pagninus in the preface of his interpretation of the Bible to Clement the Eighth, and by Paulus, bishop of Forosempronium, in his second book, first chapter, of the day of Christ's passion. Contrarily, that it is Jerome's is defended by Augustin Eugubinus, and Johannes Picus Mirandulanus, in books set out to that purpose, and by some others. But that it is mixed, both of the new and old, is maintained by Jo. Driedo in his second book, chap. 1. and by Sixtus Senensis in his eighth book of the Holy Library, and the end.—*Bellarm.* book ii. chap. 9. p. 135.

Secondly, Bellarmine against some nameless authors.

De postrema, &c.

Concerning the translation of the Septuagint, though I know some hold it is utterly lost, yet I hold rather that it is so corrupted that it seems another.—*Bellarm.* book ii. chap. 6. p. 127.

Thirdly, Valla, Faber, Erasmus, and others, against Bellarmine.

Hunc locum non solum Chemnitius, sed &c.

That place, Rom. i. 32, not only Kemnitius, but also Valla, Erasmus, Jacobus Faber, and others, would have to be corrupted in the Latin Vulgar. Bellarmine confutes them, and would show that their Latin translation herein is better than the Greek original.—*Bellarm. same book,* chap. xiv. p. 168.

Fourthly, Card. Cajetan against Bellarmine.

Thomas Cajetanus in tract. de Instit. &c.

Thomas Cajetanus, in his treatise of the institution and authority of the bishop of Rome, chap. v. teacheth, that the keys of the kingdom of heaven are not the same with the power of binding and loosing; for that the keys of the kingdom of heaven includes the power of order and jurisdiction, and somewhat more: but this doctrine seems to us more subtle than true; for it was never heard of, that the Church had any other keys besides those of order and jurisdiction.—*Bellarm.* book i. *of the pope,* chap. 12. p. 101.

Fifthly, Joachim, Raymundus, a nameless Frenchman, against all Catholics.

Tres esse spiritus æternos, &c.

That there are three eternal spirits, Father, Son, Holy Ghost, essentially differing, was taught by a certain Frenchman in Anselm's time; and the same seems to be held by Joachim the abbot, in the year 1190, and by Raymundus Lullius, in the year

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1270[b]. Confuted by Bellarmine, in his first book *de Christo.* chap. ii. p. 37.

Sixthly, Erasmus confuted by Bellarmine.

Bellarmine's disputation against the Transylvani, and Erasmus as their patron, concerning the divinity of Christ, warranted from divers places of scripture.—*See Bell. de Christo*, lib. i. cap. 6. p. 72, 73.

Sed occurrunt Ariani, Transylvani, et Erasmus, &c.

Seventhly, Bellarmine against Durandus.

The fourth error is of Durandus in 3. d. 22. q. 3. who taught, that Christ's soul descended not to hell in substance, but only in certain effects, because it did illuminate those holy fathers which were in Limbo; which opinion to be erroneous (and yet not so ill as Calvin's) is proved by four arguments, and all his objections answered by *Bellarm. de Christo*, lib. iv. cap. 15. p. 391, 392, &c.

Quartus error est Durandi, &c.

Eighthly, Bonaventure against Thomas.

Saint Thomas, p. 3. q. 52. art. 2. teaches, that Christ by his real presence descended but to Limbus Patrum, and in effect only to the other places of hell: but it is probable that his soul descended to all.

B. Thomas, &c. docet Christum per realem, &c.

Secondly, Saint Thomas seems to say (p. 3. q. 52. art. 1.) that it was some punishment to Christ to be in hell according to his soul, &c. And Cajetan (in Act. ii.) saith, that the sorrows of Christ's death continued in him till his resurrection, in regard of three penalties, whereof the second is, that the soul remained in hell, a place not convenient for it.

But Bonaventure in 3. d. 22. q. 4, saith, that Christ's soul, while it was in hell, was in the place of punishment indeed, but without punishment, which seems to me more agreeable to the fathers.—*Bellarm. de Christo*, lib. iv. cap. 16. p. 396, 397, &c.

Ninthly, Bellarmine and all other papists against Lyranus.

Nicolaus Lyranus is not of so great authority that we should oppose him to all the ancient fathers and historians, which say, that Peter was slain at Rome, (not, as Lyranus, at Jerusalem.)—*Bellarm.* lib. ii. *of the pope of Rome*, chap. x. p. 210.

Nic. Lyranus non tantæ autoritatis est, &c.

Tenthly, Æneas Sylvius confuted by Bellarmine.

That speech[c] of Æneas Sylvius, afterwards pope, that before the Nicene Council each man lived to himself, and there was small respect had of the bishop of Rome, is partly true and partly false:

Quod ante Nicenum, &c.

[b] 1260 is the date given in Bellarmine.—A.

[c] In his Epistolæ, (No. 288) p. 802. Opera Æneæ Sylvii, Basileæ, 1571.—A.

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it is true that the power of the popes was somewhat in those times hindered, but it is not true that there was so little respect given him.—*Bellarm. de Pontif.* lib. ii. cap. 17. p. 252.

DECADE III.

First, Martinus Polonus confuted by Bellarmine.

Quod fabula sit narratio Martini, &c.

The confutation of Martinus Polonus, which lived an. 1250, in that story of pope Joan. delivered from him by Sigebertus, Marianus Scotus, Platina, and others.—*See Bellarm.* l. iii. *de Pontif.* c. 24. p. 464, 465, &c.

Secondly, Bellarmine against Valla.

Decimus-sextus est Celest.

The sixteenth is pope Celestinus, whom Laurentius Valla affirms to have been infected with the heresy of Nestorius; in his declamation against the donation of Constantine. But Valla lies falsely. —*Bellarm.* l. iv. *de Pontif.* c. 10. p. 512.

Thirdly, Durandus and Adrian against pope Gregory and Bellarmine.

Gregor. I. in Epist. 26. ad Johan. Caralitanum.

St. Gregory the First is by Durandus, in 4. d. 7. q. 4, accused of error, for that he permitted unto presbyters to confer the sacrament of Confirmation; which is only by right proper to bishops: by reason of which place of Gregory, Adrian, in his *Quæst. de Confirm. art. ult.* affirmeth, that the pope may err in defining points of faith; but in truth, not St. Gregory erreth herein, but Durandus and Adrian. — *Bellarm.* l. iv. *de Pontif.* c. 10. p. 517.

Fourthly, Gratian, Gerson, Panormitan, answered by Bellarmine.

Primo ex Gratiano.

Gratian's speech (36. *quæst.* 2. *can. ult.*), that Jerome's authority, being defenced by Scripture, crossed a whole general council; and Panormitan's and Gerson's, that one private man's opinion, if he be furnished with better authorities from Scripture, is to be preferred to the opinion of the pope; and that any one learned man may, and ought in some cases to resist a whole council: see confuted and qualified by *Bellarm.* l. i. *de Concil.* c. 16. p. 72.

Fifthly, Pighius, Turrecremata, Cajetan, other popish doctors, against Bellarmine, in five several opinions.

Sunt de hac re quinque opiniones, &c.

In this question, whether in case of heresy the pope may be judged and deposed, there are five different opinions. The first of Albertus Pighius, fourth book of Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, chap. 8, who holds that the pope cannot be an heretic, and therefore can in no case be deposed: which is a probable opinion, but not certain, and is contrary to the common opinion. The second,

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of Jo. de Turrecremata, book iv. part 2. chap. 20, that the pope, in that he falls into an heresy, though inward and secret, is without the Church, and deposed of God; and therefore that he may be judged, that is, declared to be deposed (*de facto*), if he yet refuse to yield. But this opinion I cannot allow. The third is in another extreme, that the pope neither for secret nor manifest heresy is or can be deposed: this, Jo. Turrecremata, in the place forecited confuteth; and indeed it is an opinion very improbable. The fourth is Cajetan's, in his Tract of the Authority of the Pope and the Council, chap. 20 and 21, that a pope which is manifestly heretical is not (*ipso facto*) deposed, but may and ought to be deposed by the Church; which opinion, in my judgment, cannot be defended. Here, therefore, Bellarmine defends these positions against Cajetan:

1. That every manifest heretic is *ipso facto* deposed, out of Tit. iii.

2. That a manifest heretic cannot be the pope.

3. That an heretic losing faith, and retaining the character still, is yet without the Church.

4. That the pope cannot be deposed for ignorance or wickedness.

5. That the pope may not be deposed by the Church.

The fifth opinion is true, that the pope being a manifest heretic, ceases of himself to be pope and head of the Church; as of himself he ceases to be a Christian and member of the Church: and therefore that he may be judged and punished by the Church.—*Bellarmine de Rom. Pontif.* l. ii. c. 30. p. 317.

Sixthly, Some nameless Doctors against Bellarmine.

It is the opinion of some catholics, as Jodocus Clictovæus reporteth, that Mahomet was that Antichrist properly called, because he came about the year 666, as John foretold. But this reason of theirs is frivolous.—*Bellarm. third book of the Pope,* chap. 3. p. 346.

Huc referri potest opinio quorundam catholicorum, ut refert Jodoc. Clict. &c.

Seventhly, Bellarmine against Bp. Jansenius.

I cannot enough marvel what bishop Jansenius meant, in that he wrote, that although it be the opinion of all the ancient that Elias shall come, yet that it is not convinced out of that place in Ecclesiasticus, chap. xlviii. 10: for if it be so as Jansenius saith, it follows that Ecclesiasticus both is and hath written false.—*Bellarm. de Rom. Pontif.* l. iii. c. 6. p. 357.

Quo loco non possum satis, &c.

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Eighthly, Dominicus à Soto against Bellarmine.

Unum superest dubium, Anne, &c.

One doubt remains, whether by the cruel persecution of Antichrist, the Christian faith and religion shall be utterly extinguished. Dominicus à Soto defends it in the fourth book of Sentences, d. 46. q. 1. art. 1. But this opinion, in my judgment, cannot be defended.—*Bellarmine*, l. iii. chap. 17. p. 417.

Ninthly, Gerson, Almaine, Pope Adrian, Hosius, Eckius, &c. Pighius, Thomas Waldensis, in three contradictory opinions.

Quatuor tantum remanent diversæ, &c.

Concerning the pope's certainty of judgment, there are four diverse opinions. The first is, that the pope, as pope, may be an heretic in himself, and may teach others heresy, although he define something even with a general council: this is the opinion of all the heretics of this time, Luther, Calvin, &c.

The second, that the pope, as pope, may be an heretic and teach heresy, if he define without a general council, and that it hath so happened. This opinion follows Nilus in his book against the primacy of the pope, Jo. Gerson, and Almaine: Alphonsus de Castro, and pope Adrian the Sixth, in the question of confirmation: which opinion is not merely heretical, but is erroneous, and near to heresy.

The third, in another extreme, that the pope cannot by any means be an heretic, nor teach heresy, publicly, though he should alone determine any matter. So holds Albert Pighius, Eccles. Hierar. book iv. chap. 8.

The fourth, that the pope, whether he may be an heretic or no, cannot by any means define any heretical point to be believed of the whole Church. This, which is the commonest opinion, holds Thomas, secunda secundæ quæst. 1. art. 10, Tho. Waldensis, of the Doctr. of Faith, book ii. chap. 47, Jo. de Turrecremata, Jo. Driedo, Cajetan, Hosius, Eckius, Jo. of Louvain, Petrus à Soto, &c.—*Bellarm.* book iv. *of the Pope*, chap. 2. p. 473.

Tenthly, the Sorbonists, and some other concealed Doctors, against Bellarmine.

Qui locus tribus modis exponi solet, &c.

That prayer of Christ for Peter's faith, that it might not fail, is expounded,

1. By the Parisian divines; That the Lord prayed for his universal Church, or for Peter as he bore the figure of the whole Church; which exposition is false.

2. Others, that live at this day, teach, That the Lord in this place prayed for the perseverance of Peter alone in the grace of God, until the end; confuted by four arguments.

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3. The third exposition is true; That the Lord obtained for Peter two privileges: one, that he should never lose the true faith, though never so much tempted; the other, that he as pope should never teach any thing against the faith.—*Bellarm. de Rom. Pontif.* b. iv. c. 3. p. 477.

DECADE IV.

First, Melchior Canus, and others, against Pighius, Hosius, Jo. Louvain, Onuphrius.

Not only the heretics, but some catholic doctors, have held pope Honorius to have been an heretic: so doth Melchior Canus, from the two epistles of Honorius himself to Sergius, wherein he approves the doctrine of the Monothelites; from the sixth synod, act. 13; seventh synod, act. last; eighth synod, act. 7; from the epistle of pope Agatho; from the epistle of pope Leo II; from Tharasius, Theodorus, Epiphanius the deacon, Bede, &c. But in the behalf of Honorius have written Albert Pighius, Hosius, Jo. of Louvain, Onuphrius.—*Bellarm.* b. iv. chap. 11. p. 519.

Nec solum hæretici.

Secondly, Alphonsus de Castro against Bellarmine; Celestin, pope, against Innocentius.

Alphonsus de Castro affirms flatly that pope Celestinus was an heretic; the first book of Heres. chap. 4; for that he held matrimony so dissolved by heresy, that he whose wife was proved heretical might marry again: contrary to which is taught by pope Innocentius, *Quanto*, of *Divorces*, c. 3; and the same is defined in the Council of Trent, Sess. 24. Canon. 5. But I answer that neither Celestinus nor Innocentius determine any certainty of that matter.—*Bellarm.* l. iv. chap. 14. p. 545.

Tricesimus tertius est Celestinus III. Quem Alphonsus, &c.

Thirdly, pope Nicholas against pope John; Bellarmine against Turrecremata.

Pope Nicholas the Third[d] defines, that Christ by his word and example taught perfect poverty, which consists in the abdication of all our substance; no power of it being left to a man, either in particular or common; and that such poverty is holy and meritorious: but pope John the Twentieth[e], in his Extravagants, teaches this to be false and heretical. Jo. de Turrecremata goes about wholly to reconcile these two popes: but in truth, if I be not much deceived, they cannot be in all things reconciled.—*Bellarm.* b. iv. chap. 14. p. 546.

Nicolaus III. qui in capite Exist. de verborum significatione in sexto definit.

[d] The Fourth.—A.

[e] The Twenty-second.—A.

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Fourthly, Occam, Adrian, Gerson, Erasmus, against Bellarmine.

Johannes XXII. Papa a multis reprehenditur.

That pope John the Twenty-second was an heretic in teaching that the souls of the blessed shall not see God till the resurrection, is affirmed by Gul. Occam, Adrian, Erasmus, Jo. Gerson. He thought so indeed; but then it was not heresy so to think, because no council had defined the question; and Jo. Villanus reports, that the day before his death he partly explained and partly recanted his opinion.—*Bellarmine*, same chapter and book, p. 548.

Fifthly, Abulensis[f] against Turrecremata.

De secunda est quidem aliqua dissensio inter authores, &c.

Of the inward jurisdiction in the court of conscience, there is some dissension amongst our authors: for Abulensis[g] holds this power given to all priests immediately from God when they are ordained; now that yet notwithstanding this, every priest cannot bind or loose whatsoever Christians, is therefore ordered, because the Church, to take away confusion, hath divided dioceses, and subjected one people to one bishop, another to another. But Jo. de Turrecremata[h] teaches that this power is not given of God by the force of ordination, but by man upon his mere injunction.—*Bellarm.* b. iv. chap. 22. p. 589.

Sixthly, Three ranks of popish doctors at variance.

Sunt tres de ea re Theologorum sententiæ.

How bishops receive their jurisdiction, there are three opinions amongst our divines. The first, that as well apostles as other bishops did, and do, receive it immediately from God: so teach Franciscus Victoria and Alphonsus de Castro. The second, of those that hold the apostles not to have received their jurisdiction from Christ, but from Peter; and bishops not from Christ, but Peter's successor: so Jo. de Turrecremata and Dominicus Jacobatius. The third of them, which teach, that the apostles indeed received all their authority immediately from Christ; but other bishops received it not from Christ, but from the pope: so holds Cajetan, Dominicus à Soto, Franciscus Vargas, Hervæus, Gabriel, Bonaventure, Albert, Durand, and others.—*Bellarm.* b. iv. chap. 22. p. 590.

[f] Alphonsus Tostatus, made bishop of Avita in Spain in 1449. His Latin works, published at Venice in 1615, fill twenty-four folio volumes. See Antonio, *Biblioth. Hispana Vetus*, tom. ii. p. 255. edit. Madriti, 1788.—A.

[g] In Defensorio, p. 2. c. 63.

[h] Sum. l. i. c. 96.

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Seventhly, Aug. Triumphus, Alvar. Pelagius, Hostiensis[1], *&c. against Henricus, Turrecrem. Pighius, Waldensis, &c.*

Of the pope's temporal power, are three opinions of authors. First, that the pope hath full power over all the world, both in spiritual things and temporal. So teach August. Triumphus, Alvarus Pelagius, and many lawyers, Hostiensis, Silvester, and others not a few: yea, Hostiensis goes farther, and teaches that all dominion of infidel princes is by Christ's coming translated to the Church, and rests in the pope.

De qua &c. tres inveniuntur auctorum sententiæ, &c.

The second, in another extreme, that the pope, as pope, and by the law of God, hath no temporal power, nor can any way rule over secular princes, and deprive them of their princedom, though they deserve it. So all the heretics.

The third, which is the mean betwixt both, is the commonest opinion of catholic divines; that the pope, as pope, hath not directly and immediately any temporal power, but only spiritual; yet in respect to his spiritual jurisdiction, that he hath at least indirectly a certain power, and that supreme, even in temporal things. So teach Hugo, Halensis, Durandus, Henricus Driedo, Turrecremata, Pighius, Waldensis, Petrus de Palude, Cajetan, Francis Victoria, Dominicus à Soto, Nicholas Sanders, &c. What Thom. Aquinas thinks of this temporal power of the pope is uncertain.—*Bellarm.* l. v. chap. 1. p. 600.

Eighthly, Onuphrius against Bellarmine and Hostiensis.

Onuphrius writes, that the appointment of the electors of the Roman empire was done by Gregory the Tenth: but Innocent the Third, which was before Gregory the Tenth, speaks of this institution; and Hostiensis, that was likewise before him, saith, that Innocentius speaks of the seven electors; and Alvarus Pelagius, who lived in the memory of Gregory the Tenth, reports this to have been the act of Gregory the Fifth.—*Bellarm.* l. v. chap. 8. p. 633.

Onuphrium, in libro de Comitiis Imperialibus, contra communem Historicorum sententiam scripsisse, &c.

Ninthly, Pighius against Bellarmine, pope Celestine, council of Chalcedon.

The beginning of councils, Albertus Pighius, in his sixth book of the Heavenly Hierarchy, chap. 1, defends to be altogether human, and devised by natural reason: but it is more probable that it is divine: for the Council of Chalcedon, in an Epistle to Leo, and the sixth synod, act 17, and pope Celestine, in an Epistle to the Council of Ephesus, and the third Council of Toledo, teach,

Hanc autem originem, &c.

[1] Henricus de Segusio, created cardinal bishop of Ostia by Urban IV. and died in 1281. *Bellarmin. de Script. Eccles.* p. 198. Lugduni, 1613.—A.

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that councils are imported in those words of Christ, Matth. xviii. *Wheresoever two or three, &c.—Bellarm. de Concil. et Eccles. Milit.* l. i. c. 3. p. 25.

Tenthly, some unnamed catholics against Bellarmine, Turrecremata, Canus.

Secundo aliqui Catholici, obii, &c.

Some catholics hold, that all bishops are not judges in councils; for then, say they, the pope should be bound, who is president in the council, to follow the greater part of bishops; but this is false, as appears in the practices of Damasus and Leo.

I answer, first, that perhaps it never fell so out, that the pope should follow the lesser part in the council, when they have given their voices without all fraud. Secondly, I say, that the president of the council, as president, must follow the greater part of the voices; but the pope, not as president, but as the chief prince of the Church, may recall and retract that judgment. So Jo. de Turrecremata, l. iii. c. 6, 3: and Canus, l. v. c. 5.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 18. p. 81.

DECADE V.

First, Bellarmine against some catholics nameless.

Concilia particularia, &c.

That particular councils, confirmed by the pope, cannot err in faith and manners, there are some catholics that deny: which as yet are not by the Church condemned for heretics...But surely it is rash, erroneous, and near to heresy, to affirm that particular councils, confirmed by the pope, may err.—*Bellarmine*, l. ii. c. 5. p. 114.

Secondly, Alanus Copus against Bellarmine.

Rem esse incertissimam, &c.

It is a very uncertain thing, what was decreed of images in the Council of Frankfort; for the ancient authors agree not with themselves...By reason of this confusion, Alanus Copus, in his fourth and fifth Dialogues, teaches, that in that synod of Frankfort the heretical Council of Constantinople was only condemned; the Nicene, not only not condemned, but confirmed: which opinion I wish to be true, but I suspect it to be false.—*Bellarmine, ibid.* c. 8. p. 137.

Thirdly, Bellarmine against Vega.

Respondent, quidam ut Vega, &c.

Some answer, as Vega, in the Council of Trent, book iii. chap. 39, that any council is lawful, if held by the faithful; not for that historians witness so, but because the council itself defineth so of itself; for they use ever in the beginning of their act, so to determine their meeting lawful, and in the Holy Ghost. But sure this answer is not sound. For, first, the ancient councils had not wont to witness so of themselves. Secondly, either it appears to us that the council is a lawful one, or it appears not; if it do

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appear, such a decree is in vain; if it do not appear, we shall as well doubt of that decree as of the council.—*Bellarmine*, same book, chap. ix. p. 148.

Fourthly, Parisienses against Cajetan; Turrecremata and Bellarmine against Canus.

De conciliis universalibus, &c.

Of general councils there are divers opinions amongst us. First, the divines of Paris, and all those which teach that the council is above the pope, think that lawful general councils cannot err, even before the confirmation of the pope. Contrary to these teach others, as Cajetan, in Apolog. p. 2. c. 21, Jo. Turrecremata, lib. iii. chap. 32, 33, 34.

But when councils define something with the consent of the pope's legates, not having had full instruction; what authority they have is still in controversy. But I think such a council may err before the pope's own confirmation. Canus and others hold the contrary.—*Bellarm.* l. ii. chap. 11. p. 153.

Fifthly, Bellarmine against Gratian.

Gratianus dist. &c.

Gratian, dist. 19, affirms, that the decretal epistles of popes ought to be numbered amongst the canonical scriptures; and, dist. 20, he saith, that the canons of councils are of the same authority with decretal epistles: and pope Gregory, in his first book, Epist. 24, saith, he reverences the four first councils as the four evangelists. I answer, first, that Gratian was deceived by a depraved copy which he followed, &c. As for Gregory, I answer that his *as* doth not signify equality, but similitude.—*Bellarm.* l. ii. chap. 12. p. 161.

Sixthly, Three ranks of popish divines dissenting.

De proposita quæstione tres, &c.

In this question, Whether the pope be above the council? I find three opinions of our doctors. First, that the council is above the pope: so affirm all the heretics of this time; and the same is taught by card. Cameracensis, Jo. Gerson, Jacob. Almaine, and some others; also Nicol. Cusanus, card. Panormitanus, and his master the cardinal of Florence, and Abulensis in Matthew xviii., q. 108. This opinion hath two grounds:

1. That the pope is not properly the head of the whole Church gathered together.

2. That the supreme power of the Church is as well in the council as in the pope, but in the council principally, immediately, and immovably; and in the defence of this point, these authors again differ from themselves: while some hold this power formally and subjectively in the pope, and finally in the

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Church, others will have it formally and principally in the Church, and instrumentally in the pope.

The second opinion is of some canonists which will have the pope above the council, and that he cannot upon constraint be judged by any; but that he may subject himself, if he will, to the council. So teacheth the Gloss, in Canon, *Nos si, &c.*

The third is the more common opinion; that the pope is so above the council, that he cannot subject himself unto the judgment thereof, if we speak of a coactive sentence: so all the old schoolmen hold; Albert, Thomas, Bonaventure, Richard Paludanus[k]; so Antoninus[l], Turrecremata[m], Al. Pelagius[n], Jacobatius, Cajetan, Pighius, Turrianus, and Sanders; and many other there mentioned.—*Bellarm.* l. ii. chap. 14. p. 166.

Seventhly, Council of Basil against Eugenius and Leo, popes.

Quæ autem definivit. That which the Council of Basil defined of the authority of the council above the pope was never by any pope allowed. Pope Eugenius first did professedly reject it: then pope Leo the Tenth, in the last Council of Lateran, sess. 11, as also the whole Church; which ever held Eugenius (who by the Council of Basil was deposed) for the true pope.—*Bellarm.* lib. ii. chap. 19. p. 186, where Jo. Gerson is by him confuted.

Eighthly, Driedo against Bellarmine and Canus.

Author libri de Eccl. The author of the book, *De Dog. Eccl.* c. 74, openly saith, that novices in religion dying before their baptism cannot be saved: but this seems overhard. Melchior Canus holds they may be saved; because, though they be not of the Christian Church, yet they are of that Church that comprehends all faithful ones, from Abel to the end of the world. But this satisfies not: I answer, that this rule, No man without the Church can be saved, is to be understood of those which neither in deed nor in desire are of the Church.—*Bellarm. de Eccles. Milit.* l. iii. c. 3. p. 159.

Ninthly, Bellarmine against Alphonsus de Castro.

Hæreticos et apostatas baptiz. Alphonsus, &c. Alphonsus de Castro, in his second book of the Just Punishment of Heretics, chap. 24, teaches that heretics and apostates, if once baptized, are members and parts of the Church, although they openly profess false doctrine: which opinion, as it is plainly false, so may easily be refuted.—*Bellarm.* l. iii. chap. 4. p. 196.

Tenthly, Alphonsus and others against Bellarmine.

De schismaticis, &c. Some catholics doubt concerning schismatics, whether they be

[k] In 4. d. 19. [l] 3. p. tit. 22. c. 10. [m] L. ii. c. 93, &c.
[n] De planctu Eccles. lib. i. c. 93.

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of the Church: yea, Alphonsus de Castro flatly affirms them to be of the Church; but it is easy to show the contrary out of scriptures and traditions of the fathers. — *Bellarmine*, l. iii. chap. 5; where also he holds the definition which pope Nicholas gives of the Church to be imperfect, p. 200, 203.

DECADE VI.

First, Catechism. Rom., Waldensis, Turrecremata, &c. against some nameless Papists.

That persons excommunicate are not of the Church is taught by the Catechism of Rome, by Tho. Waldensis, Jo. de Turrecremata, Jo. Driedo, and some others. The contrary is defended by others: whose three objections are answered by *Bellarmine*, l. iii. chap. 6. p. 205. De excommunicatis, quod in Ecclesiæ, &c.

Secondly, Bellarmine against some not named Papists.

For answering of that place of Austin, l. ii., against Cresconius, that notorious wicked men are not of the Church; not only Brentius and Calvin heretics, but some catholics, feign two Churches, and they do but feign them indeed; for neither scripture nor Austin ever mention more than one.—*Bellarm.* l. iii. chap. 9. p. 229. Propter hæc loca, &c.

Thirdly, Bellarmine against Turrecremata.

That close infidels, that have neither faith nor any other Christian virtue, yet externally for some temporal commodity profess the catholic faith, belong not to the true Church, is taught, not only by the Calvinists, but by some of our catholics[o]; amongst whom is Jo. de Turrecremata *de Eccles.* l. iv. But we follow their phrase of speech which say, that those, who by an external profession only are joined to the faithful, are true parts of the body of the Church, though dry and dead.—*Bellarm.* l. iii. chap. 10. p. 232. Restant infideles occulti, &c.

Fourthly, Alexander Alensis, and Turrecremata against Bellarmine.

There are some catholic doctors which teach, in the passion of our Lord there remained true faith in none but the blessed Virgin alone: and that they hold to be signified by that one candle, which alone is kept light in the third night before Easter. So holds Alexander Alensis, p. 3. q. ult. art. 2; and John de Turrecremata *de Eccles.* l. i. c. 30. But I wonder at Turrecremata, who, for so slight an argument from a candle, saith, it is against the faith of the universal Church to affirm otherwise. For Ru- Non desunt etiam Catholici qui dicant, &c.

[o] So Thomas Waldensis, Jo. Driedo, Peter à Soto, Hosius, Canus, and others.

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pertus in his fifth book of Divine Offices, chap. 26, saith, that in his time the last candle also had wont to be quenched. It may be answered rather with Abulensis, that by this candle is signified that only in the blessed Virgin there was for those three days an explicit faith of the resurrection.—*Bellarm.* l. iii. chap. 17. p. 27.

Fifthly, Cajetan, Francisc. Victoria, against other doctors.

Si nulla extaret, &c.

If there were no constitution for the choice of the pope, and all the cardinals should perish at once, the question is, in whom should be the right of the election. Some hold that the right of the choice (setting aside the positive law) should belong to the council of bishops: as Cajetan in his Treatise of the Power of the Pope and Council, chap. 13; Franciscus Victoria, Relect. 2. q. 2, of the Power of the Church: others (as Silvester reports, in the word Excommunication) teach, that it pertains to the clergy of Rome.—*Bellarm. in his first book of the Members of the Church Militant,* c. 10. p. 52.

Sixthly, Bellarmine against Antonius Delphinus, and Michael Medina.

Sexta objectio ex S. Hieronimo in com. &c.

To that objection out of Jerome, who saith, upon the first to Titus, that a presbyter is the same with a bishop, is answered by Antonius Delphinus (l. ii. of the Church) that in the beginning of the Church all presbyters were bishops. But this satisfies not. Michael Medina, in his first book *de Sacr. Hom. Origine,* affirms, that St. Jerome held the same opinion with the Aërian heretics; and that not only Jerome was in this heresy, but also Ambrose, Austin, Sedulius, Primasius, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Œcumenius, Theophylact. The opinion of these men was condemned, first in Aërius, then in the Waldenses, and after in Wickliffe. But this opinion of Medina is very inconsiderate.—*Bellarm.* same book, chap. xv. p. 75.

Seventhly, Bellarmine against Onuphrius.

Onuphrius, in libro de Cardinalium Titulis, &c.

The opinion of Onuphrius concerning the names or titles of cardinals, see confuted by Bellarmine in the same book, chap. 16, p. 82.

Eighthly, Jo. Major. and Jodoc. Clictovæus, against St. Thomas, Cajetan, Sotus.

Ac ut a primo incipiamus, Jo. Major, &c.

Johannes Major holds, that the vow of single life of priests stands by the law of God, and therefore cannot be dispensed with: so also Jod. Clictovæus, in his book *De Contin. Sacerd.,* who there defends two opinions, which cannot hold together. But St. Thomas, in *Secunda Secundæ,* q. 88. art. 11, saith plainly, that the vow of continency is only by the decree of the Church

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annexed to holy orders, and therefore may be dispensed with: the same teaches Cajetan in Opusc., and Sotus in his seventh book of Justice, &c.—*Bellarm.* l. i. c. 18. p. 92.

Ninthly, Erasmus and Panormitan against the other popish doctors.

Erasmus, in a declamation of the praise of matrimony, holds it profitable, that liberty of marriage should be granted to priests: and the same is taught by Card. Panormitan, a catholic and learned doctor (in the chapter, *Cum olim*). Against these errors we are to prove, that the vow of continency is so annexed to holy orders, that they neither may marry nor converse with their wives formerly married.—*Bellarm.* same book, chap. xix. p. 95.

Præterea Erasmus, &c.

Tenthly, the Gloss, Innocent, Panormitan, Hostiensis, opposed by all divines, and some canonists.

The fourth error is of many of the Canonists, which hold, that tithes, even according to the determination of quantity, stand by the law of God; and that no other quantity can be set down by any human law or custom: so the Gloss, Innocentius, Panormitan, Hostiensis. But doubtless it is a manifest error; as not only all divines, but some Canonists also teach; as Silvester in the word *Decima*, quæst. 4. and Navar., c. 21. And herein many of the Canonists offend double: once, in that they defend a falsehood; twice, in that they do almost condemn all those divines as heretics which hold the contrary.—*Bellarm.* same book, chap. xxv. p. 145.

Quartus error est multorum Canonistarum.

DECADE VII.

First, Sotus against Silvester; and Navarre, Bellarmine, and Aquinas, with both.

Whether the precept of tithes, as it is positive and human, may by custom be altered, is doubtful.

Dubium autem est, &c.

Sotus holds directly it cannot, book ix. quæst. 4. art. 1. and thinks that this is the judgment of Aquinas. But I think with Silvester and Navarre that it may; and I doubt not but this is the opinion of Aquinas.—*Bellarm. ibid.* p. 148.

Secondly, Bellarmine against Thomas Waldensis.

Thomas Waldensis teaches, that clerks should either give their goods to the poor, or lay them together in common; and proves it by some sentences of fathers, Origen, Jerome, Bernard. But it is certain that clerks are not by their profession tied to put away their patrimony.—*Bellarmine*, same book, ch. xxvii. p. 156.

Thomas Wald. docet clericos debere, &c.

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Thirdly, Marsilius Paduan, Jo. de Janduno, Turrecremata: Canonists, Gloss, Driedonius: Francisc. Victoria, Dominicus à Soto, Covarruvias, dissenting.

Postrema restat quæstio de libertate eccles.

In the question concerning the liberty of ecclesiastical persons are three opinions. The first is of many heretics, that clerks are and should be subject to secular powers, both in payment of tributes, and in judgments, especially not ecclesiastical: so also Marsilius of Padua, and Jo. de Janduno teach, that Christ himself was not free from paying tribute, and that he did it not voluntarily, but of necessity, as is reported by Turrecremata.

The second opinion, in another extreme, is of many Canonists, who hold that by the law of God clerks and their goods are free from the power of secular princes: so teaches the Gloss in *Can. Tributum*[P]: and of this mind seems Jo. Driedonius to be in his book of Christian Liberty, chap. 9.

The third, in the mean, is of many divines, that clerks are free, partly by the law of God, partly by the law of men, and partly neither way: so thinks Franciscus Victoria, Dominicus à Soto, Covarruvias in his book of Practical Questions. Bellarmine, same book, chap. 28, where he disputes against the Canonists, confutes Cornelius Jansenius, and follows Tostatus and Cajetan in the exposition of Austin, and, lastly, refels Dominicus à Soto, &c. p. 159, 166, 167.

Fourthly, Dominicus à Soto and Alphonsus, against Saint Thomas and Bonaventure.

Quæstionem esse inter Theologos, &c.

It is a question among divines, whether duties commanded by God do properly fall within the compass of our vows. For some deny it, as Thomas and Bonaventure (in 4. dist. 38.). Others affirm it, as some latter writers: Dominicus à Soto, l. vii. *de Justit. et Jure:* Alphonsus à Castro, l. i. of Penal Law, &c. c. 10. Bellarmine; Controv. 5. Gener. b. 2. c. 19. 1. De membr. Eccles. militant. p. 278.

Fifthly, Scotus and Albertus and Bellarmine against Saint Thomas.

Et quamvis S. Thomas.

Although Saint Thomas doth not admit an absolute vow of virginity in the blessed Virgin before her espousal, yet Scotus doth admit it, in 4. dist. 30. quest. 2. And before Scotus, Albertus Magnus, in his book of the Praises of our Lady; and before Albert, the holy Fathers, Nyssenus and Augustin. Neither do I see how that vow can prejudice the celebration of her true mar-

[P] *Si Imperator, &c.* are the words in Bellarmine.—A.

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riage; if it be supposed (as all divines do) that it was revealed to her that Saint Joseph should never require of her matrimonial benevolence.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 22. p. 296.

Sixthly, Scotus, Paludanus, Cajetan, against Albertus, Thomas, Bonaventure, Richard, Durand, &c.

Utrum autem post votum.

Whether after a solemn vow made, matrimony be quite disannulled by the law of God and of nature, or only by the law of the Church, is questioned. For Albertus, St. Thomas, St. Bonaventure, Richard, and Durand in the 4. dist. 38. and Dominicus à Soto, in his seventh book of Law and Justice, q. 2. art. 5, will have the marriage, by the law of God and nature, utterly void, if it be made after a solemn vow taken. But Scotus, and Paludanus in 4. dist. 38. and Cajetan, and all the whole school of lawyers, (as Panormitan reporteth,) affirm, that such marriage is only void by the law of the Church.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. xxxiv. p. 378.

Seventhly, Erasmus and Espencæus; Justinian and Gregory; Bellarmine and the common sort, disagreeing.

De quarto duo sunt errores extremi.

Of the fourth are two extreme errors: one of Martin Chemnitius and the Magdeburgenses, who teach, that matrimony, whether ratified and consummate, or ratified only, cannot be dissolved by the profession of a monasterial life: so also teacheth Erasmus, upon 1 Cor. vii, and to the same judgment inclineth Claudius Espencæus in his sixth book of Contin. chap. 4.....Another error, in the contrary extreme, that marriage, though fully consummate, is dissolved by entering into religion: so decreed Justinian, G. of bishops[q]; and this law is related by Gregory, book ix. epist. 39. But the judgment of the Church is in the mean between both, that matrimony, ratified only, is so dissolved; not when it is consummate: so, besides many canons, the Council of Trent, sess. 24. can. 6.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. xxxviii. p. 394, &c.

Eighthly, Jo. of Louvain and Bellarmine against George Cassander.

Tertius error est, &c.

The third error is of George Cassander, in his book of the Office of a Good Man, who holdeth that princes ought to seek a way of reconciliation betwixt the Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, &c.; and, till they do find it out, that they ought to permit to every one his own faith, so that they all receive the Scripture and the Creed Apostolic. This is a manifest error, and against him wrote, of the catholic doctors, John of Louvain; of the heretics, John Calvin: and this opinion may easily be confuted.—*Bellarmin. de Laicis*, l. iii. c. 19. p. 500.

[q] [Codex, l. i. lex 41.]

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Ninthly, some nameless doctors, also Scotus, Thomas, and Bellarmine, in three diverse opinions.

Non defuerunt qui, &c.

There have been some which have denied that venial sin could be remitted after this life, as St. Thomas reports in dist. 4. q. 21. art. 2; but said, that all venial sins are remitted in the instant of death by a final grace. But they are deceived; for both scriptures and fathers teach us that small sins are remitted after this life, &c. Others, as Scotus in 4. dist. 21. q. 1, say, that sin, after the act is past, leaves only a guilt of punishment behind it: and therefore venial sin is said to be remitted in purgatory, because it is there wholly punished; but mortal sin is not said to be forgiven after this life, because it is never there totally punished. This opinion is also false. Another opinion of the same Scotus is, that venial sins are remitted in the first moment of the soul's separation from the body by the virtue of our foregoing merits: but this pleaseth me not. The opinion of Thomas is truer, that venial sins are remitted in purgatory by the act of love and patience, &c.—*Bellarm. 6 Controv. Gener. of Purgat.* l. i. c. 14. p. 84.

Tenthly, some unnamed Papists against Bonaventure, Scotus, Durand, Thomas, &c.

Argumentum tertium quorundam catholicorum.

Some catholics, to prove that, as they hold, souls in purgatory may merit, argue thus: The souls in purgatory have all things necessary for merit; for they have grace, faith, charity, freewill, &c. Also they prove it by the authority of St. Thomas, in 4. dist. 1. q. 1. art. 3. But I answer to the argument: That the souls in purgatory cannot merit, because they are not in the state of their passage; for God hath only decreed during this life to accept our good works for merit: and after this life, good works are the effects of glory; evil, the effects of damnation. For St. Thomas I answer, that he changed his opinion: for in q. 7. of Evil, art. 11, he saith directly, that there can be no merit in purgatory: so also Bonaventure, Scotus, Durand, and others.—*Bellarm. ibid.* l. ii. c. 3. p. 106.

DECADE VIII.

First, Carthusian, Michael Baii, Gerson, Raffensis, against the common opinion of Divines.

Tertia quæstio nunc, &c.

The third question is, whether the souls in purgatory be certain of their salvation or no. Some catholics teach, that they are not: who hold that there be sundry punishments in purgatory; whereof the greatest is uncertainty of salvation, with which they say some

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souls are only punished. So seems Dionysius Carthusianus to hold, by reason of certain visions which he reports: and so teaches Michael Baii, in his second book of Merit of Works, chap. 8. This way seems to tend the opinion of Jo. Gerson, lect. i. of Spiritual Life; and of Jo. of Rochester against the thirty-second article of Luther; who hold venial sin to be only such upon the mercy of God, and therefore that it may, if God so will, be eternally punished, &c. But the common opinion of divines is, that all souls in purgatory are certain of their salvation.—*Bellarm. ibid.* chap. iv. p. 108.

Secondly, Bellarmine warranted by Bede, Carthusian, and Gregory, against the Council of Florence and all Divines.

In the first question concerning the number of places, there is great difficulty. For on the one side all divines teach, that there are no other receptacles beside the four mentioned; and the Council of Florence, Sess. ult., defines, that the souls which have nothing to be purged, are straight taken into heaven. On the other side, Beda in his 5. book, chap. 13, tells of a very probable vision which he doubted not to believe; wherein was showed to a certain soul which after returned to the body, besides hell, purgatory, and heaven, a goodly flourishing, pleasant, lightsome, and sweet meadow, wherein lived those souls which suffered nothing, but only stayed there because they were not yet fit for heaven: and divers such visions are brought by Dionysius Carthusian and Gregory. And it seems to me not unprobable that such a place there is to be found, which belongeth to purgatory: for though there be no punishment of pain, yet of loss there is. Therefore this place is a milder kind of purgatory, and as it were a more gentlemanlike and honourable prison.—*Bellarm. ibid.* chap. vii. p. 123.

Quantum ad primum, difficultas, &c.

Quoddam quasi pratum florentissimum, lucidissimum, odoratum, amœnum.

Mitissimum purgatorium, et quasi carcer quidam senatorius, et honoratus.

Thirdly, Alphonsus Ciaconus against Melchior Canus and Dominicus à Soto.

If this history of Trajan should be defended, we must say that Trajan was not absolutely condemned to hell, but only punished in hell according to his present demerit, and that the sentence was suspended by reason of Gregory's prayers foreseen by God; and therefore that he was not immediately translated from hell to heaven, but first united to the body, then baptized, and then that he did penance in this life: and this is the common answer of St. Thomas, Durand, Richard, and others. But I rather incline to the opinion of Melchior Canus, which simply rejects this

Si hæc historia, &c.

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history as feigned; and of Dominicus à Soto, notwithstanding the Apology which Alphonsus Ciaconus hath three years ago published for this story.—*Bellarm. ibid.* chap. viii. p. 124.

Fourthly, Sotus, Abulensis; Thomas, Richardus, and Durandus, differing.

De damnatis similiter dico, &c.

Of the damned I say, that he that is absolutely damned to eternal punishment cannot be recalled to life; for then the damnation of the wicked should be uncertain. Against this opinion is Abulensis, quæst. 57. in the fourth book of Kings. To the instances brought, Sotus answers, that those heathens were only invincibly ignorant, and therefore in purgatory: but I say, that those which were raised, though they did deserve eternal damnation, yet were not condemned, but that their judgment was suspended, and that in the mean time they were punished according to their present injustice. So holds St. Thomas, in sent. 4. dist. 45, Richardus, Durand, and others.—*Bellarm. ibid.* chap. viii. p. 133.

Fifthly, Bellarmine against Dominicus à Soto.

Præter hos errores, &c.

Besides these errors, it was the opinion of Dominicus à Soto, upon sent. 4. dist. 19. q. 3. art. 2, that no man remains ten years in purgatory. Whom see how Bellarmine confutes by reasons, by visions, by the custom of the Church.—*Bellarm. ibid.* chap. ix. p. 133.

Sixthly, Thomas and the Schoolmen against the visions of Bede and Carthusian.

De tertio dubio, &c.

Concerning the third doubt, it is altogether uncertain. For that the souls in purgatory are punished neither by devils nor by angels, but by fire only, is taught by the schoolmen, as Thomas, upon 4. dist. 20. art. 5. On the other part, that the souls in purgatory are punished by devils, is taught by many revelations, as that of St. Fursæus, in Beda, l. 3. Hist. c. 19, and others; in Dionysius Carthusian, in his book *De Quatuor Novissimis.*—*Bellarm. ibid.* chap. xiii. p. 137.

Seventhly, Bonaventure against Thomas.

Quamvis autem aliquo modo, &c.

Although all men grant in some sort that the punishment or pains of purgatory are greater than the pains of this life, yet it is doubtful how this is to be understood. For St. Thomas teaches two things: first, that the pain of loss is the greatest of all pains, whether in purgatory or in this life; secondly, that the least pain of purgatory is greater than all the pains of this life. But Bonaventure, in 4. dist. 20. art. 1, teaches, first, that the pain of loss in purgatory is not greater than every pain, whether of purgatory

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or of this life: secondly, he teaches that the pains of purgatory are greater than the pains of this life, only in this sense; because the greatest pain of purgatory is greater than the greatest pain of this life; although there be found some other punishment in purgatory less than some punishment in this life: which opinion pleaseth me best, for, &c.—*Bellarm. ibid.* chap. xiv. p. 138.

Eighthly, Dominicus à Soto against Pet. Cluniacensis.

Neither ought any man to doubt but that the souls of the departed saints which reign with Christ do pray for the souls of the saints which are in purgatory. The contrary whereof is rashly affirmed by Dominicus à Soto, sent. 4. dist. 45. quæst. 3. art. 2. Whom Bellarmine confutes by the authority of Petrus Cluniacensis, St. Austin, and, lastly, of the whole Church, who, in that prayer which begins, "God the giver of pardons beseecheth God, that by the intercession of St. Mary and all saints the souls of the departed may come to the fellowship of eternal happiness."—*Bellarm. ibid.* cap. xv. p. 141.

Nec ulli dubium esse debet, &c.

Ninthly, St. Thomas against Pet. Damian and Bellarmine.

That the dead do good to the living, it is manifest. For 2 Maccabb. xv. we read that Onias and Hieremias, long before departed, were seen to pray for the people of the Jews then alive. Neither is it incredible, that even the souls in purgatory do pray for us, and prevail, since that the soul of Paschasius and Severinus, though in purgatory, wrought miracles, as appears by Gregory, book the fourth of Dialog. chap. 40; and Peter Damian in an Epistle of the miracles of his time: and though St. Thomas in *Secunda Secundæ*, q. 83. art. 3. teach the contrary, yet his reason proveth nothing, &c. But although this be true, yet it seems superfluous for us to sue to them that they may pray for us; because they cannot ordinarily know what we do in particular, but only in common know that we are in many dangers, &c.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. xv. p. 142.

Quod autem mortui, &c.

Tenthly, Dominicus à Soto against many visions and Saint Bridget.

One doubt remains, whether the restitution of a thing detained profit the dead, and so becofne a fourth kind of suffrage: for the souls of the departed are said to have often appeared, and intreated for restitution of those things which either they had forgotten, or could not restore: and Saint Bridget, in her sixth book of Revelations, chap. 66, affirms, that the soul is so long tormented, till that which was unjustly taken away be re-

Unum hic solum dubium, &c.

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stored. Dominicus à Soto upon 4. dist. 45. q. 2. art. 3, holds, that such restitution, if it be made, avails nothing, nor hinders nothing, if unmade; for God punishes not, but for our own faults committed in our lifetime.

As to those apparitions, I answer, that perhaps those souls do not desire restitution, as it is restitution, but as an alms; for although it do not benefit the soul, that he restores which is bound to restore it, yet it will much profit it, if another restore it which is not bound: for this is a kind of alms, and therefore satisfactory.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. xvi. p. 146.

DECADE IX.

First, Sotus against Paludanus.

Qui potest suffragiis, &c.

It is the just man only that can help souls by his suffrages: for the unjust cannot satisfy for himself, much less for others. But you will say, What if a just prelate command his spiritual sons to pray or fast for the departed, and those sons be unjust? Paludanus answers upon sent. 4. dist. 45. q. 1, that all those devotions do profit the dead: but Sotus, upon better grounds, denies it, in the same place, quæst. 2. art. 2. — *Bellarm. ibid.* c. 17. p. 147.

Secondly, Cajetan, some other divines, and the common opinion, in three differences.

At dissentiunt de suffragiis particularibus, &c.

But our divines dissent about particular suffrages. For Cajetan, in the first tome of his Opuscul. (tract. 16. q. 5.), teaches, that all souls indeed may be, and are, helped by the general suffrages; but that by particular suffrages those souls only are helped which have particularly deserved to be helped by them; and such he holds to be those who have had a special devotion to the keys of the church, and have been careful for the souls of others.

Others, whom Saint Thomas cites, upon 4. dist. 45. q. 2. art. 4, say, that the suffrages which are made for one do not only profit him, but all others, and not him more than others: as a candle, lighted for the master, equally gives light to the servants in the same place. But the common opinion is between both these; that particular suffrages profit all them, and them only, (as in the nature of satisfaction,) for whom they are made.—*Bellarmin. ibid.* c. 18. p. 151.

Thirdly, Thomas and Bellarmine against Guilielm. de Sancto Amore.

Quarta expos. &c.

Guilielmus de Sancto Amore would have that place of Christ's speech, *Go sell all, and give to the poor, &c.*, understood only of

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the preparation of the mind, that it should be so disposed, as that it could part with all things; against whom Saint Thomas wrote, Opusc. 19.—*Bellarmin. De Monachis* [*de Membr. Eccl. Mil.*] l. ii. c. 9. p. 228.

Fourthly, Gulielm. de Sancto Amore confuted by Bellarmine.

Another error was that of Gulielmus de Sancto Amore, and after him of Jo. Wickliffe, who teach, that monks are bound to live by the work of their own hands, &c.—*Bellarm. Book of Monks*, chap. xli. p. 420. Alter error fuit Gul. &c.

Fifthly, Erasmus, Agrippa, Ferus, against all Catholics.

Erasmus, Cornelius Agrippa, Jo. Ferus, have in our days revived that opinion of the Manichees, that war is not lawful for Christians, holding herein with the Anabaptists.—*Bellarm. lib. de Laicis*, c. xiv. p. 476. Eandem hæresin nostro sæculo, &c.

Sixthly, eight opinions of papists (and some ancient) concerning purgatory.

Concerning the place where purgatory is, there are many opinions. The first, of some who hold that the soul is there purged where it sinned. And indeed that the soul is in divers places purged is probably gathered out of Gregory, *Dialog.* l. iv. c. 40, and out of an Epistle of Petrus Damianus. But that all are punished where they sinned is not probable. Quæstio quarta sequitur: ubi sit purgat.

The second is, that the places of souls are not corporal: so held Austin, but he retracted it.

The third, that the place of punishment for the soul is this world, &c.

The seventh is, that not the earth, but the dark air, where the devils are, is the place of punishment.

The eighth is, the common opinion of schoolmen, that purgatory is in the bowels of the earth, near to hell.—*Bellarm. of Purgat.* book ii. chap. 6. p. 117, 118.

Seventhly, Peter Lombard, Thomas, Bonaventure, Richardus, Marsilius, against Thomas himself, Cajetan, Durand.

The schoolmen inquire, whether the glory of the soul after the resurrection shall be greater than before. In two things they all agree: first, that the accidental glory of the soul shall be greater both in extension and intention; secondly, that the essential joy shall be greater in extension, because it is now in the soul alone, then shall reach unto the body also. But about the increase of essential glory in intention they do not agree. For Peter Lombard, in his 4. of Sent. dist. 49, and Saint Thomas upon Est autem hic notandum scholasticos, &c.

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the same place, and Saint Bonaventure, and Richardus, and Marsilius say, that the essential glory shall then be greater in very measure and degrees of intention. But, on the contrary, Saint Thomas 1. d. 2. q. 4. art. 5, and Cajetan, in the same place, and Durandus, say, that the essential glory shall not be greater in degrees of intention, but in extent only. I affirm two things: first, that the first opinion is more according to Saint Austin's meaning, and to Haymon's in Rev. vi., and Bernard's, &c. Secondly, that the second opinion is simply the truer: and therefore that Saint Thomas did well to change his opinion.—*Bellarm. 7. Controv. Gener. of the Church Triumph.* l. i. c. 5. p. 58.

Eighthly, Bellarmine against Mart. Peresius.

Neque obstat, quod isti patres, &c.

Neither doth it hinder much, that the fathers have seldom mentioned *dulia*, service. For when they say, that images and saints are to be worshipped, and not with *latria*, they show sufficiently, that they ought to be worshipped with that kind of service which we call *dulia;* as Beda calls it upon Luke iv. and the Master of Sent., with all schoolmen, Sent. l. iii. There was no need therefore that Martinus Peresius, in his work of Traditions, part 3. consid. 7, should say, that he did not greatly allow that this name *dulia* should be given to the worship of the saints, since *dulia* signifies service, and we are not the servants of the saints, but fellowservants, &c.—*Bellarm.* same book, chap. xii. p. 83.

Ninthly, Four disagreeing opinions of doctors.

De modo autem quo cognoscunt, &c.

How the saints know what we ask of them, there are four opinions of our doctors. Some say, they know it by the relation of angels: others say, that the souls of the saints, (as the angels,) by a certain marvellous celerity of nature, are after a sort everywhere, and hear the prayers of their suppliants. The one of these is Austin's, the other Jerome's; but neither of them is sufficient. Others say, that the saints see in God all things from the beginning of their blessedness, which may in any sort concern them, and therefore also our prayers, which are directed to them: so teach Gregory (book xii. of his Morals, part iii. q. 10. art. 2.), St. Thomas, Cajetan. Others, lastly, say, that the saints do not from the beginning of their blessedness see our prayers in God; but that then only they are revealed by God to them when we utter them. And of these two latter, the first seems to me to be simply the more likely: for if the saints ever needed new revelations, the Church would not so confidently say to all saints,

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Orate pro nobis, Pray for us; but rather would desire of God to reveal our prayers to them.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. xx. p. 129.

Tenthly, Bellarmine against Catharinus and Thomas Cajetan.

Secunda opinio, &c.

The second opinion is of Ambrosius Catharinus in his treatise of Images, where he teaches, that God in the Ten Commandments simply forbids all images; but that this precept was only positive and temporal. . . . But this opinion is not allowed of us, especially because Saint Irenæus directly teaches, that the Decalogue is natural, excepting only that precept of the Sabbath: and Tertullian, in his book of Idolatry, holdeth, that this precept is most of all now to be observed: so Cyprian also, Austin, &c...The third is of Thomas Cajetan upon Exod. xx, which teacheth, that not every image or idol is there forbidden, but only that there is forbidden to any man to make to himself any image which he will take for his God. This opinion displeases me only in the manner of speech; for Cajetan takes an image and an idol both for one, which is false, &c. *Bellarm. 7. Controv. Gener.* l. ii. c. 7, that is, *De Imaginibus Sanctorum,* l. ii. c. 7. p. 176.

DECADE X.

First, Abulensis, Durandus, Peresius, against Catharinus, Payva, Sanders, and Bellarmine.

Quarta opinio, &c.

The fourth opinion is Calvin's, in the first book of his Institutions, chap. 11, where he saith, It is an abominable sin to make a visible and bodily image of the invisible and incorporeal God... And this opinion of Calvin's is also the opinion of some catholic doctors, as Abulensis upon Deut. iv. quæst. 5, and Durandus upon 3 dist. 9. q. 2, and Peresius in his book of Traditions. But I affirm three things: first, that it is not so certain in the Church that we may make images of God or the Trinity, as of Christ and the saints; for this all catholics confess: secondly, that Calvin's fraud and craft is admirable, who, after he hath proved that images of God are not to be made, digresseth to amplification, and triumphs as if he had proved that we may not make or worship any image at all: thirdly, I say, that it is lawful to paint the image of God the Father in the form of an old man, and of the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove, as is taught also by Cajetan, part iii. q. 25. art. 3, by Ambrosius Catharinus, *Lib. de Cultu Imaginum, &c.*, by Diegus Payva, Nicholas Sanders, Thomas Waldensis. *Bellarm., ibid.* c. 8. p. 179.

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Secondly, Bellarmine against Bartholomæus Caranza.

Præterea notandum est, Barthol., &c.

Besides it must be noted, that Bartholomæus Caranza errs, who, in the sum of the councils, saith, (can. 82. of the sixth synod,) that the image of Christ in the form of a lamb, and of the Spirit in the form of a dove, is there forbidden: whereas the council forbids not these images, but only prefers to them the images of Christ in an human form, &c. Besides, the reason of Bartholomæus seems to conclude against himself; that the shadows ceased when the truth came; for these images were not in use in the Old Testament, but began only after Christ's coming. But his error is to be corrected out of the seventh synod, where this canon is often entirely cited. *Bellarm.* same book, c. 8. p. 182.

Thirdly, Payva, Sanders, Alan. Copus and others differing.

Ad secundum Payva respondet.

Payva answers, that the Elibertine council forbids only an image of God, which is made to represent the shape of God: but this seems not to satisfy....Nicholas Sanders answers, that the council forbade images in the churches, because the time and place required it; for then there was danger lest the Gentiles should think we worshipped wood and stones; and lest that, in the persecutions, their images should have been reproachfully handled by the persecutors. This answer is good... Alanus Copus in book v. of Dialog. chap. 16. saith, that images are here forbidden, because they began to be worshipped of those Christians as gods: in which sense Saint Ivo takes that canon in Decret. part iii. c. 40. But this exposition is not well warranted by the reasons of the canon. Others say, that there is only forbidden to paint images on the walls, and not in tables and veils. But howsoever it be, that council is rather for us than against us. *Bellarm. ibid.* c. 9. p. 190.

Fourthly, Three ranks of popish writers dissenting.

Venio nunc ad postremam quæstionem, &c.

Of the last question, what manner of worship images are worthy of, there are three opinions. First, that the image is no way in itself to be worshipped, but only that the thing represented is to be worshipped before the image: so some hold, whom Catharinus both reports and refutes: the same seems to be held by Alexander, part iii. q. 30. art. ult. as also by Durandus, sent. 3. dist. 9. q. 2. And by Alphonsus à Castro.... The second, that the same honour is due to the image and the thing expressed by it; and therefore that Christ's image is to be worshipped with the worship of Latria, Saint Mary's with Hyperdulia, the Saints' with Dulia; so Alexander, part iii. q. 30. art. ult.; Saint Thomas, part iii. q. 25.

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art. 3; and upon the same place Cajetan, St. Bonaventure, Marsilius, Almain, Carthusianus, Capreolus, and others; which opinion stands upon seven grounds there specified. The third opinion, in the mean, is of them that say images in themselves properly should be honoured, but with a less honour than the thing represented; and therefore that no image is to be worshipped with Latria: so holds Martinus Peresius, Ambrosius Catharinus, Nicholas Sanders, Gabriel.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 20. p. 235, 236, 237, &c.

What shift Bellarmine makes to reconcile the second opinion, by adoration improperly, and by accident, see the same book, chap. 23. p. 242.

Fifthly, Bellarmine against Peresius and Durandus, &c.

Peresius answers, that it is not true that we are carried with the same motion of the heart to the image and the thing represented: since these two are opposites, neither can be known, but with a double act of knowledge. Bellarmine confutes him, and shows that these two are so opposite, as that one depends upon another, and that one can neither be defined nor known without the other. Durandus answers otherwise; for he admits there is one and the same motion to both, but denies that therefore they have but one and the same adoration. Others confirm this answer, for that although there be one and the same motion of the mind, that is, of the understanding, towards them both, yet there may be contrary motions of will, &c. But this answer satisfies not. I hold there must be another answer given. See his determination at large, that there is the same motion of the understanding and will to the image and the thing expressed; but in divers respects, as either of them is made the principal or indirect object.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 24. p. 246.

Peresius respondet.

Sixthly, Tho. Waldensis against Abulensis, Jansenius, and others.

Thomas Waldensis holds, not improbably, in his third tom. tit. 20. chap. 158, that the very wooden cross which is now divided into many pieces and parcels, shall then be renewed, and gathered up together, and shall appear in heaven. The same seems to be affirmed by Sibylla and Chrysostom, and the other fathers do not contradict it. But if this be not admitted, at least the bright image of the cross shall appear out of the air, or fire condensated, as Abulensis, Jansenius, and others teach.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 28. p. 260.

Et quidem Tho. Waldensis.

Seventhly, two sorts of papists dissenting.

Some of our latter writers think that sacred houses are not

Prima quorundam recentiorum, qui, &c.

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properly built, but only to God, as sacrifices are offered to him alone, and that they have their names from saints, not for that they are built unto them, but because their memories are in those temples worshipped, and they called upon as patrons in those places. So they interpret the church of St. Peter, not for that sacrifice is therein offered to Peter, but because it is offered to God in thanksgiving, for the glory bestowed on St. Peter, and he is there called upon as our patron and advocate with God. Another answer admits holy houses, truly and properly built to the saints, but not in the nature of temples, but as royal monuments or memories of them.—*Bellarm. de Cultu Sanct.* lib. iii. cap. 4. p. 299.

Basilicæ vel memoriæ.

Eighthly, Thomas against Scotus, Abulensis, Lyranus.

We are not bound by any peculiar precept not to sin on festival days, or to the acts of contrition, or love of God. This is St. Thomas's opinion against Scotus, upon 3. dist. 27, which saith, On holidays men are bound to an internal act of loving God; and against Abulensis and Lyranus, who hold, that sins, being servile works, are forbidden; and therefore that a sin done on a holiday is double.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 10. p. 356. (tom. 2. col. 881.)

Non tenemur diebus festis, &c.

Ninthly, Gulielm. Occam against the common opinion.

The second thing required to a sacrament of the new law is, a sensible sign. For there are some invisible signs, as the character imprinted in the soul by the sacraments; but it is certain there must be visible signs also. Scarce ever any but Gulielmus Occam hath held, that though the sacraments be visible signs, yet that this is not of their essence; for that God might institute a sacrament in a spiritual matter, as, if he should appoint that a mental prayer, or the meditation of Christ's passion, should give grace merely by the work wrought. But Occam is deceived.—*Bellarm. de Sacrament. in Genere,* l. i. c. 9. p. 34.

Secundum est ut hoc, &c.

Tenthly, Three divers opinions of popish doctors.

Concerning the definition of a sacrament, there are three opinions of doctors. Some hold, that a sacrament cannot properly be defined; as Occam, Major, Richardus. Some hold, that it may be defined, at least imperfectly: so Scotus, d. 1. q. 2. and Sotus. Some, that it may be properly defined: so Martinus Ledesmius in tract. of *Sacram.*—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 10. p. 40.

Tres sunt doctorum sententiæ, &c.

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BOOK II.

SECOND CENTURY OF DISSENSIONS.

DECADE I.

First, Bellarmine dissenting from Waldensis, Hugo, Gratian, Lombard.

Sunt enim plures definitiones, &c.

The definition of a sacrament is so canvassed by Bellarmine, as that he rejecteth two of Augustin's, seconded also by Hugo, book i. part 9. chap. 2; Bernard in his Sermon of the Lord's Supper; Tho. Waldensis, tom. 2. chap. 20, as altogether imperfect: also, Hugo's definition, as too long; Gratian's (cited by him from Gregory, but indeed from Isidore), as only an explication of the word, not the matter; Peter Lombard's, as wanting somewhat, or rather intricately infolding it: and allows only the definition of the Council of Trent as most accurate (*definitio pulcherrima est*); *Bellarm. ibid.* l. i. c. 11. p. 43, 44, &c.

Secondly, Albert, Thomas, Bonaventure, and others, against Thomas, Dominicus à Soto, Ledesmius, &c.

Duæ sunt theologorum sententiæ.

Here be two opinions of divines. The first of the Master of Sentences, book iv. d. 1, and upon that place; Albertus, Thomas, Bonaventure, and others, who teach, that no definition can directly and properly agree to the sacraments of both the old and new law, but that they all agree properly to the sacraments of the new; imperfectly, and by proportion only, to the sacraments of the old. Another opinion is of St. Thomas, part iii. q. 60. art. 1. (for he manifestly changed his opinion), as also of Dominicus à Soto, and Martin Ledesmius, who teach that this definition, the sign of an holy thing, doth directly and univocally agree to the sacraments of both old and new law. Either sentence partly pleases and partly displeases me.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 12. p. 45.

Thirdly, Dominicus à Soto and Cajetan, Thomas, Durand, Adrian, Alexand. Alensis, Dominicus à Soto, all opposite.

Sunt igitur variæ sententiæ, &c.

There be divers opinions of doctors: the first, of certain of our late writers, who hold, that properly the matter and form in the sacraments is not the thing and words, but that some sensible thing is the matter, whether it be substance or word, or both: and that the signification is the form. So Dominicus à Soto upon 4. dist. 1. q. 1. art. 1; and Cajetan seems to affirm the same with very little difference. Another opinion is of them which teach, that the very sacrament itself, and not only the material part of it, consists of the things, as the matter; and words, as the

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form: so saint Thomas, part iii. q. 60. art. 6, and the ancient divines in common. Others again hold, that all sacraments do not consist of things and words, but some only; so Durandus, upon 4. dist. 1. q. 3; and Adrianus, quæst. 2. of baptism. Others teach, that all sacraments of the new law, consist of things and words: so Alexander Alensis, part iv. q. 8, &c., and the divines commonly. Others, lastly, think that all sacraments do consist of things and words, if they be taken in a large sense, else not. So Dominicus à Soto upon 4. dist. 1. q. 1. art. 6. *Bellarm. ibid.* c. 18. p. 84.

Fourthly, Paludanus against Thomas. Bellarmine against Dominicus à Soto.

Itaque, quod Paludanus, &c.

That which Paludanus saith, upon 4. dist. 3. q. 1, that the sacrament is not ever made void, when a man intends to bring in a new rite, is true; but not against Saint Thomas, as perhaps he thought: but that which Dominicus à Soto saith; namely, that the Greeks do truly baptize, with those words, "Let the servant of Christ be baptized," because the Church of Rome tolerates that fashion, &c.; but if the Church of Rome should detest that rite, then they should not baptize truly; is not altogether true, &c. *Bellarm. ibid.* c. 21. p. 118.

Fifthly, Hugo, Peter Lombard, Alensis, Bonaventure, &c. against the common opinion and Bellarmine.

Adversarii duo quædam docent, &c.

Our adversaries teach these two things: that the sacraments, which they hold only two, were instituted by Christ; namely, Baptism and the Lord's Supper: and that the rest were not appointed by Christ: so teach Calvin and Chemnitius: and with them (whom they cite) Cyprian, Hugo, Peter Lombard, who deny that all sacraments were instituted by Christ: they might have added Alexander Alensis, St. Bonaventure, and Marsilius, who say, that the sacraments of Confirmation and Penance were not instituted by Christ, but by his apostles. Against this error the Council of Trent set down can. 1. sess. vii. thus: If any man shall say, that all the sacraments of the New Testament were not instituted by Jesus Christ our Lord, let him be accursed; yea, immediately instituted by him. Further, that which Alexander and Bonaventure teach concerning the sacrament of Confirmation cannot be defended, &c. *Bellarm. ibid.* c. 23. pp. 127, 128, 129, &c.

Sixthly, Bellarmine against Catharinus.

Nova hæresis nostro tempore, &c.

There is a new heresy arisen in our time; that the intention of the minister is not necessary in the sacrament. . . To this opinion of the heretics Ambrosius Catharinus cometh very near: neither

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can I see wherein he differs from the opinion of Chemnitius and other heretics, saving that in the end of his work he subjects himself to the See-Apostolic, and to the Council, both which they deride. *Bellarm. ibid.* c. 27. p. 155.

Note, the same which he condemns for heretical in Catharinus he grants to be held by his St. Thomas, in the chapter following, p. 169.

Seventhly, Cajetan and Ledesmius against Thomas and others.

Here are two opinions of divines. For some, as Cajetan and Ledesmius, teach, that in the minister there is no operative virtue, as an efficient and instrumental cause, as there is in the sacrament: for in the words of the sacrament there is operative virtue, but by dependence on the minister; for then the words have virtue when they are conjoined with the virtue which is in the minister. Others hold that the minister hath in himself no efficient power, in respect of justification, but that it is only in the sacrament, (so Thomas is thought to hold, part iii. q. 64. art. 1.) and that the minister concurs only by applying the sacrament. *Bellarm.* same book, c. 27. p. 163.

Responderi debet, duas esse theologorum sententias.

Eighthly, Bellarmine against Ambrose Catharinus.

The fourth argument is of Catharinus, from the authority of St. Thomas, Chrysostom, and pope Nicholas. Of St. Thomas, who saith, that the intention of the Church, expressed in the very form of words, is sufficient to make a perfect sacrament; neither is any other intention required on the part of the minister, &c.

Quartum argumentum est Catharini, &c.

And Catharinus adds a reason, that it seems overhard that God should put the salvation of men in the arbitrement of a wicked minister, and so our justification should be made uncertain. This argument is already answered. How he answereth and confuteth this opinion and authorities of Catharinus, see *Bellarm. ibid.* c. 28. p. 169.

Ninthly, Bellarmine against Ledesmius, Canus, Bonaventure, Scotus, Durand, Richardus, Occam, Marsilius, Gabriel.

That the sacraments are true causes of justification; but moral causes, not natural (as he that commands a murder is the true cause of it, though he touch not the party murdered), is defended by Ledesmius and Canus in *Relect. de Sacram.* And the same seems to be held by many of the old schoolmen, Bonaventure, Scotus, Durand, Richardus, Occam, Marsilius, Gabriel; who hold that the sacraments do truly justify, but yet that God only doth work that grace at the presence of the sacraments; so as the sacraments are not natural causes, but such as without which this

Sacramenta esse veras causas, &c.

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effect would not follow. But I hold that the more probable and safe opinion which attributes a true efficiency to the sacraments. *Bellarm. of the Effect of the Sacram.* book ii. chap. 11. p. 225.

Tenthly, the Master of Sentences against the common opinion.

Una igitur quæstio est, &c.

There is therefore one question, whether the old sacraments (excepting circumcision) did justify actually by the very work wrought. And there are two opinions. One, of the Master of Sentences, in 4. dist. 1, which denies it; for he saith, that those sacraments did not justify, though they were done never so much in faith and charity. The other is the common opinion of divines, that all those sacraments did justify, *ex opere operantis,* that is, upon the faith and devotion of the receivers and this opinion is most true. *Bellarm. ibid.* c. 13. p. 239.

DECADE II.

First, Alexander, Bonaventure, Scotus, Gabriel, against Thomas, Capreolus, Scotus, Ledesmius, and others.

Porro, de circumcisione.

Of circumcision there are two opinions. One of Alexander and Bonaventure, Scotus and Gabriel, that circumcision did confer justification, *ex opere operato,* upon the very act done; which opinion is disproved by many arguments. Where it is yet to be noted, that this opinion of theirs doth not favour the heretics of our time; for the heretics, when they make the old sacraments equal to ours, do not extol the old, but debase ours: but this opinion doth not abase ours, but extol the ancient.

The other opinion is of St. Thomas and Capreolus, Scotus, Ledesmius, and others; that circumcision did by its own power justify; but yet justified only as it was a protestation of our faith, and as it applied faith to us. This opinion is doubtless the more probable of the two.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 13. p. 236.

Secondly, Durand, Scotus, Gabriel, against the other papists.

Signum aliquod spirituale, &c.

That there is a certain spiritual stamp imprinted in the mind in some sacraments, which is called a character, is the common opinion of catholics. But it is to be noted that some of our divines, as Durand, Scotus, Gabriel, do indeed admit this stamp or character, but yet teach something which seems to make for Chemnitius and the heretics; for Durandus holds that the character is not any real thing distinguished from the soul, but is only a matter to be conceived in the mind, and which hath his being only in conceit. But all others confess that the character is a real matter distinct from the soul.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 19. p. 267.

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Thirdly, Bellarmine against Durandus and Scotus.

The character is not a mere relation, but an absolute quality: this is a common opinion, except only Scotus and Durandus. Durandus, in the place forecited, holds, it hath only a being in conceit, &c. Which opinion can scarcely be distinguished from the heresy of this time, and seems expressly condemned by councils; which if Durandus had seen, doubtless he would have taught otherwise; and surely the Council of Trent, in her curse of this opinion, intends it against those which deny a real character. Scotus would have it a real relation; but that can scarce be defended, and there have not wanted many that have confuted him soundly.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 19. p. 268. Character non est relatio, &c.

Fourthly, Three opinions of papists.

Some of our doctors hold this character to be in the understanding; others place it in the will, because they think it disposeth us to charity, which is in the will; others hold it simply to be in the substance of the soul; and this seems the truer opinion.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 19. p. 270. Aliiponunt simpliciter in substantia.

Fifthly, Scotus against Thomas.

Neither circumcision nor any sacrament of the old law did imprint any character in the soul; so holds St. Thomas, p. 3. q. 63. art. 1. Scotus thinks the contrary concerning circumcision. But the opinion of Thomas is truer.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 19. p. 271. Nec circumcisio, &c.

Sixthly, Bernard, Hugo, Lombard, Pope Nicholas, against all other divines.

Besides these errors, there is a very incommodious opinion of many catholics, who have thought, that the invocation of one person in the Trinity, and especially of Christ, is sufficient to baptism. So seems to hold St. Ambrose in his first book of the Holy Ghost; Beda, upon Acts x.; Bernard, Epist. 340. *ad Henricum;* Hugo de Sancto Victore, of Sacraments, l. ii.; Master of Sentences, b. iv. dist. 3; and lastly, pope Nicholas, in his Epist. to the Bulgarians. The two foundations of these authors' opinion are overthrown by Bellarmine, who concludeth: But howsoever it be, it is certain that baptism is either absolutely, or with condition, to be repeated, if it be administered in the name of Christ, or any other person, without an express mention of the rest, as all more grave divines teach.—*Bellarm. in his book of Baptism,* chap. 3. p. 11. Præter hos errores est opinio, &c.

Seventhly, Two contrary opinions of doctors.

That Christ did use some baptism before his passion, it cannot be denied; but the doubt is, whether that baptism were the same Nota, negari non posse, &c.

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sacrament which now we have, or only a preparation to the sacrament of baptism afterwards to be instituted, as the baptism of John was. Chrysostom, Theophylact, and pope Leo hold with this latter, &c. But the other which we have said is more probable; which is professedly taught by Augustine, tract 13 and 15, upon John; by Cyril upon John, b. ii. c. 57; by Hugo de Sancto Victore, book ii. of Sacraments. And this is the commoner opinion of divines with the Master of Sent. b. 4. dist. 3.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 5. p. 26.

Eighthly, Many opinions of Schoolmen.

Quo puncto temporis, &c.

Note, that concerning the time wherein Christ instituted the sacrament of baptism, there are very many opinions among the schoolmen; but the more common and probable opinion is that which we follow, which also the Catechism of the Council of Trent receives, and the Master of Sent. with St. Thomas and others.—*Bellarm. in his book of Baptism,* chap. 5. p. 28.

Ninthly, Dominicus à Soto, Ledesmius, &c. against Thomas, Major, Gabriel, and others.

Non desunt theologi ut Dominicus, &c.

There are some divines, as Dominicus à Soto, and Martin Ledesmius upon 4. dist. 3, which teach that martyrdom doth not give grace *ex opere operato,* by the very work wrought, but only *ex opere operantis,* by the work of the sufferer; and gives no degree of grace but that which answers to the merit of the martyrs' charity. But it is a more probable opinion, that martyrdom by the very work wrought doth give the first grace; so that if a man, being yet in his sins, shall come to martyrdom, yet without an affection to any sin, and with faith and love in part begun, &c., by the virtue of martyrdom he shall upon the work wrought be justified and saved. So is expressly taught by St. Thomas, Jo. Major, Gabriel, and others.—*Bellarm.* same book, c. 6. p. 33.

Tenthly, Bellarmine and all papists, with Thomas, against Peter Lombard.

Inter catholicos fuerunt etiam, &c.

There have been two opinions amongst catholics of John's baptism; whereof one is thought erroneous, the other very improbable. The first was Peter Lombard's, who distinguishes those which were baptized of John into two kinds: one was of them which were so baptized of John, that they did put their hope and trust in that baptism, and had not any knowledge of the Holy Ghost: these he confessed were to be baptized with Christ's baptism. The other, of those who were baptized of John, but

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did not rely upon that baptism, and had knowledge of the Holy Ghost: these were not necessarily to be rebaptized.

Bellarmine confutes him by himself and consent of all catholics, and concludes: wherefore Saint Thomas, p. 3. q. 38. art. ult., writes, that this a very unreasonable opinion.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. xix. p. 113.

DECADE III.

First, Master of Sentences, Schoolmen, Thomas, against Thomas, Bellarmine, and other papists.

Another opinion is, that the baptism of John was as a certain sacrament of the old law: so taught the Master of Sent. in the place forecited, and many of the schoolmen: and St. Thomas himself: but he did justly afterwards recant, and teach the contrary, part 3. q. 38. art. 1. Whereupon St. Thomas well saith, that the baptism of John pertained not to the old law, but to the new rather, as a certain preparation to Christ's baptism.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. xix. p. 113. Altera opinio est.

Secondly, Thomas, Concil. Florentinum, Innocentius, Waldensis, Hugo, Bellarmine, disagreeing.

Some schoolmen hold, that the apostles did in divers fashions minister the sacrament of Confirmation; and that in the first times, because the Holy Ghost visibly descended, then they used no anointing, but mere imposition of hands: after that, unction came in use, &c. And if you object that the apostles could not institute the matter of a sacrament, they answer, that they received that commandment from Christ, that they should one while use imposition of hands, another while chrism, as they should think most convenient. This answer is not unlikely: and St. Thomas is not far off from it, part iii. q. 72. art. 1: and perhaps hither might be drawn the testimonies of the Florentine Council and of Innocentius, &c. But the other answer (methinks) is more probable, of Thomas Waldensis and Hugo de Sancto Victore; who say, that the anointing with chrism, and laying on of hands, is all one; for he that anoints lays on his hand. This answer is the likelier.—*Bellarm. in his book of Confirmation,* chap. ix. p. 185. Prior est aliquorum scholasticorum, &c.

Thirdly, Cajetan, Dominicus à Soto, Franc. Victoria, against all the elder papists.

It is a question among our divines, whether balm be required in chrism as upon the necessity of the sacrament, or only on necessity of the precept. All the old divines and lawyers hold Respon. Quæstionem esse inter theologos.

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balm required upon the necessity of the sacrament, so as the sacrament is void, if it be administered without it. But the latter divines, Cajetan, Dominicus à Soto, Franc. à Victoria, &c. hold, that balm is not required as to the essence of the sacrament, but yet necessarily to be used by the commandment of God.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. ix. p. 190.

Fourthly, Rich. Armachanus against the common opinion,

Ex catholicis solus est, &c.

Of the catholics there is only Richardus Armachanus which thinks that the office of confirming is common both to bishops and presbyters: and from him Thomas Waldensis thinks that Wickliffe drew his heresy.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. xii. p. 197.

Fifthly, Bonaventure, Durand, Adrian, against Thomas, Richard., Paludanus, Marsilius.

Est quidem inter catholicos quæstio, &c.

Amongst our catholic divines there is a question, whether at least by dispensation a presbyter may confer this sacrament. For St. Bonaventure, Durand, Adrian, upon 4. dist. 7. say, it cannot be committed to priests. But St. Thomas, and all his scholars, and many other divines, as Richardus, Paludanus, Marsilius, and others, and all canonists, teach the contrary. And indeed it is the truer that these last affirm.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 12. p. 197.

Sixthly, Some nameless papists against the common opinion.

Sed existit hoc loco, &c.

It is questioned, whether those things which are spoken of Christ, in the form of bread and wine, be spoken of him truly and properly, or by some trope. Some think them truly and properly spoken, as the same thing should be truly and properly spoken of the bread, if bread were there. Their reason is, because they think that the union of Christ with the accidents of bread is either personal or very like to it; and therefore that there is a communication of properties betwixt Christ and those accidents, &c. But the common opinion of divines teacheth the contrary.—*Bellarm. of the Sacrament of the Eucharist,* book i. chap. 2. p. 28.

Seventhly, Gabriel, Cusanus, Cajetan, Tapperus, Hesselius, Jansenius, against all other papists.

Porro catholici fere omnes, &c.

Almost all catholics will have the words of John vi. understood of the sacrament of the eucharist, or of the sacramental eating of Christ's body in the eucharist. But there are some few who (the better to disprove the Hussites and Lutherans) hold, that this chapter meddleth not with any sacramental eating of Christ's body or drinking his blood: of which sort are Gabriel, Nicholas

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Cusanus, Thomas Cajetanus, Ruardus Tapper, Johannes Hesselius, and Cornelius Jansenius. All other catholics (whom Nicholas Sanders in his book of the Sixth of John citeth) with great consent teach, that this chapter intreateth of the sacramental eating of Christ: which doubtless is most true.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. v. p. 41.

Eighthly, Two sorts of doctors opposite.

The catholics do not agree in the manner of explicating what is properly meant by This pronoun *Hoc* or *Hic, This*, in the words of consecration: (*This is my body.*) And there are two more famous opinions. One, that this pronoun (*Hoc, This*) signifies the body of Christ; confuted in this place of Bellarmine by two arguments.....The other opinion is of St. Thomas, part 3. d. 78. art. 2. and upon 1 Cor. xi. that the pronoun (*Hoc, This*) doth not precisely signify the bread or the body, but, in common, that substance which is under these forms; yet so as the signification doth properly pertain to the forms; that so the sense should be, not, This, that is, These forms are my body: but thus, Under these forms is my body; as it was of old expounded by Guitmundus, book 2.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. xi. p. 83. Nota secundo, Catholicos, &c.

Ninthly, Most papists and Bellarmine against Thomas.

Some catholics hold, that a body may be locally in two places at once; for (say they) if one place may hold two bodies, so as neither the places are divided nor the bodies confounded (as it was done in Christ's coming forth of the grave), then one body may fill two places, &c. But some others, and amongst them St. Thomas, think that one body cannot be locally in two places. His reason, by the leave of so great a doctor, is not found.—*Bellarm. of the Eucharist*, book iii. chap. 3. p. 291. Quidam tamen catholici, &c.

Tenthly, Durand, Occam; Albertus, Thomas, Bonaventure, Richardus, Scotus, dissenting.

There were two particular opinions, and both false and erroneous, devised in the schools, for the unfolding the greatness of this mystery. One of Durandus, upon 4. dist. 10, &c., who held it probable, that the substance of the body of Christ is in the eucharist without magnitude or quantity: and he used those arguments to this purpose which now are taken up by the sacramentaries. Another opinion was of some ancient divines, which Albertus without any name reports and confutes: which afterwards Occam, upon 4. q. 4, followed; who say, that there is in the sacrament the very magnitude or quantity of the body of Primum est, duas opiniones falsas, &c.

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Christ, which yet, they think, cannot be distinguished from the substance: but they add, that all parts do so run into other, that there is no shape in the body of Christ, nor any distinction and order of the parts of the body.

But the common opinion of the Schools and Church is, that in the eucharist there is whole Christ, with his magnitude and bigness, and all other accidents, &c.; and besides, that the parts and members of Christ's body do not one run into another, but are so distinguished and disposed among themselves, as they have both order and shape agreeable to an human body. So teach Albertus, St. Thomas, Bonaventure, Richardus, Scotus, and others, upon 4. dist. 10 or 13. and Alexander, p. 3. q. 10. in 7, &c.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. v. p. 301.

DECADE IV.

First, Bellarmine against Durandus, &c.

B. Augustinus, in Epistola ad Volusianum de utroque isto miraculo, &c.

Augustine, discoursing of Christ coming into the world through the womb of the Virgin still continuing closed, saith, that in these works all the reason of the fact is the power of the doer. The same is held by common consent of other fathers, Gregory Nazianzen, Theodoret, Jerome, &c. But I am ashamed to say what Durandus and Beza answer to this, &c. That which Durand saith, that her virginity might and did still remain inviolable, and yet that the passages were somewhat dilated, according to the best physicians, implies a contradiction: for Jo. Fernelius teacheth, that the loss of virginity doth not consist in the breaking of any film, but only in the dilatation of the parts.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 6. p. 309.

Secondly, Bellarmine against Durandus.

Quintum exemplum est.

The fifth example is, of the ascension of Christ and the saints into heaven. For we believe that Christ ascended above all heavens, and likewise that the bodies of the saints after their resurrection shall ascend. But there is no door in heaven, no window, no gap through which they may ascend; for, as Job xxxvii. 18, the heavens are solid as glass: therefore there must needs be more bodies in one place. To this Durandus answers, that by the power of God the heavens may be divided when the bodies of the saints shall ascend. But if the heaven be in its own nature solid and incorruptible, as all divines and philosophers teach, surely it is not probable there should be so many holes

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made in heaven, as there are bodies of the saints to ascend, &c.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 6. p. 311.

Thirdly, Sundry opinions of popish doctors.

Durandus holdeth, that one essential part of the bread, namely, the form, is turned; but that the other part, which is the matter, is not turned, upon 4. dist. 11. Others, that there might no error be missing, have contrarily taught, that the matter of the bread is turned into Christ's body, but that the substantial form of the bread remains still the same: this error St. Thomas reports without the name of the author, p. 3. q. 25. art. 6. A fifth opinion is that of Rupertus the abbot, which was some forty years after Guitmundus, which Rupertus taught, that the bread of the sacrament is personally assumed by the Second Person in the Trinity, in the very same manner that the human nature was assumed by the same Word, as appears in his sixth book upon John. This error is noted and confuted by Algerus in book i. of Sacraments, chap. 6; where he saith, that this is a new and most absurd heresy. This Algerus lived in the same time with Rupertus, about the year 1124, as witness Trithemius and Petrus Cluniacensis; who notes, that Algerus did most accurately confute the errors of some modern writers concerning the body of our Lord. —*Bellarm.* l. iii. c. 11. p. 347.

Durandus docuit partem unam, &c.

Fourthly, Bellarmine against Dominicus à Soto, Sanctius, Alanus, &c.

Hence may be refuted the common error, which possesses many of this time, concerning the author of this heresy. For, as Thomas Waldensis witnesses, there was an old book of Divine Offices, without any name of the author, wherein Wickliffe did marvellously triumph, and vexed the catholics with it; boasting it one while to be Ambrose's, another while Isidore's, another while Fulgentius'. At last the catholics suspected that Walramus or Valeramus was the author of it; so write Dominicus à Soto, Claudius Sanctius, Gul. Alanus, and others. But he was not the first, for the Berengarians were before him; neither was Walramus the author hereof, but Rupertus Tuitiensis, from whose books this opinion is to be fetched, which Dominicus à Soto idly expoundeth, upon 4. dist. 9. q. 2.—*Bellarm.* book iii. c. 11. p. 348.

Hinc refelli potest, &c.

Fifthly, Waldensis and Bellarmine against Johannes Parisiensis.

The sixth opinion, or heresy rather, is of one Johannes Parisiensis, which, as Waldensis reporteth, openly oppugned that other heresy, and brought in a new: for he taught, that the bread is

Sexta opinio, seu potius hæresis, &c.

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assumed by the Son, but by means of the body of Christ; as the body is taken for part of his manhood, not for the whole: and he said, as part, not as whole, lest he should be constrained to admit that God is bread.—*Bellarm.* l. iii. c. 11. confuted, l. iii. c. 16. p. 348.

Sixthly, Durandus against the Councils of Constance and of Trent, and Bellarmine.

Tertius error eorum, &c.

The third error is of them which will have only the matter of bread to remain; which doth expressly contradict the Council of Trent, sess. 13. chap. 4. can. 2. and the Council of Constance, sess. 8. Yea also, this opinion of Durandus is contrary to the Council of Lateran: for neither would that Council have said, that there is a transubstantiation made, unless it would have signified, that the whole substance of the bread is changed, &c. Therefore this opinion of Durandus is heretical, though he himself be not therefore to be called an heretic, because he was ready to yield to the judgment of the Church.—*Bellarm.* lib. iii. c. 13. p. 351.

Seventhly, Four divers opinions of divines.

Sunt igitur de præsenti quæstione, &c.

About the time of Christ's instituting the Sacrament, there are four opinions. First, of the Greeks, who hold, that Christ did keep his Passover and institute his Sacrament the thirteenth day of the first month. The second, of Rupertus, who teaches, that the Hebrews were never wont to celebrate two feast days together; and therefore when the feast of unleavened bread fell the sixth day, it was wont to be deferred to the Sabbath following. This opinion of Rupertus both is false, and doth not satisfy that main argument of the Greeks. The third, of Paulus Burgensis, who holds, that both the feast of unleavened bread and of the Passover might be deferred, upon the tradition of the elders, to the day following; and that in the year wherein Christ suffered the Hebrews did eat their Passover on Friday evening, Christ his on Thursday in the evening. The fourth is the common opinion of divines, that Christ instituted his Sacrament in that time, wherein, according to the law and custom of the Jews, all leaven was cast away, which was the fourteenth day, &c. This opinion is only true, &c.—*Bellarm.* l. iv. c. 7. p. 455.

Eighthly, The popish doctors disagreeing.

Porro, ecclesia catholica semper, &c.

The Catholic Church hath ever thought it so necessary that water should be mixed with wine in the chalice, that it cannot without a grievous sin be omitted: but whether the Sacrament

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can consist without water it is not so certain: the common opinion leans to the affirmative part.—*Bellarm.* lib. iv. c. 10. p. 476.

Ninthly, Popish divines differing.

Here is therefore a question to be handled, whether those only words, *For this is my body*, &c. pertain to the form of the Sacrament: the Catholic Church affirms it with great consent; Concil. Florent., Catech. of Concil. Trident., divines with the Master of Sent., Lawyers. For although divines dispute, and cannot agree, whether all the several words which are had in the form of the consecration of the chalice in the Latin Mass-books be of the essence of the form thereof, yet all agree that they are of the integrity and perfection of the form; so as no one of them can without sin be omitted: and their consent in this point is sufficient.—*Bellarm.* l. iv. c. 12. p. 486.

Est igitur quæstio hoc loco tractanda, &c.

Tenthly, Jo. de Lovanio against George Cassander.

Johannes de Lovanio, in his book of the Communion under both kinds, chiefly confutes a book of a certain adviser, who, without any name, set forth a book of this question, persuading to this use: but after, it was known that the book was George Cassander's.—*Bellarm.* l. iv. c. 20. p. 538.

Johannes à Lovanio, ubi præcipue, &c.

DECADE V.

First, Some papists against the Council of Trent.

First, the opinion of some is to be confuted, who hold, that from the words *This is my body*, is gathered, that whole Christ is under the form of bread; for they say that by the word (body) is signified a living body, and therefore a body with a soul and blood. But this opinion is flatly contrary to the Council of Trent, sess. 13. chap. 3, who teaches that, by the power of the words, only the body is there under the form of bread; the soul, the Divinity, and blood, only by a concomitance.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 21. p. 540.

Breviter refellenda est opinio eorum, &c.

Secondly, Alexand. Alensis and Gasper Cassalius against the common opinion.

There is no spiritual fruit received by both kinds which is not received by one. This proposition is not so certain as the former, for our divines are of divers judgments concerning it: but it is my opinion, and the common and most probable assertion of divines, of St. Thomas, St. Bonaventure, Richard, Gabriel, Roffensis, Cajetan, &c. And though Richardus seems to incline the other way, yet he doth it only to reconcile Alexander Alensis unto the com-

Nihil spiritualis fructus capitur ex duabus.

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mon opinion: for of all the ancients there is only Alexander, in Sum. part 4. q. 53, which holds the contrary; and of the new writers, Gasper Cassalius calls it into doubt and question, in his second book of the Supper, &c.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 23. p. 554.

Thirdly, Jo. of Louvain, Cornel. Jansenius, opposite.

De hoc loco duæ sunt catholicorum sententiæ.

Of this place are two opinions of catholics: first of John of Louvain, and others, who hold, that the sacrament of the Eucharist was given to the two disciples in Emmaus; and they bring for them Austin, Chrysost., Bede, Theophylact, Jerome, Isychius: the other, of Cornelius Jansenius upon the place, who teaches, that the bread blessed by Christ in Emmaus was not the sacrament, but only a figure of it.—*Bellarm.* book iv. c. 24. p. 563.

Fourthly, Two sorts of popish doctors dissenting.

De modo autem loquendi, &c.

We teach that the very sacrament is to be adored, (as the Council of Trent speaketh;) but this manner of speech is taken two ways: those that think the sacrament of the Eucharist to be formally the body of Christ, as he is under those forms, do grant that the sacrament is justly said to be formally adored: but those that say the sacrament of the Eucharist is formally the species of bread and wine, as they contain Christ, do teach consequently, that the said sacrament is materially to be adored.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 29. p. 607.

Fifthly, Hugo de Sancto Victore, Peter Lombard, Thomas, Rabanus, &c. disagreeing.

Plurimi conantur, &c.

Many catholics endeavour to show the word *missa* (mass) to be Hebrew: for Deut. xvi. 10. there is the word (מִסַּת) in the same signification: and not the catholics only, but Philip Melancthon acknowledges this derivation. Others (and their opinion is more probable) hold it to be Latin; of whom also some hold it to be *a mittendo*, because our offerings and prayers are sent up to God. So Hugo de Sancto Victore, *de Sacram.* lib. ii. Others, less probably, for that an angel is sent from God to assist the sacrifice, and carry it to God, as the Master of Sent. and Thomas, p. 3. q. 83. But their opinion is most likely which derive it *a missione, seu dimissione, populi:* this opinion is Isidore's: Rabanus, and Hugo, and other later divines, admit this etymology. *Bellarm. de Missâ*, l. i. c. 1. p. 616.

Sixthly, Bellarmine against a nameless doctor, J. G. Cassalius.

Ab hac Philippi sententia non procul, &c.

Near to this opinion of Melancthon seems to be a certain late doctor, a man otherwise learned and godly, who in his book of

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Sacrifice, chap. 5. teacheth, that every good work, which is done, that we may in an holy fellowship cleave to God, is a sacrifice properly: but this opinion of his is false, and may be confuted with many and manifest arguments.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 2. p. 621.

Seventhly, Bellarmine against Arias Montanus.

This testimony of Malach. i. cannot be understood of the sacrifice of the cross, nor of any Jewish sacrifice, nor of the sacrifices of the heathen idolaters. Wherefore the exposition of Arias Montanus is no way to be suffered; for it doth not only contradict the opinion of all those fathers which we will straightway cite, but the apostle himself, and the open truth: for to what end were the blood of so many thousand martyrs shed, for not communicating with the Gentiles' sacrifices, if those had been clean and acceptable to God?—*Bellarm.* 1 *b. of Mass,* chap. 10. p. 679. Hoc testimonium non potest, &c.

Eighthly, Cassalius confuted by Bellarmine.

To this purpose make all those places of the fathers which teach that there is one only sacrifice of the Church, which succeeded all the multitude of the old sacrifices; Leo, Chrysostom, Augustin, &c. Whence appears, that the opinion of Gasper Cassalius in his 1. b. *De Sacrificio* is altogether improbable: who affirms there are two sacrifices of the Eucharist; one of bread and wine, another of the body and blood of Christ.—*Bellarm.* 1. *b. of the Mass,* chap. 27. p. 756. Huc faciunt omnia loca patrum, &c.

Ninthly, Divers opinions of popish doctors.

The consecration of the Eucharist belongs to the essence of the sacrifice. This sentence, thus generally proposed, hath many upholders; for of the Greeks, Nic. Cabasilas, of the Latins, Ruardus, Jodocus Tiletanus, Gasper Cassalius, Alanus, and others, maintain it; but all hold it not alike. Some think it to be therefore, because by the consecration there is made a true and real change of the bread into Christ's body, and a true sacrifice requires such a mutation whereby the thing ceases to be. But this opinion hath no small arguments against it. Others think it to be, because by this consecration Christ is truly, though mystically and unbloodily, offered. This opinion doth not yet fully satisfy. Thus therefore it seems to be set forth. There are three things in a sacrifice, which are found in the consecration of the Eucharist: first, a profane and earthly thing is made holy; secondly, that thing, thus made holy, is offered to God; thirdly, the thing thus offered is Consecratio eucharistiæ, &c.

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ordained to a true, real, and external mutation and distinction, &c. This seems to me the opinion of St. Thomas, in *Secunda Secundæ*, q. 85. art. 3.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 27. p. 759.

Tenthly, One or two popish doctors against the Council of Trent.

Sacrificium missæ, &c.

The sacrifice of the mass hath not only or principally his virtue from the act of him that offers it, but even from the work wrought; which is the common opinion of divines and of the Council of Trent, sess. 22. c. 2. although there be one or two of our writers found that dissent from it.—*Bellarm.* 2. *book of the Mass*, c. 4. p. 773.

DECADE VI.

First, Bellarmine against Platina and Polydore Virgil.

Præterea, Damasus in Pontificali.

Damasus, in his Pontifical, in the life of Soter and Silvester, popes, amongst other holy vessels, makes mention of censers; wherefore it is false, which Platina in the Life of Sixtus I. and Polydore Virgil in his book of the Devisers of Things, write, that Leo III, which lived an. Dom. 800, was the first that used frankincense in the mass.—*Bellarm.* 2. b. *of Mass*, c. 15. p. 843.

Secondly, Bellarmine against other papists.

Convenit fere inter authores, &c.

That Celestinus I. was not the first author of the Introitus, in the mass, see defended by Bellarm. against the consent of their writers, as himself confesses.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 16. p. 846.

Thirdly, Bellarmine against many papists.

Quam ceremoniam non ipse, &c.

That Anastasius I. was not the first author of standing at the gospel, is held by Bellarmine against many of their writers.—*Ibid.* chap. 16. p. 853.

Fourthly, Four several opinions of popish doctors.

Ita ex catholicis theologis Scotus, &c.

Scotus, Occam, and Gabriel upon sent. 4. dist. 14. place the essence of the sacrament of Penance in absolution only, &c. The question then is, whether there be any thing besides absolution which belongs to the nature and essence of this sacrament. Of this there are four opinions. The first is, that only absolution makes the essence of this sacrament; so of our catholic divines, Scotus, Occam, Jo. Major, Jacob, Almaine, and others. The last and truest opinion is, that the sacrament of Penance consists of two parts, inward, and essential to it; the absolution of the priest, as the form, and the acts of the penitent, as the matter: which was the opinion of many old divines; St. Thomas, Richardus,

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Durandus, and others, upon sent. 4. dist. 14. and is now held by almost all that write of this sacrament.—*Bellarm.* 1. *b. of Penance,* chap. 15. p. 92.

Fifthly, Gratian and Bonaventure against the rest.

Then Chemnitius adds, that there are divers opinions of our catholics concerning the necessity of confession; and this he proves out of Gratian and a gloss of his, and out of Bonaventure: these are all his fathers, &c. But say that confession doth not stand by the law of God, as Chemnitius would prove out of a certain gloss, which yet the catholics mislike, &c.—*Bellarm.* b. i. *of Penance,* chap. 11. p. 79.

Deinde attexit varias esse opiniones catholicorum, &c. Denique, esto, non sit confessio juris, &c.

Sixthly, Scotus confuted by Bellarmine.

Neither is that aptly and well said by Scotus, that penance is the absolution of the penitent, done in a set form of words, &c. For penance is the act of the penitent, not of the priest; and absolution is an act of the priest, not of the penitent.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 15. p. 96.

Neque Scotus satis apte, &c.

Seventhly, Gropperus rejected by Bellarmine.

There is no catholic writer which makes the matter of this sacrament to be only the action of the priest pronouncing absolution in a set form, save only Gropperus, or whosoever was the author of the *Enchiridion Coloniense,* which sometimes seems to speak very unheedely. For divines would either have it consist in absolution alone, or else they assign the matter to be on the behalf of the penitent, the form from the priest; which indeed is the commonest opinion of almost all.—*Bellarm.* b. i. *of Penance,* chap. 16. p. 98.

Imprimis, nulli sunt catholicorum, &c.

Eighthly, Scotists against Thomas and Bonaventure; Vega, Ferrariensis, and others.

The Scotists object that absolution alone is the cause of grace, for that all the power of the sacrament rests in the keys, which are the priest's, not the penitent's. I answer, first, by denying the consequent: the sacrament may consist of two parts, and yet work only by one; as a man consists of body and soul, and yet understands only by his soul; and this answer is followed by them who place the virtue of the sacrament in absolution alone, which was once the opinion of St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure, and other ancients upon sent. 4. dist. 18; and of the later, Andreas Vega, Francis of Ferrara, &c. Further, it may be answered, that absolution is indeed the principal cause of justification, not the only cause; but that is partly in the keys of the absolver, partly in the

Objiciunt tertio, &c.

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act of the penitent. So holds St. Thomas, who recanted his former opinion, part iii. q. 86. art. 6.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 16. p. 103.

Ninthly, Durandus against Thomas and the common opinion.

Sequitur altera partitio, &c.

Of the division of penance into contrition, confession, satisfaction, there are two questions: one amongst the catholics, the other with the heretics. The former is not, whether these three be necessary, and absolutely to be used, but whether all be the true parts of the sacrament; for it was the opinion of Durandus, upon 4. dist. 16. q. 1, that only confession is the material part of this sacrament of Penance, and that contrition is the disposition towards it, and satisfaction the fruit of it. But the common opinion of divines, and of St. Thomas, p. iii. q. 90, is, that all three of them are the true material parts of the sacrament of Penance, neither can it now be doubted of, since it is flatly set down by two general Councils of Florence and Trent.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 17. p. 104.

Tenthly, Adrianus refuted by Bellarmine.

Neque probandum est quod Adrianus, &c.

That there may be a conditional will, at the least, of things impossible, as well as a desire of a thing lost, see defended, against Adrianus, q. 1. *de Pœnitentia, by Bellarm.* l. ii. *of Penance,* cap. 5. p. 155.

DECADE VII.

First, Jo. Major, Jac. Almain, Andr. Vega, against Thomas, Scotus, Durand, Albert, Soto, Canus, &c.

Porro catholici scriptores in eo, &c.

But in this our catholic writers do not agree, whether the purpose of a better life and detestation of sin, be expressly and formally necessary to true contrition, or whether it be sufficient to have it implicitly, or confusedly, and virtually. The old divines, as Peter Lombard, Alexander Alensis, St. Thomas, Scotus, Durandus, Albertus, and others, simply teach that it is of the very essence of contrition to detest our sin, and to purpose amendment: and though they distinguish not betwixt a formal and virtual purpose, yet they plainly show they mean a direct formal purpose, which was after more plainly taught by pope Adrian VI. in *Quodl.* 5. art. 3. by Tho. Cajetanus, Dominicus à Soto, Melchior Canus. Yet there have been some few that have disputed against it, and, contenting themselves with a virtual purpose, which is concluded in the hatred of their sins, have denied that other to be necessary. In this rank were Jo. Major, Jac. Almain. in sent. 4. d. 14, Andr. Vega upon the Council of Trent, c. 21.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 6. p. 157.

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Secondly, Capreolus, Dom. à Soto, and others, against Peter Lomb. Thomas, Albertus, Bonaventure, &c.

In this only do the Schoolmen seem here to disagree. That some will have the act of penance, as also the act of faith and charity, to be only a disposition to the remission of sins, and not to be any merit (either of worth or congruity) of the forgiveness of them: of this opinion is Jo. Capreolus, upon sent. 2. d. 4. q. 1; Dominicus à Soto, 2 b. of Nature and Grace, c. 4. But other, and the most, hold those acts to be not only a disposition towards, but a merit, by congruity, of our justification; which opinion is the Master's of Sent. b. ii. d. 27, and St. Thomas, upon 2. d. 27; of Albertus, St. Bonaventure; besides, of Scotus, Durandus, Gabriel, and others upon 2 dist. 28; and, of the later writers, Andreas Vega, b. viii. upon the Council of Trent.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 12. p. 185. Theologi scholastici in eo solum, &c.

Thirdly, One Popish Doctor against the rest.

The catholic doctors with common consent are wont to teach, that contrition, if it be perfect, and have the desire and vow of the sacrament of Baptism, or Absolution, reconciles a man to God, and remits sin before the sacrament of Penance be performed. But there was of late a catholic doctor, who, not many years since, in a book which he wrote of charity, taught against this common opinion.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 13. p. 191. Siquidem catholici doctores, &c.

Fourthly, Armachanus confuted by Bellarmine.

Richardus Armachanus in *Quæst. Armen.* l. ix. c. 27, taught it probable, that for some great sins pardon could not be had, though the sinner should do whatsoever he could for obtaining it. But this we affirm, not as probable, but as certain, and confessed of catholics, that no multitude or heinousness of sin can be such as may not be done away by true repentance.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 15. p. 209. Et Richardus Armachanus docuit, &c.

Fifthly, Bellarmine against Richardus.

That the sin against the Holy Ghost is unpardonable, Richardus teacheth to be, not in respect of the fault, but of the punishment; because if a man repent not of it, none of his temporal punishment (required to satisfaction) shall be forgiven.—*Bellarmin. ibid.* c. 16. Confuted by Bellarmine, by three arguments, p. 219. Secunda est Richardi in libello de Spiritu blasphemiæ, &c.

Sixthly, Rupertus opposed by Bellarmine.

That fear, which is one of the four passions of the mind, is not in itself evil, see defended, against Rupertus the Abbot *de Operibus Spiritus*, l. ix. by Bellarmine, *ibid.* c. 17. p. 223. Errat enim Rupertus abbas, l. ix. &c.

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Seventhly, the Council of Trent against Petr. Oxoniensis, Erasmus, Rhenanus.

Extitit etiam ante annos, &c.

There was, about some hundred years since, one Petrus Oxoniensis, which affirmed, that the particular and special confession of our sins in several is not required by any law of God, but only by some decree of the universal Church. In our age have held the same error Erasmus Roterodamus, and Beatus Rhenanus, who hold, that secret confession of our several sins, both was never instituted and commanded by any law of God, and besides was never in use with the ancient Church. Against all these mentioned errors, the Council of Trent hath determined, sess. 14. c. 5. and can. 7, 8.—*Bellarm.* 3 b. *of Penance,* c. 1. p. 238.

Eighthly, Bellarmine against Thomas Waldensis and others.

Non ignoro Thomam Waldensem, &c.

I know that Thomas Waldensis, in tom. 2. c. 141, was of this mind, that he thought Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople, did simply abrogate the use of confession, and therein greatly offended; but I would not easily yield to that. And I know that some have thought this whole history feigned, and devised by Socrates; but I cannot be brought to believe that a false history could be written by him, of a matter whereof many, living in the time when, and where the thing was done, could convince him. *Bellarm. ibid.* c. 14. p. 320.

Ninthly, All doctors against Ru. Tapperus, and perhaps Thomas.

Docet quidem Ruardus Tapperus, insignis theologus, &c.

Indeed Ruardus Tapperus, a worthy divine, teacheth, that a man may satisfy God for his eternal guilt and punishment by certain acts, which in order of nature follow the infusion of justifying grace, and go before remission of sins, and citeth Thomas for his opinion (upon sent. 4. dist. 15. qu. 5). Neither is it certain whether St. Thomas meant so or no; it is enough for us that all doctors agree in this, that before this grace received no man can satisfy God. *Bellarm.* l. iv. *of Penance,* c. 1. p. 341. Where also he endeavours to reconcile Andreas Vega, in his opinion of our satisfaction to God for the fault and offence of sin.

Tenthly, Thomas, Durand. Paludan. against Adrian, Cajetan, and Bellarmine.

Adde quod licet sententia sit valde, &c.

Although the opinion of Thomas, Durandus, Paludanus, and others, upon sent. 4. dist. 15, be very likely, that satisfaction is not rightly made to God by works, which are otherwise due to be done; yet the opinion of Adrianus and Cajetanus is not improbable; that we do satisfy God even by works otherwise due to

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him, since the satisfaction we give to God doth not belong to justice only, but to friendship also.—*Bellarm.* l. iv. cap. 13. p. 402.

DECADE VIII.

First, Scotus, Gabriel, and few others, against Thomas, Richard, Durand. Paludan., &c.

Concerning satisfaction enjoined by a priest: the better part of catholic divines do not grant, that the party confessing may, without sin, refuse such a satisfaction; for although Scotus and Gabriel, and some few others, teach thus, yet the Master of Sent., St. Thomas, Richardus, Durandus, Paludanus, and many others, upon 4. dist. 16, hold, as we teach, that a priest hath the keys, whereby he may not only absolve from guilt and offence, but, as a judge, may, in God's stead, bind unto punishment; which the penitent cannot refuse, unless he resist the judge set over him from heaven, and by consequent, God himself.—*Bellarm.* l. iv. c. 13. p. 402.

Non concedit melior pars theologorum, &c.

Secondly, The better popish divines against the worse.

No catholic doctor teaches, that works done in deadly sin do discharge from death. Indeed some say, that the works done in mortal sin are satisfactory, if he which did the works return again to the grace of God; but that they are so, while he continues in deadly sin, no man, that I know, affirmeth. Yea, our better divines hold, that those works which are done in deadly sin neither are nor ever can be satisfactory.—*Bellarm.* l. iv. cap. 14. p. 406.

Denique nemo catholicorum docet, &c.

Thirdly, Ruardus, Jansenius, Dominicus à Soto, against Waldensis and Alphonsus, &c.

Of the place, Mark vi. 13, we all agree not; whether that anointing which the apostles used were sacramental, or only a figure of this sacrament. Those which defend the first opinion are, Thomas Waldensis and Alphonsus de Castro, but the later is surely the more probable, which is the opinion of Ruardus, Jansenius, and Dominicus à Soto, and others.—*Bellarmine, in his book of Extreme Unction,* c. 2. p. 6.

De priore non omnes conveniunt.

Fourthly, Dominicus à Soto opposed by Bellarmine and all divines.

Some catholics, amongst whom is Dominicus à Soto, think that bodily health is an absolute and infallible effect of this sacrament of anointing, &c. But this answer pleaseth me not, since that all divines, and also the very councils of Florence and Trent, directly say, that bodily health is promised in this sacrament only condi-

Quidam catholici, inter quos, &c.

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tionally, if it may be expedient for the good of the soul.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 6. p. 21.

Fifthly, Three dissenting opinions of papists.

Una tantum est inter theologos quæstio, &c.

There is yet one question amongst our divines: for what be those remainders of sin which are done away by this anointing, they do not all agree. Some would have them venial sins; but improbably, for they may be wiped away without any sacrament. Others would have it to be, that proneness to sin, or habit which remains of sin; but that is yet more unlikely. But I say that the remnants of sin are double, both which are wiped away by this sacrament. First, are those which sometimes remain after all other sacraments, whether they be venial or mortal sins; for a man may, after confession and communion, fall into a mortal sin, and not know it, &c. Secondly, under the name of these remnants are understood that dulness, heaviness, anxiety, which uses to be left of sin, and which may vex a man near his death. &c.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 8. p. 29, 30.

Sixthly, Waldensis, Dominic. à Soto, Jansen., &c. disagreeing.

Una est tantum hoc in loco dubitatio, &c.

Here is yet one doubt, in that pope Innocentius I, in his Epistle i. chap. 8, saith, that not only priests, but laymen, in cases of their own and others' necessities, may anoile; which opinion Beda upon Mark vi. recites in so many words, and the Council of Worms, can. 72, though Waldensis answers that Innocentius' words are to be understood of that time and place where there are no priests; and that then and there it is lawful for laics to minister this sacrament: but this exposition is justly confuted of all divines.

Dominicus à Soto understands Innocentius to speak of the use of oil for healing of diseases, besides and out of the business of the sacrament; but that seems to be against the use and practice of the Church. Others, more truly, as Jansenius, say, that Innocentius speaketh of the party to be anointed, not of the minister.—*Bellarm.* in the same book, c. 9. p. 31.

Seventhly, The Council of Florence, Thomas, other divines, at variance.

Duæ sunt ceremoniæ, &c.

There are two usual ceremonies in this sacrament: one, that the Litany and other prayers be read before the anointing; the second, that seven parts of the body be anointed; namely, the eyes, ears, nostrils, mouth, hands, because of the five senses; then the reins, which are the seats of lust; and lastly the feet, which have the power of motion and execution: so is it prescribed by the Council of Florence. But some think that none of all these

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anointings is of the essence of the sacrament, but that it is sufficient for that, if the sick man be anointed any where, the rest to be but for rite and solemnity; but others hold, that all those several anointings are essential. But the common opinion, which also St. Thomas holds, is, that the anointing of the five senses only is enough for the essence of the sacrament; and indeed, respect of honesty seems to require we should forbear the anointing of the reins in women, &c.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 10. p. 32.

Eighthly, Old schoolmen, and Dominicus à Soto against Petr. à Soto, Cajetan, Durand. Paludanus, &c.

Ordinatio episcopalis, &c.

Ordination of bishops is a sacrament truly and properly so called. This opinion, though it be denied of some old schoolmen, and amongst the new by Dominicus à Soto, l. x. *de Instit.*, yet is affirmed by the ancient fathers, and of the late by Petrus à Soto, Cajetan, and of some old schoolmen too, as Altisidorensis, Jo. Major, Scotus, Durand. Paludanus; though Durandus would have it one and the same sacrament with the sacrament of priesthood: and lastly, of all the canonists almost, upon Ch. Cleros, dist. 21.—*Bellarm. in his book of the Sacrament of Orders,* c. 5. p. 44.

Ninthly, Durandus and Cajetan, opposed by Bellarmine and other divines.

De Diaconis valde probabile est.

It is very probable that the ordination of deacons is a sacrament, though it be not certain as a matter of faith; that it is very probable, appears first, because it is approved by the common opinion of divines; only Durandus there is which holds, that only priesthood is the sacrament of Orders; and with him Cajetanus, Opusc. tom. i. tract. 11.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 6. p. 48.

Tenthly, Durandus and Cajetan against the rest.

Jam vero de sub-diaconatu, &c.

For subdeaconship there is not so great certainty as of deaconship; for neither is it mentioned in scripture, neither hath the ordination there of any imposition of hands, as appears by the fourth Council of Carthage, can. 5, &c. But yet it is very probable, that this order is a sacrament also; only Durandus and Cajetanus deny it.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 7. p. 52.

DECADE IX.

First, The old schoolmen, and some new, against Durand.

Denique, de minoribus ordinibus, &c.

Of the lesser orders, it is less probable that they are sacraments, than of the sub-deaconship; yet it is the more probable opinion that holds them all to be sacraments, than that which denies it:

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first, because all the old schoolmen affirm it, excepting only Durandus; and the graver sort of the new, as Franciscus de Victoria, Petrus à Soto, &c.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 8. p. 53.

Secondly, Dominicus à Soto, and some others, against Petrus à Soto, Ledesmius, Hosius, &c.

Sequitur tertia controversia, &c.

The third controversy is of the matter and form of this sacrament. For whereas, in the ordination of the priest and deacon, there are two external signs, imposition of hands and reaching forth of an instrument; as of the chalice and patin in the priesthood, the book of the gospels in the deaconship: the question is, whether of these two signs are the essential matter of this sacrament. Some think, that imposition of hands is only accidental, and that the reaching forth of the instruments is only essential: so holds Dominicus à Soto, dist. 24. quæst. 1. art. 4, and some others: but the more probable and true opinion is, that not only the reaching out of the instruments, but the imposition of hands also, is the essential matter of this sacrament: so affirms Petrus à Soto, Martinus Ledesmius, cardinal Hosius, &c.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 9. p. 54.

Thirdly, Durandus against the rest.

Ex catholicis unus est Durandus.

Of the catholic writers there is only Durandus, who upon 4. dist. 26. q. 3. holdeth, that matrimony cannot be called a Sacrament, save only equivocally: whom Chemnitius brings for his part; forgetting, that by Durandus' own confession all our divines teach the contrary.—*Bellarm. of the Sacram. of Matrimony*, c. 1. p. 66.

Fourthly, Alphonsus à Castro, and Petr. à Soto, against the Councils of Florence and Trent.

Non desunt catholici qui admittant, &c.

There are some catholics which hold, that matrimony is not properly a sacrament of the new law, but that it was so in the old law amongst the Jews, and so not instituted, but only confirmed, by Christ: so teaches Alphonsus à Castro, book ii. against Heresy; Petrus à Soto, Lect. 2. of Matrimony; and some others. But I see not how that can be safely defended; for the Council of Florence reckons up matrimony amongst the sacraments of the new law; and the Council of Trent, sess. 24. can. 1, in flat words saith, that the sacrament of Matrimony was instituted by Christ in the new law.—*Bellarm. ibid.* cap. v. p. 85.

Fifthly, Two opinions of popish doctors differing.

De copula conjugali, duæ sunt, &c.

Concerning carnal copulation are two opinions of catholics: some teach, that it neither is the sacrament nor part of the sacrament, but only an act or duty of matrimony; and therefore

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only accidental in respect of the sacrament of Matrimony: others would have it a part of the sacrament, yet not an essential part, but integral; and therefore before copulation the matrimony is ratified, but not consummate.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 5. p. 91.

Sixthly, Three different opinions of three ranks of papists.

Some hold, as Petrus Paludanus, Jo. Capreolus, Jo. Eckius, that those married persons which are converted to Christianity ought after their baptism to be married together again, and then that their marriage is made a sacrament; others, as Tho. de Argentina, and Paludanus, &c., say, that without any new contract, that matrimony which before baptism was no sacrament straight after baptism becomes a sacrament. But however it be, the common opinion of divines is, that the marriage of infidels may be true and lawful, but not ratified nor indissoluble: but if both be converted and baptized, their marriage becomes both ratified and indissoluble, and consequently a sacrament.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 5. p. 102.

Respondent aliqui, ut Petrus, &c.

Seventhly, Canus confuted by Bellarmine.

Melchior Canus, while he strives for the defence of his new and singular opinion, unwisely useth those arguments whereby the heretics of our time might vex the Church: for in his 8th book of Theological Places, chap. 5, he affirms, that not every marriage, lawfully contracted betwixt Christians, is a sacrament, but that only which is celebrated by an ecclesiastical minister in set and solemn words.

Canus autem, dum pro sua opinione, &c.

See his opinion sharply confuted by Bellarmine, ibid. c. 6 and 7, which he concludes thus: that Canus goes about, so much as in him lies, to prove that there is no true sacrament of Matrimony in the Church, p. 103, 104, &c.

Eighthly, Divers opinions of their doctors.

Some teach, that the patriarchs had but one lawful wife, and the rest were their concubines. Others not only teach, that those women were the true and lawful wives of the patriarchs, but also hold, that this was not forbidden, save only by the positive law of the Gospel, which they would have the opinion of St. Jerome and Augustin. There is a third opinion common in the schools, that the patriarchs might, by God's dispensation, marry more wives than one: but of this are divers conceits: some think that the several patriarchs had a peculiar inspiration from God for this dispensation; others hold it enough that this dispensation

Quidam enim docent, &c.

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was made known by inspiration to the first patriarchs, &c.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. xi. p.136.

Ninthly, Erasmus, Catharinus, Cajetanus, against the other popish doctors.

Eandem sententiam, &c. Erasmus, in his notes upon 1 Cor. vii, goes about largely to show, that, in case of fornication, the innocent party may marry again: and these notes were set forth by Erasmus in the year of our Lord 1515, two years before Luther's faction arose. And there are two other catholics which are possessed with the same error; Ambrose Catharinus and Cajetanus: for Catharinus concludes in his notes upon Cajetan, as from him, that from the gospel it cannot be gathered, that in case of fornication it is not lawful to marry again; but that this is forbidden by divers canons, and therefore ought not to be done without the authority of the Church.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. xv. p.160.

Tenthly, Bellarmine against Canus.

Et Dominicus, &c. Dominicus à Soto upon sent. 4. dist. 26. quæst. 2, affirms, that in his time there were some which began to defend, that the essential form of this sacrament of Matrimony, are those words of the priest, *I join you together;* but yet that there was none which durst commit this opinion to writing; whence it follows, that the opinion of Canus is new and singular, &c.—*Bellarm. in his first Book of Matrimony,* c. vii. p.110.

Divers opinions of divines acknowledged: Canus confuted.

Quod vero ille dicit, &c. That which Canus saith, that our divines write no certainty of this sacrament, that they are distracted into divers opinions, helpeth his cause nothing at all; for though our divines follow divers opinions of the matter of this sacrament, yet of the form and minister of it they disagree not. See the Confutation of Canus at large, c. 8, &c.—*Bellarmine,* the same book, c. 7. p. 111.

DECADE X.

First, Pet. Lombard. Bonaventure, Rich. Dominicus à Soto, against Thomas, Scotus, Durand. Palud., Abulensis, &c.

Quæstio est inter doctores, &c. It is a question among our doctors, whether divorce, so granted to the Jews, as that after it they might marry again, were yielded to them as lawful, or as a lesser evil. Master of Sentences, l. iv. dist. 33. and Bonaventura, Richardus, Dominicus à Soto, and others, hold it was ever unlawful, but only tolerated with impunity, for the avoiding of a greater evil: but the contrary opinion

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(I must confess) ever seemed to me most probable, which is defended by Saint Thomas, Scotus, Durandus, Paludanus, Abulensis, Eckius, Dominicus à Soto.—*Bellarmine*, the same book, c. xvii. p. 192.

Secondly, Erasmus and Gropperus against the rest.

Primus videtur Erasmus, &c.

Erasmus was the first that called this matter into controversy; whether the consent of parents be required to the essence of matrimony. But the catholic doctors are so far from doubting of this point, as that they never number the want of parents' consent amongst the impediments of matrimony; and the Council of Trent accurses them which shall hold marriage, without consent of parents, void, or voidable by parents. All the old divines, and amongst them St. Thomas, in 4. dist. 28, and the most of the learned new writers, as Ruard. Petr. and Dominic. à Soto, and others, teach, that matrimony, without consent and knowledge of parents, is not only true marriage, but also a true sacrament. Indeed Gropperus denies this clandestine matrimony to be a sacrament, wherein he is manifestly deceived, and contradicts both St. Thomas, and all sounder divines.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. xix, xx. p. 201, 202, &c.

Thirdly, Thomas, Bonavent., Albert, Richard, Durand, Dominicus à Soto, against Scotus, Paludan, Cajetan, and all canonists.

Quæstio igitur, &c.

It is a controversy among catholics, by what law a solemn vow dissolveth that matrimony which is contracted after the said vow; whether by the law natural and divine, or only ecclesiastical and positive. For many, and those grave divines, Saint Thomas, Saint Bonaventure, Albertus, Richardus, Durandus, and Dominicus à Soto, hold, that a solemn vow dissolves matrimony by the law of God and nature: but many deny their grounds, as Scotus, Paludanus, and Cajetan, and all the interpreters of the canon law, as Panormitanus witnesseth: who thinketh that this dissolution is only warranted by the decree of the Church.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 21. p. 217.

Fourthly, Cajetan against the common opinion.

De his quatuor gradibus, &c.

Concerning these four forbidden degrees, some doctors have denied that they are forbidden by the law of nature; amongst whom is Cajetan, in *Secunda Secundæ*, q. 154. But yet the commoner and truer opinion teacheth the contrary.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 28. p. 278.

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Fifthly, Albertus, Thomas, Bellarmine, and others, against Pet. Lombard, Jo. Scotus, &c.

Non desunt quidem theologi.

There be some of our divines which separate original justice given to our first parent in his creation, from that grace which we call *gratum facientem;* and which teach, that Adam received indeed at first a certain habit, which subjected the inferior part of the soul to the superior; but not this saving grace, which makes us the sons and friends of God, and is necessary to the earning of eternal life; of which opinion were Peter Lombard, sent. 2. dist. 24, and after him Jo. Scotus, and certain other. We follow Albertus Magnus, Saint Thomas, and others, which conjoin original justice with the said grace, &c.—*Bellarmine*, in his book, *of the Grace given to our First Parents*, c. 3. p. 9.

Sixthly, Some learned papists confuted by Bellarmine.

Quare non magis differt, &c.

The state of Adam after his fall differed no otherwise from his estate in his pure naturals than a stripped man from a naked; neither is man's nature ever a whit the worse, if you only take away his original fault; neither is more ignorant and weak, than it would have been in his mere naturals. Therefore the corruption of nature is not of the want of any natural gift, or the addition of any ill quality, but only from the loss of his supernatural gift, from Adam's sin; which is the common opinion of schoolmen, both old and new. Neither did we learn this which we teach from Dominicus à Soto only; neither hath Saint Thomas, and other approved authors, written the contrary (as some otherwise very learned men do hold); but, as I said, this is the commoner opinion, as shall appear by the testimonies following.—*Bellarmine*, in the same book, *of the Grace given to our First Parents*, cap. 5. p. 21.

Seventhly, Bellarmine against Eugubinus.

Prior fuit Pelagianorum, &c.

The Pelagians held that man should have died though he had not sinned: to which error Augustinus Eugubinus comes very near in his notes upon Genes. ii.—*Bellarmine*, in the same book, *of the Grace given to Mankind in our First Parents*, c. 8. p. 46.

Eighthly, Franc. Georgius refuted by Bellarmine.

Non defuerunt ex veteribus, &c.

Some of the ancients have turned all that history of paradise, the rivers and trees, into mere allegories, as Philo, Valentinus Hæresiarcha, Origenes; but in our age, Franciscus Georgius, tom. i. of Problems, and in his Harmony of the World, cant. i. tom. vii. chap. 21, hath gone about to revive and defend this opinion, long since condemned by the fathers.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 10. p. 53.

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Ninthly, Aug. Eugubinus, Hier. ab Oleastro, Vatablus, Jansenius, rejected by Bellarmine.

The fourth opinion is of some later writers. Augustin Eugubinus, Jerome ab Oleastro, Francis Vatablus, Cornelius Jansenius, that hold paradise was in Mesopotamia, but that in the time of the deluge the beauty and pleasure of it so faded, that there was no show of a paradise, and therefore now there is no more guard of the angel or flaming sword. But for many causes I cannot like this opinion.—*Bellarm. ibid.* cap. 12. p. 62. Quarta opinio est recentiorum, &c.

Tenthly, The later papists against the ancient.

Howsoever the later writers which we cited before, Eugubinus, Jansenius, and others, hold the contrary; yet since I never read any of the ancient which have held the earthly paradise to be perished, either by waters or by any other cause, and I have found many that affirm it is yet extant, as almost all the schoolmen, upon sent. 2. dist. 17, and Saint Thomas, besides Irenæus, Jerome, Augustin, Theodoret, Bede, &c. and others, I dare not dissent from so common and received an opinion.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 14. p. 68. Et quidem recentiores illi, &c.

BOOK III.

THIRD CENTURY OF DISSENSIONS.

DECADE I.

First, Bellarm. against St. Thomas and other schoolmen.

It is held by Jo. Damascenus, St. Thomas, and other of the schoolmen, that men only, and not brute creatures, should have had place in paradise, if man had not sinned; but the authority of Saint Basil and Saint Austin, which teach the contrary, praileth more with me. See the confutation.—*Bellarmine*, the same book, c. 15. p. 71. Et quidem Johannes Damascenus, &c.

Secondly, The schoolmen opposed by Bellarmine.

St. Austin, whom the schoolmen in this do follow, holds, that the tree of life was appointed to defend that death which useth to ensue upon old age: the opinion of many other fathers, and I think very agreeable to scripture and reason, is quite otherwise; namely, that this tree had this power, that, once tasted of, it could give perfect immortality, such as we shall have after our resurrection, &c. This, I confess, I like better of the two.—*Bellarmine, ibid.* c. 18. p. 74. Una sancti Augustini, quem scholastici, &c.

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Thirdly, Bellarmine against Alphonsus de Castro.

Quocirca valde mirum est, &c.

I marvel what Alphonsus de Castro meant, to write that Saint Jerome never ascribed this error of the equality of sins to Jovinian; for in many pages in his second book against Jovinian he both names him and answereth his arguments for this purpose. *Bellarm.* in his first book *of the Loss of Grace and State of Sin*, c. 4. p. 97.

Fourthly, Jo. Gerson and Jo. Roffensis, against Lombard and the rest, and Jacob. Almain.

His omnibus erroribus contraria est sententia theolog. catholicorum, &c.

The catholic divines in the Master of Sentences, book ii. dist. 42, and Saint Thomas, out of the consent of almost all writers, teach, that some sins of their own nature (without all respect to predestination or reprobation, of the state of the regenerate, or unregenerate) are deadly, and others venial; and that by the first, man is made unworthy of God's favour and guilty of death; by the other, liable only to some temporal punishment and fatherly chastisement: only Jo. Gerson, Theol. Tract. 3, p. 3, and Jo. of Rochester, in his Refutation of 32. art. of Luther, and Jacobus Almain, must be excepted, which differ somewhat herein from the common opinion of divines.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 4. p. 102.

Fifthly, Bellarmine and Thomas against Scotus and Bonaventure.

At sententia communis, &c.

The common opinion of catholic divines is, that Eve's first sin was pride; yea, St. Thomas holds, that the first sin of both our first parents was pride, *Secunda Secundæ*, quæst. 163. St. Bonaventure and Scotus hold, that Adam's first sin was inordinate love to his wife, not of concupiscence, but of human kindness. The other opinion is to be received rather. See the confutation of Scotus and Bonaventure, *Bellarm. of the Loss of Grace*, book iii. cap. 4, 5. p. 278.

Sixthly, Different opinions of ancient fathers, maintained by some papists.

Aliqui docent.

Some think that Eve believed not that death should follow upon the eating of the forbidden tree, but rather believed, that God had lied to them, and upon envy forbad that so excellent and wholesome fruit: so teach Cyril, Chrysostom, Augustin, Rupertus, Rabanus, and many others. Others think, that Eve believed that the same fruit was not indeed forbidden by God, and that she and her husband had mistook the words of God: this opinion is noted by Augustin, *Genesis ad literam*, l. xi. c. 30, and by Epiphanius, in the Heresy of the Cainites.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 6. p. 290.

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Seventhly, Scotus and some few others, against Thomas, Albert, Bonaventure, Richard, Durand.

Some there are which think, that the first sin of our first parents might have been venial: so holds Scotus, upon sent. 2. dist. 21, and some few others which follow him. But the greater divines teach contrary; as St. Thomas, Albert, St. Bonaventure, Richardus, Durandus, Ægidius, and others, upon sent. 2. dist. 21, and Alexander Alensis, in Sum. Theol. part. ii. q. 104.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 8. p. 298. Et quidem non desunt.

Eighthly, Bellarmine against the schoolmen with Chrysostom.

Saint Chrysostom directly teacheth that the sin of Eve was more heinous than Adam's; which opinion most of the schoolmen follow, upon sent. 2. dist. 22. Contrarily, St. Ambrose, by many arguments, proves, that the man sinned worse than the woman. St. Austin so speaks, as if he thought the sins of both equal. Bellarmine allows Chrysostom's opinion for probable, but yields rather to Ambrose, and concludes, that absolutely the man sinned worse than the woman, though, in respect of some acts, the woman sinned equally to him.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 9. p. 299. Et quidem S. Johannes Chrysost.

Ninthly, Three ranks of popish doctors dissenting.

Concerning the traduction of original sin, St. Austin holds thus: that either both body and soul is corrupted in the derivation of it, (according to their opinion, which hold the soul propagated,) or that the soul is corrupted in the body, as in an unclean vessel, (according to them which hold the soul created by God, and only the corrupted flesh taken from our parents.) Further, Augustin writes that the flesh is corrupted, because it is begotten in lust; and that it is not generation, but lust, which properly traduceth sin; as in his first book *De Peccat. Meritis*, and 1. book *De Nuptiis et Concup.* But this opinion, if it be taken as the words sound, (as it is indeed understood by Peter Lombard, Gregory Ariminensis, and Gabriel,) seems not to be suffered. Others hold, that the soul is defiled with the body, because the flesh, destitute of original justice, and grown rebellious to reason, draws away the soul, and inclines it amiss: so think Alexander Alensis and St. Bonaventure: but this opinion is confuted by the same arguments. There is another opinion, which I doubt not is the truest, of St. Anselm, St. Thomas, Scotus, Durandus, and others, upon sent. 2. dist. 31, that to the traducing of original sin nothing is required, but that a man be by true generation descended from Adam; for in that he was in Adam's loins when he transgressed, Explicandus est modus, &c.

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he did communicate with his sin.—*Bellarm. of Loss of Grace,* l. iv. c. 12. p. 400.

Tenthly, Some popish doctors against Thomas Aquin. and others.

Quod ad priorem, &c.

All hold, that no sin could have been traduced to mankind if Eve alone had sinned: but in this they differ, that some think from Eve's sin alone there would have grown a necessity of dying to her sons, and the other inconveniences that follow mortality: others hold that neither sin nor necessity of dying would have followed: this latter opinion is St. Thomas's, *Prima Secundæ,* q. 81, and without doubt very true.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 13. p. 402.

DECADE II.

First, All divines against Thomas Aquin.

Communis sententia est, si primus, &c.

The common opinion is, that if the first man had not sinned, whosoever else should sin, his offence should have been personal and particular, and therefore could not infect and defile his posterity: but yet St. Thomas seems to hold the contrary in his 5. quæst. of Evil, art. 4. But perhaps the place is corrupted.—*Bellarm.* l. iv. c. 13. p. 403.

Secondly, Capreolus, Cajetanus, and others, against the common opinion.

Tametsi non desint inter catholicos, &c.

Though some catholics hold that opinion to have some more inclination to the truth, which exempts none but Christ from the state of original sin, yet even those authors do not condemn the contrary opinion as erroneous; neither indeed can, unless they will resist the decrees of the general Council of Trent, and of Sixtus IV and Pius V, popes; which if they did, they should not be reckoned for catholics. And of this opinion were Capreolus, Cajetanus, and others.—*Bellarm.* l. iv. c. 15, 16. p. 409.

Thirdly, Bellarmine against some nameless papists.

Non desunt qui existiment.

There are that hold the blessed Virgin sinned not in Adam; for they say, that the law of not eating of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, was given to our parents for themselves and their posterity, except the Virgin Mary; which opinion seems to me not safe to be defended.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 16. p. 418.

Fourthly, Hofmeisterus and Virvesius confuted by Bellarmine.

Ex nostris Johannes, &c.

Of our writers, John Hofmeisterus and Alphonsus Virvesius do scarce acknowledge there is any difference in this article of original sin betwixt us and the heretics; but if it be well considered, there is a double difference in our doctrine.—*Bellarm. of the Loss of Grace,* l. v. c. 4. p. 460.

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Fifthly, The Council of Trent against Pighius and Catharinus.

The Council of Trent hath defined, that original sin is not as one and the same in all, but that every man hath his own proper birth-sin; against the false opinion of Pighius and Catharinus.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 6. p. 472. Non unum in omnibus, &c.

Sixthly, Two ranks of popish doctors opposed by Bellarmine.

There do now remain two incommodious opinions of catholics to be confuted. Some therefore of our authors would have original sin to be nothing but concupiscence: that is, a faulty quality in the mind, evermore stirring up wicked desires: so holds Peter Lombard, in sent. 2. dist. 31, Henricus, book ii. q. 11, Gregorius Ariminensis; and of the later, Jo. Driedo. But this difference is betwixt Henry and Gregory—that Henry holds that evil quality of the soul to be a proneness to all evil, Gregory restrains it to the inclination unto that thing which is carnally delightful. This opinion, methinks, cannot be defended. Nunc refutandæ sunt duæ, &c.

And a little after. In all this we agree with Peter Lombard, Henricus, Gregory, and the rest: only here lies the question, Whether this faultiness of nature be a positive quality or not; and whether it be properly and formally original sin? They affirm both, we deny both.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 15. p. 548.

Seventhly, Albert Pighius and Catharinus, and some ancient, confuted by Bellarmine.

Lastly remains to be confuted the error of Albertus Pighius, Ambrosius Catharinus, and some of the ancient, as Pet. Lomb. reports; which is, that original sin is nothing else but the first disobedience of Adam, whereby the precept of God for not eating of the forbidden tree was broken, &c. But it is false and heretical, that original sin is nothing else besides the first actual transgression of Adam, &c.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 16. p. 555. Restat ultimus error.

Eighthly, Four sorts of popish doctors at irreconcilable variance.

There are five opinions of the estate and punishment of infants unbaptized after this life. First, of those which durst promise the kingdom of heaven to them, though they denied not that they were born in original sin; so held one Vincentius of old, and now lately Zuinglius, and many of the sectaries of these times. The second of them which exclude them from heaven, but yet yield them an eternal and natural blessedness, free from all sorrow and trouble, out of the kingdom of the blessed, and far from the prison of the damned: so did the Pelagians hold, as Augustin. Book of Heresies, Quinque numerantur sententiæ, &c.

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chap. 88; near to which opinion are Ambrosius Catharinus, Albertus Pighius, and Jerome Savonarola. The third is, that infants dying without baptism are damned in hell to eternal death, but yet so punished with want of the vision of God, as that in the meantime they suffer no pain, neither inward nor outward; so teacheth St. Thomas, in q. 4. of Evil, art. 1, 2, &c. and some other school doctors, upon sent. 2. dist. 23. The fourth opinion exempts such infants from the torment of the fire and worm, whereof we read, Mark ix, but not from an inward sorrow for the loss of their eternal blessedness; so teaches Peter Lombard, upon sent. 2. and after him some others; as St. Thomas, St. Bonaventure, and Gregory Ariminensis, and others report. The fifth, which is the severest opinion, teacheth, that infants, for their original sin, are perpetually tormented in hell, with both sorts of punishment, of loss and of sense; to which opinion incline Gregorius Ariminensis, Jo. Driedo.—*Bellarm. of the Loss of Grace*, b. vi. c. 1. p. 174, 175.

Ninthly, Two sorts of popish writers opposite.

Locus, in quo parvuli degunt, &c.

The place wherein such infants do and shall live is the prison of hell; a place dark and horrible, as almost all the school divines teach, St. Thomas, St. Bonaventure, Scotus, Durandus, Richardus, Capreolus, and others upon sent. 2. dist. 33; and besides, Alexander Alensis and Albertus. This difference only there is betwixt these old divines, that some place infants in the higher part of hell, which they call *limbum puerorum*, the verge of infants; others say, they have one common place with the damned. Thus the fathers of the Florentine Council teach, &c.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 2. p. 582.

Tenthly, Durandus, Thomas, Bonaventure, Richardus, differing.

Aliqui veterum scholasticorum.

Some of the old schoolmen have held, that those infants shall therefore have no sorrow for the loss of blessedness, because they shall not know they have lost it, which may be done only by faith; this reason is approved by Thomas in qu. 2. *De Malo*, but himself reproves it in sent. 2. dist. 33. quæst. 2. Durandus upon the same place defends it. Bonaventure hath devised another reason; Thomas a third; and Richardus upon the same place, seeing that the foresaid reasons did not give satisfaction, adds a fourth, and saith, That infants know they are fallen from happiness, and yet are not sad, it comes to pass by a singular providence of God, which removes sorrow from their minds.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 6. p. 609.

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DECADE III.

First, Albert Pighius and Peter Lombard, with Scotus against the rest.

That no part of justice stands in any quality or habit of ours, but all wholly in God's free acceptation, is held by Calvin, Chemnitius, Heshusius; and to this opinion of the heretics comes Albertus Pighius (otherwise a catholic doctor), but in some questions (as Ruardus Tapperus noted before us) miserably seduced by reading of Calvin's books. For thus Pighius writes in his fifth book of Freewill: We will fetch the divers acceptions of grace from the scriptures, not from the schools; for in them commonly they imagine that the grace of God is some quality created in our souls by God, &c., all which I think false and feigned, and to have no authority from scripture. Thus Pighius. But the common opinion of divines constantly teacheth, that a supernatural habit is infused into us by God, whereby the soul is garnished and perfected, and so made acceptable to God. For though Peter Lombard, in sent. 1. dist. 17, seem to say that charity is not an habit, but the very Holy Ghost himself; yet it appears in the same book, dist. 37, he meant that the Spirit of God dwelleth not in them only which know and love him, but even in infants by some habit: wherefore Jo. Scotus holds, that Peter Lombard's opinion may well be expounded and defended; but St. Thomas and other divines reprove his opinion, as if he denied the habit of charity.—*Bellarm. of Grace and Free-will*, l. 1. c. 3. p. 50.

Ad hanc sententiam accessit Albertus, &c.

Secondly, Four diverse opinions of popish doctors.

Whether the habit of grace be the same with the habit of charity, there are four opinions of divines. For some would have this justifying grace (*gratum facientem*) to be an habit, in nature and respects different from charity; as St. Thomas, Capreolus, Cajetanus, Ferrariensis, Dominicus à Soto. Others make not a real, but a formal distinction betwixt them, as Albertus Magnus, Alexander Alensis, and perhaps St. Bonaventure upon sent. 2. dist. 26. Others hold them neither indeed nor formally, but only in certain respects different; and this is the judgment of Alexander Alensis, who belike changed his opinion, Richardus Scotus, Mayro, Gabriel, Major, Henry of Gaunt, and Andreas Vega. Others hold, there is no difference at all betwixt them, save in name only; so Durandus upon dist. 2. q. 26. The third opinion seems to be most probable, and more agreeing to Scripture, Fathers, and Council of Trent.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 6. p. 63.

Utrum habitus gratiæ.

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Thirdly, Thomas, and all divines, against Peter Lombard.

Operæ pretium esse duximus, &c.

We thought it meet to confute the opinion of them which teach, that charity, whereby we love God, is not any created habit, but the very person of the Holy Ghost; which useth to be accounted Lombard's opinion. But we must think Petr. Lomb. was not gross and dull, to think the very act of love, which we ourselves produce, is the very Holy Ghost: but this was it that Lombard taught, that the very next immediate cause or ground of the love of God is the Spirit of God in us, and not any created habit, as of faith, hope, and the rest; which opinion all divines confute in their Commentaries on the 1st book of Sent. dist. 17. especially St. Thomas in *Secunda Secundæ*, q. 23. and in his Questions, who answereth 24 objections that might be made for Lombard's opinion.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 8. p. 77.

Fourthly, Three ranks of popish writers at variance.

Unde sumatur efficacia gratiæ, &c.

Whence grace proveth effectual, are three opinions. The first of them, which hold the efficacy of grace to stand in the assent and cooperation of man's will; and therefore these hold it in man's power to make grace effectual, which otherwise in itself would be but sufficient. The other of those, which think effectual grace to be the natural action of God, which determines the will, to will and choose that good which was inspired to them by exciting grace: this opinion seems either the same with the error of the Calvinists and Lutherans, or very little different: the abettors of this opinion like it, because they think it is Augustine's; but that it was not his may be showed by four arguments, &c. The third, is the mean between both these extremes.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 12. p. 97, 98, &c.

Fifthly, Popish divines divided.

Theologi catholici quam plurimi, &c.

Many catholic divines, and almost all, teach, that every man hath sufficient grace given him for the place and time, and yet without preventing grace no man can desire or receive it. So Alexander Alensis, Albertus Magnus, S. Thomas, Bonaventure, Scotus, P. Adrian, Jo. Roffensis, &c.—*Bellarm. of Grace and Free-will*, l. ii. c. 1. p. 116.

Sixthly, Andr. Vega against Abulensis, Adrian, Cajetan, Roffensis.

Auxilium Dei sufficiens, &c.

Although sufficient and necessary aid to rise from sin be not wanting to any man for the time and place, yet it is not present at all times; this proposition is not mine only, but it is confirmed by Abulensis, Adrianus VI, Cajetan, Roffensis, Driedo, Tapperus.

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But Andreas Vega saith, that sinners may be at any or every time converted; yet he adds, that they cannot at every time bring that their possibility to effect; so he partly affirms and partly denies it.—*Bellarm.* l. 2. c. 6. p. 131.

Seventhly, Thomas, and Cajetan, and Bellarmine, against other doctors.

Divines indeed dispute, whether predestination belong rather to the understanding or to the will: but I like the opinion of cardinal Cajetan and St. Thomas, who hold it rather of the understanding; and the rather, because it is Saint Augustin's in his book *De Bono Perseverant.* c. 17. *Bellarm. ibid.* c. 9. p. 154. Disputant quidem theologi, &c.

Eighthly, Ambros. Catharinus, and some others, confuted by Bellarmine.

But let us more at large expound that principal place out of Rom. ix, because Ambros. Catharinus and some other new writers take it amiss.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 10. p. 157. Sed explicemus paulo fusius, &c.

Ninthly, Some nameless authors confuted by Bellarmine.

The distinction which some catholics make betwixt predestination and election; that predestination is before election; predestination is the means, election respects the glory itself; predestination is free, election depends on the prevision of our good works; see by Bellarmine (the same book, c. 15. p. 186.) confuted, as disagreeing from Scripture and reason. Propter hoc argumentum non defuerunt, &c.

Tenthly, Eight several opinions of popish doctors.

The first opinion is, that freewill doth consist properly in our act, not in any habit, &c.: so teacheth Hervæus, (1. *Quodlibet* q. 1,) who places freewill in those acts of the understanding and will, which go before deliberation or the conclusion of deliberation. The second is Bonaventure's opinion, who places freewill in a certain natural habit, arising from reason and will, upon sent. 2. dist. 23. art. 1. The third is Albertus' opinion, that freewill is a power of the soul perfected by a natural habit. The fourth, that freewill is an universal power or faculty, containing under it all the powers of the understanding and sensitive soul: this opinion is reported without name by Saint Bonaventure and Saint Thomas. The fifth is of Alexander Alensis, which teacheth, that freewill is a particular power or faculty of the soul, and distinct from reason and will; in Sum. p. 2. q. 74, &c. The sixth is Durandus', upon sent. 2. d. 24. q. 3; who teaches, that freewill is the very power of reason and will, but more especially of reason. The seventh is the opinion of Henricus and Scotus, in sent. 2. dist. 25, who hold, that freewill is but one par- Sunt autem de hac re multæ theologorum sententiæ, &c.

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ticular faculty, even the will itself; and that it is so free, that it doth not depend so much as upon the practical judgment of reason. The eighth is the opinion of St. Thomas, Sum., part. 1. q. 83., and in *Prima Secundæ*, q. 13, &c.; of Richardus, Capreolus, Conradus, Cajetanus, and others, which hold, that freewill is indeed one particular faculty, even the will itself (as the former opinion); but they add, that the root of this freedom is in reason, and that the will wholly depends upon the last judgment of practical reason. Which opinion seems to me to be the truest.—*Bellarm.* l. 3. c. 7. p. 221.

DECADE IV.

First, Occam against the common opinion.

Tametsi Gul. Occam, &c.

Although Gul. Occam in Sent. l. iii. q. 13 writes, that the object of the will is any thing that hath being, whether it be good or evil; so that it can be set upon evil, as it is evil: yet the common opinion of divines is contrary, &c., and amongst the rest, of Saint Thomas, in part. 1. q. 20. art. 1., &c.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 12. p. 248.

Secondly, Three ranks of popish divines disagreeing.

Tres de hac re sententiæ, &c.

About the object of freewill, there are three opinions. The first, of Pet. Lombard, Occam, Gabriel, who hold, that all things which are present are necessary, and cannot be otherwise; and, therefore, that future actions alone are in the power of freewill.

The second, of Gregorius Ariminensis, upon sent. 1. d. 39, which thinks, that the entering into an action, even for the present, may be free, but that some continuance is altogether necessary.

The third is more common in schools, and more true, which is declared and defended by Jo. Scotus, Capreolus, and Hersubeus; that freewill hath in his power, not only future, but present actions, and not only in their entrance, but continuance also.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 13. p. 251.

Thirdly, Scotus and Henric. against Thom. and Capreolus.

Tres enim theologorum.

Concerning the first act of the will, whether it be simply free, as Scotus and Henricus hold; or whether it be wrought wholly by God alone, so as the will is but only passive, as Capreolus and Saint Thomas by Capreolus's report; or whether, thirdly, it be efficiently of the will, but yet of God as the author of it, as following upon that natural inclination which God hath set in

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the will, as Cajetan, Ferrariensis, and Saint Thomas.—*See Bellarm.*, same book, c. xiv. p. 256.

Fourthly, Petrus ab Alliaco against Saint Thomas and other divines.

Una solum controversia remanet.

One controversy remains: whether, by the light of reason alone, we can know that there is a God, and that HE is One. Of our men Petrus ab Alliaco in sent. 2. q. 3. writes, that we can know nothing at all of God without a special help of grace: but almost all divines, and especially Saint Thomas, teach the contrary; who doubt not to call that opinion erroneous.—*Bellarmine*, in his fourth book *of Grace and Free-will*, c. 2. p. 277.

Fifthly, Durandus against all divines; some other, nameless, against the rest.

Duo siquidem contrarii errores, &c.

Of actions natural, or civil, or manual (without consideration of any moral good or evil in them), whether they could be done of us by the only power of nature, there have been two contrary errors. For some have taught that man, as well as other things, can do his works without any help of God, whether general or special: so Origen seems to hold, as Saint Thomas noteth: so also the Pelagians, and, amongst others, Durandus upon sent. 2. dist. 1. quæst. 5. Others have held, in another extreme, that God doth so immediately and properly work all things, that the second causes do just nothing; but in their presence God doth all: Saint Thomas reports this opinion, *in Quæst. de Potentia*, art. 7. The true and common opinion of divines is between both.—*Bellarm.* book iv. c. 4. p. 285.

Sixthly, Saint Thomas, Gregory, Gabriel, Buridan, Andreas de Castro, Laurent. Valla, in three ranks against one another.

Tertia quæstio, quæ una ex principalibus, &c.

One of the main controversies of this matter is, whether man have freewill in natural and civil actions; whereof are three opinions. First, of well near all catholics, that not only man is of freewill in the foresaid actions, but that this is evident, both in the light of nature and doctrine of faith, as St. Thomas, above others, in quæst. 6. *De Malo;* and Gregory, Gabriel, and others upon sent. 2. d. 25. The second, of some catholics, which hold it certain, by the doctrine of faith, not by the light of reason, that man hath this freewill: so teach Jo. Buridanus, Ethic. 3. q. 1. Andr. de Castro, sent. 1. d. 45. cited by Ruardus, &c. The third opinion, or heresy rather, is of Laurentius Valla, in his book of Freewill, &c. and Bucer, who teach, that man hath not freewill in any thing, in this state of his corrupted nature; no, not in things indifferent and civil.—*Bellarm.* l. iv. c. 5. p. 289.

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Seventhly, Cajetan, Durandus, and another sort, unnamed, against each other, and Bellarmine against all.

Concordiam istam liberi arbitrii, &c.

The cooperation of God's providence with man's freewill, Cajetan thinks, cannot be expressed: contrarily, Durandus thinks he hath sufficiently unfolded it, when he teacheth, that there is no concourse of God's will with second causes; but that the natures and virtues of themselves are sufficient; and that God, as he hath made them, so should preserve them. But this opinion is false, and contrary to scriptures, fathers, and reason. The third sort hold, that God by his concourse determines the action of man's will, and yet that it is absolutely free: and this, for many causes, I cannot allow.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 14. p. 318.

Eighthly, Greg. Ariminensis, Capreolus, Cassalius, against Albert, Bonaventure, Scotus, Richard. Durandus, &c.

Quidam theologi, &c.

Some divines hold, that no moral truth can be known by man, in the state of his corrupted nature, without the special aid of God's Spirit: so teach Gregorius Ariminensis, Johannes, Capreolus, Gaspar Cassalius. Contrarily, all divines almost think, by the mere power of nature, and by a general aid of God, some moral truth may be known: so Albertus, St. Bonaventure, Scotus, Richardus, Durandus, Dominicus à Soto, St. Thomas, &c. This latter opinion seems the truest, which we do the rather defend, because it so much displeaseth our adversaries, and Jo. Calvin especially.—*Bellarm.* 5. book *of Grace and Free-will*, c. 1. p. 337.

Ninthly, Scotus, Durandus, Gabriel; Gregor. Ariminensis, Capreolus, Marsilius; Alexander, Albert, Thomas, Bonavent. opposite to each other.

Conveniunt theologi catholici, &c.

All catholics agree that no works meritorious of grace can be done by the only power of nature; and secondly, that all our works before justification are no sins. Within these bounds some dispute for freewill, perhaps more freely and lavishly than were meet; as Scotus, Durandus, Gabriel, upon sent. 2. d. 28. Others again give less to it than they should; as Gregorius, Ariminensis, Capreolus, upon sent. 2. d. 28. and Marsilius. We will follow that which the greater and graver sort of divines teach, namely, Alexander, Albertus, St. Thomas, St. Bonaventure, &c.—*Bellarm.* l. v. c. 4. p. 351.

Tenthly, Two sorts of nameless doctors opposed.

Fortasse conciliari possunt.

Perhaps those authors which say that without the help of God no temptation can be overcome, and those which hold some may be vanquished without it, may be reconciled; yet their opinion

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and speech is more agreeable to scriptures and fathers, which say, no temptation can be overcome without God's aid.—*Bellarmine, ibid.* c. 7. p. 363.

DECADE V.

First, Bellarmine, with St. Thomas and Bonaventure, against some nameless doctors.

Dictum illud commune scholarum, &c.

For the common saying in schools (to the man that doth what he can, God denies not grace) I answer, that this is well expounded of St. Thomas in *Prima Secundæ*, q. 109. and Saint Bonaventure, in sent. 2. dist. 28, grace is not denied to him that doth his utmost, when a man doth it by working together with God's grace, whereby he is stirred; not when he worketh only by the power of nature. Certainly, those which teach that man by doing what he may is by the only strength of nature prepared to grace, either think that he may thereby desire and ask grace, which is the Pelagians' heresy, or hold that man by his own strength may keep all the moral law, &c.; and this also is Pelagianism, confuted in the former book.—*Bellarmine, of Grace and Free-will,* book vi. chap. 6. p. 508.

Secondly, Bellarmine against Dominicus à Soto.

Aliqui etiam ex catholicis, &c.

Some catholics, and especially Dominicus à Soto, book ii. of Nat. and Grace, chap. 14, deny that our dispositions towards justification can by any reason be called merits; and to be justified freely, they hold to imply a justification without any merit whatsoever: but I cannot understand why we should not in that case use the name of merit, especially with that addition of congruity, when we speak of works done by the preventing grace of God.—*Bellarm. of Justification,* l. i. c. 21. p. 103.

Thirdly, Albertus Pighius, and the divines of Cologne, against the Council of Trent and Bellarmine.

In eandem sententiam sive potius, &c.

Not only Martin Bucer, but Albertus Pighius, (with some others, as, namely, the divines of Cologne,) in his second controversy, held this opinion, or error rather, that there is a double justice, whereby we are formally justified; one imperfect, which is in our inherent virtues; the other perfect, which is Christ's righteousness, imputed; whose opinion is rejected by the Council of Trent, sess. 6. c. 7.—*Bellarm. of Justification,* book ii. c. 1. p. 124.

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Fourthly, Gropperus, Catharinus, St. Thomas, Bonaventure, Scotus, in three opinions.

De proposita igitur quæstione, &c.

Of this matter, concerning certainty of salvation, there are three opinions, or rather falsehoods. The first, of the heretics of this time, that the faithful may have such knowledge, as that by a sure faith they may know their sins forgiven, &c. The second is of the author of the *Enchiridion Coloniense*, which holds, that a man both may and ought to be certain his sins are forgiven; but yet he denies that he is justified by faith alone: but this book is in many other things worthy of the censure of the Church. The third is of Ambrosius Catharinus, who holds, that a man may be certain of his own grace even by the assurance of faith. Contrary to these errors is the common opinion of almost all divines, St. Thomas, St. Bonaventure, Scotus, Durandus, Roffensis, Alphonsus à Castro, Dominicus à Soto, Ruardus, &c. Nicholas Sanders, Thomas Stapleton, &c., that no man can by any certainty of faith be assured of his justice, except those which have special revelations.—*Bellarm. of Justice,* book iii. c. 3. p. 206.

Fifthly, The divines of Louvain and Paris against Catharin.

Nam Parisiensis, &c. Lovaniensium vero, &c.

How Bellarmine presseth Catharinus with the authority of the universities of Paris and Louvain, and the flat words of the council of Trent, and Catharinus his answers and elusions of all, see *Bellarm. ibid.* c. 3. p. 208.

Sixthly, Bellarmine against Catharinus.

Catharinus' exposition of those places of Ecclesiastes, Ecclesiasticus, Job, for his purpose, see largely confuted by *Bellarm. ibid.* c. 4, 5. p. 211, 212.

Seventhly, Catharinus and two ranks of popish divines differing.

Dico nullum catholicum scriptorem, &c.

I say there is no catholic writer holds that a man should ever doubt of his reconciliation with God. For there are three opinions amongst catholics. One of Ambrosius Catharinus, which doth not only exclude all doubt, but adds, that the just man may have an assurance of his justification by the certainty of a divine faith. Another goes not so far, yet holds that perfect men are wont to attain unto that security, as that they have no fear of their justification, as we believe without all doubting that there was a Cæsar, an Alexander, &c., though we saw them not; but this opinion, I confess, I like not. The third, which is more common in the Church, takes not away all fear, but yet takes away all anxiety and wavering doubtfulness.—*Bellarmine, of Justification,* book iii. c. 11. p. 264.

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Eighthly, Andr. Vega against Thomas and other catholics.

Andr. Vega, in his eleventh book upon the Councils, chap. 20, holds venial sin to be properly against the law. But venial sins, without which we cannot live, are not simply sins, but imperfectly, and in some regards, and are not indeed against the law, but besides it, as St. Thomas teaches well in *Prima Secundæ*, q. 88.—*Bellarm.* l. iv. c. 14. p. 359. Ab hoc argumento, &c.

Ninthly, Robert Holcot against Saint Thomas and the common opinion.

Although some have taught, that freedom of will is not necessary to merit, as Robert Holcot held—witness Jo. Picus in his Apology—yet the common opinion of divines is contrary, as it appears out of St. Thomas, *Prima Secundæ*, quæst. 114. and other doctors, upon sent. 1. dist. 17, &c.—*Bellarm. of Justification*, l. v. c. 10. p. 432. Quamvis non desint, &c.

Tenthly, A certain nameless author against Pius V, Peter Lombard, and others.

It was the opinion of a certain late author, which was in many points condemned by Pius V, that eternal life is due to good works, for that they are the true obedience to the law, not for that they are done by a person advanced by grace into the state of the Son of God; so he holds, that meritorious works may be done by a man not regenerate by baptism, &c. The contrary opinion is received and allowed in the schools of catholic divines: see Pet. Lombard, and the divines upon sent. 2. dist. 24.—*Bellarm. of Justification*, l. v. c. 12. p. 438. Fuit opinio cujusdam, &c.

DECADE VI.

First, Guliel. Altisiodorensis against all popish doctors.

It was the singular opinion of Gulielm. Altisiodorensis (l. iii. tract. 12. cap. 1, &c.), that merit doth more principally depend upon faith than charity; which opinion of his doth not a little favour the heretics of this time: but in truth Scripture is so pregnant against him, that I wonder so worthy a man could be so far deceived.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 15. p. 454. Fuit singularis opinio Gulielm. &c.

Secondly, Bellarmine against many of their grave authors.

Though there be some grave authors which hold, that every good work of a just man, and a man endued with charity, is meritorious of eternal life; yet I hold it more probable, that there is further required to merit, that the good work should in the very act of it proceed from charity, and be directed to God as the supernatural end, &c.—*Bellarm.* l. v. c. 15. p. 456. Et quamvis non desint gravissimi, &c.

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Thirdly, Thomas Waldensis, Paulus Burgensis, against Durandus and Gregorius, and the common opinion.

Catholici omnes agnoscunt, &c.

All catholics acknowledge that good works are meritorious of eternal life. But some hold that these words (of congruity and condignity) are not to be used: but only that we should say absolutely, that good works by the grace of God do merit eternal life: so teacheth Thomas Waldensis, tom. iii. of Sacraments, chap. 7; Paulus Burgensis in Psalm xxxv. Others will have them to merit by condignity in a large manner: so teach Durandus and Gregorius. The common opinion of divines doth simply admit a merit of condignity.—*Bellarm.* l. v. c. 16. p. 459. Where note, that Bellarmine finds Durandus to hold the same in this point with us, p. 460. line 5.

Fourthly, Bellarmine against some of their acute distinguishers.

Quod vero quidam distinguunt, &c.

How some distinguish nicely betwixt *dignum* and *condignum;* and their confutation, who will admit a merit of dignity, not of condignity; see *Bellarm.* l. v. c. 16. p. 459.

Fifthly, Cajetan and Dom. à Soto; Scotus and Andr. Vega; Tho. and Bonaventure, with Bellarm. differing.

Non desunt qui censeant opera, &c.

Some hold, that the good works of the just merit eternal life upon their very worth, in regard of the work, though there were no such agreement betwixt God and us: so hold Cajetan, in *Secunda Secundæ,* quæst. 114, and Dominicus à Soto, third book of Nature and Grace, chap. 7. Others, contrarily, think that good works, proceeding from grace, are not meritorious upon the very worth of the work, but only in regard of God's covenant with us, and his gracious acceptation: thus holds Scotus in sent. 1. dist. 17. q. 2; whom other of the old schoolmen follow; and of the later, Andreas Vega: yet this opinion differs far from the heresy of the Lutherans, &c. But to me the mean opinion seems more probable, which teaches that good works are meritorious of eternal life upon condignity, in respect of the work and covenant together, which opinion I doubt not is agreeable to the Council of Trent and the chief divines, as St. Thomas and Bonavent.—*Bellarm.* l. v. c. 17. p. 464.

Sixthly, Thomas and Bonavent. against Andr. Vega and the Doctor of Louvain.

Postrema restat quæstio, &c.

The last question is, whether God reward good works of his mere liberality above their worthiness. The common opinion constantly affirms it, as is plain in Saint Thomas, Saint Bonavent., Scotus, Durandus, &c. But Andr. Vega, and that Doctor of Lou-

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vain (many of whose opinions Pius V. confuted) held the contrary: and this is the fourteenth opinion by him expressed and condemned.—*Bellarm.* l. v. c. 19. p. 471.

Seventhly, Some popish doctors, against Chrysostom, confuted by Bellarmine.

Whether God do give punishment to evil works beyond the worthiness or condignity of them, is not so certain. St. Chrysostom seems to patronage the affirmative part; but Saint Austin rather tolerates than approves it. Some others defend the negative by four testimonies of Scripture; answered by *Bellarm.* lib. v. c. 19. p. 472. Utrum autem operibus, &c.

Eighthly, Cajetan against Dominic. à Soto and Bellarmine.

Though cardinal Cajetan teach, that those clerks and monks sin not deadly which choose the Roman Breviary, and neglect that Breviary which is proper to their order and church: yet that opinion is not so safe and sure, as Dominicus à Soto well admonishes, except it be by consent of the bishop and whole chapter. —*Bellarm. of Good Works in particular*, l. i. c. 18. p. 96. Quamvis cardinalis Cajetanus, &c.

Ninthly, Bellarmine against Panormitan.

We answer, that clerks and monks are by God's law bound to pray and praise God more than others: but unto this form of prayer and praises which is now in use they are only tied by the determination of the Church. As for that which Panormitanus (otherwise a learned lawyer) holds, that the number of seven hours for divine service is determined by God's law, when David saith, *Seven times a day do I praise thee,* it is very slight, &c.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 19. p. 102. Respondemus jure divino, &c.

Tenthly, Some popish doctors opposed by Bellarmine and Pius V. and Concil. Lateran.

Whatsoever some doctors have formerly thought, we say, that now doubtless those clerks which do not their divine offices, either ought to want the fruits of their benefices, or, if they have received them, to restore them again for common alms or reparations of their churches; and there is a flat decree for this in the Council of Lateran, sess. 9. *Statuimus,* and in the Constitution of Pius V. —*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 19. p. 103. Quicquid olim doctores, &c.

DECADE VII.

First, Bellarmine against Jo. Cassianus and some others unnamed

Another opinion for Lent is that of Jo. Cassianus, who teaches, that in the primitive church the fast was alike all the year long; Altera sententia est Johannis Cassiani, &c.

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after, when devotion grew cold, it pleased all the priests to appoint the fast of Lent, and to establish it in a firm law. But this opinion is built on a false ground.... The third opinion is of them who refer the institution of Lent to pope Telesphorus; &c. But the only true opinion is, that the Lent fast was ordained by the apostles of Christ, and enjoined to the whole Church.—*Bellarm. of Good Works, in part.* l. ii. c. 14. p. 177.

Secondly, Albertus against Thomas and Bellarmine.

Quamvis autem præceptum eleemosynæ, &c.

Though the precept of alms belong not properly to the Ten Commandments, since therein only are contained precepts of justice; yet divines use to reduce all moral precepts to those ten. And some (as Albertus upon 4. dist. 15. art. 16.) reduce the precept of alms to that commandment, *Thou shalt not steal:* others, as St. Thomas in *Secunda Secundæ*, quæst. 32, &c., *Honour thy father and mother*, which opinion is more probable.—*Bellarm.*, the third book, chap. 6. p. 233.

Thirdly, Some grave divines against St. Thomas, Albertus, Richardus, Paludanus, &c.

Quamvis non desint graves theologi, &c.

Although there be grave divines that hold the contrary, yet I hold that the truer and safer opinion, which teaches, that no superfluous riches can be retained in our hands without sin, whether we meet with extreme necessities of the poor whereon to bestow them, or no; which opinion follows St. Thomas, in *Secunda Secundæ*, quæst. 66. art. 7, and besides him, Albertus, Richard, Paludanus, and others, upon sent. 4. dist. 15. In which place St. Thomas writes, that this is the common opinion of divines.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 7. p. 236.

Fourthly, The old schoolmen against the common opinion and Bellarmine.

Non defuerunt ex antiquis theologis, &c.

Some of the old schoolmen, though they admitted indulgences, yet doubted of the spiritual treasure: as Francis Mayro (upon sent. 4. dist. 19.) makes question of the treasure of the overflowing satisfactions of Christ, laid up in the Church; and Durandus (upon 4. dist. 20. q. 3.) doubteth whether the satisfaction of saints pertain to the treasure. But the common opinion of divines, both old and new, St. Thomas, St. Bonaventure, and others, acknowledge both.—*Bellarm. of Indulgences*, b. i. c. 2. p. 8.

Fifthly, Pius 5. Gregory 13. Clement 6. Leo 10. against some divines of Louvain.

Non defuerunt aliqui

Some of the new writers, especially the doctors of Louvain, have taught, that the sufferings of saints are not so by indulgences

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applied that they become true satisfactions for us, but that they be motives only to induce God to apply to us Christ's satisfaction; but this opinion was condemned by Pius 5. Gregory 13. Clement 6. and Leo 10.—*Bellarmine of Indulgences*, b. i. c. 4. p. 32. ex recentioribus, &c.

Sixthly, Durand, Antonius, pope Adrian, Sylvester, Thomas; Franciscus Mayro; Cajetan, Dominicus à Soto, &c., disagreeing.

Some there have been which would have pardons nothing else but a payment or discharge of punishments, out of the treasure of Christ's merits and the saints', applied to us by the pope; so held Durandus (4. dist. 20), St. Antoninus, P. Adrian 6. Sylvester, and St. Thomas, as it seems (upon 4. dist. 20. q. 1.) Contrarily, Francis Mayro, in the place forecited, will have pardons nothing but a judiciary absolution; which opinion seems to be favoured by the examples of the ancientest councils. But the late divines have on better consideration defined, that in indulgences there is both an absolution and a payment, &c.; Cajetan, Dominicus à Soto, Petrus à Soto, Martinus, Ledesmius, and others.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 5. p. 34. Non defuere qui indulgentias, &c.

Seventhly, Pope Sixtus the Fourth, and Bellarmine, against Petrus Oxoniensis.

Wherefore the opinion of Petrus Oxoniensis was justly condemned of pope Sixtus the Fourth and the Concilium Complutense, which held, that the pope could not pardon to a man living upon earth his punishment of purgatory, and that by contrition alone our sins are done away: see Alphonsus de Castro his Book of Heresies, the word *Confession*.—*Bellarm. ibid.* c. 6. p. 37. Quare merito damnata est, &c.

Eighthly, Archidiaconus and Sylvester, and some others, against Sotus, Navarrus, and the common opinion.

Some have held, that the pope or other bishops are not partakers of those pardons which they give to others in common; so teaches the archdeacon in chap. of Indulg. and cites some few others of his judgment, *Sylvest.* in *Summa*, verb. *Indulg.* But all other divines hold contrary (upon 4. dist. 20), and Sotus dist. 21. and the canonists, with Navarrus in his tract of the Jubilee.—*Bellarm.* l. i. cap. 6. p. 39. Non defuerunt qui negaverint, &c.

Ninthly, Cajetan and Richardus against St. Thomas and Bellarmine.

Cajetan holds, that the pope by his confessor (not by himself) may give pardon to himself; and so Richardus (upon 4. dist. 20.) Certe hæc responsio probabilis visa est Cajetano, &c.

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But it may be better answered, that the pope may indirectly be partaker of a pardon granted by himself or his predecessor, without the help of a confessor, if he do those things which are required of others for the obtaining of pardon, as St. Thomas upon 4. dist. 20. q. 1.—*Bellarm.* l. i. c. 6. p. 40.

Tenthly, Petrus Paludanus against the common opinion.

Videtur quidem Petrus, &c.

Petrus Paludanus (upon 4. dist. 20.) seems to hold, that the faultiness of venial sins, though not of mortal, is taken away by pardons; but the common opinion of others is more probable, that nothing is taken away but the guilt of temporal punishments, which remains after the fault is discharged.—*Bellarm.* l. iv. c. 7. p. 41.

DECADE VIII.

First, St. Thomas and others against some of the ancient divines.

Indulgentiæ liberant, &c.

That pardons deliver a man from punishment, not only before the Church, but before God, was denied by some of the ancient divines, whose opinion is related and confuted by St. Thomas upon 4. dist. 20. and others; and now at this day is denied by Luther and Calvin.—*Bellarm.* l. i. c. 7. p. 43.

Secondly, Thomas Elysius against Cajetan, Dominicus à Soto, Ledesmius, &c.

Cum in forma indulgentiæ, &c.

When in the form of the pardon it is said, that there is granted remission of the penance enjoined, it is not to be understood of that penance which the priest enjoins in the sacrament of Confession: against some that hold all penance to be meant under the name of penance enjoined, as Thomas Elysius (*in Clypeo Cathol.* q. 44. art. 7). But almost all learned men teach the contrary, as Card. Cajetan, Dominicus à Soto, Ledesmius, Navarrus, Cordubensis, Sylvester, Gabriel, &c.—*Bellarm.* l. i. c. 7. p. 46.

Thirdly, Alex. Alensis, Durand, Paludan, Adrian Pope, Petr. à Soto, &c. against St. Thomas, Major, Sylvester, Dominicus à Soto, &c.

Cum non fit mentio, &c.

When a pardon is absolutely granted without mention of penance enjoined, it is to be understood, that all penances are pardoned in it, whether already enjoined, or that might be enjoined. This proposition is against very grave authors, Alex. Alensis, in Sum. p. 4. q. 23; Durandus, Paludanus, Adrian the Sixth, pope, Petrus à Soto, Card. Cajetan; who hold, that pardons are never given but for enjoined penances; but our opinion hath neither fewer nor less worthy patrons, St. Thomas upon 4. dist. 20; Jo. Major,

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Sylvester, Dominicus à Soto, Michael, Medina, Ledesmius, Anthon. Cordubensis, Navarrus, Panormitan, Jo. Andreas; and Cajetan confesses this the common opinion.—*Bellarm.* l. i. c. 7. p. 47.

Fourthly, Bellarm. against Cajetan and Dom. à Soto, &c.

Those definitions which Cajetan and Domin. à Soto have made of pardons, see rejected by Bellarm. l. i. c. 8. p. 52. Porro Cajetani definitio, &c.

Fifthly, Dom. à Soto against Palud., Adrian, Navar., &c.

Here it is in controversy, whether the pardon of so many days and years in this life answer to so many in purgatory. For Dominicus à Soto holds, that one day spent in purgatory takes more of the guilt of punishment due to our sins than many years in this life spent in the sharpest penance. But the common opinion holds the contrary; as it is to be seen in Paludanus, Adrian, Navarrus, Cordubensis, and others.—*Bellarm.* l. i. c. 9. p. 54. Existit autem hoc loco, &c.

Sixthly, Bellarm. against Gerson and Dominicus à Soto.

There have been some of our writers which have held, that all those pardons which contain the release of many thousand years' penance were not given by any popes, but only feigned by their pardoners for commodity: so hold John Gerson in his Tract of Sacram. Absolut., and Dominic. à Soto upon 4 dist. 21. The contrary is maintained by Bellarm. l. i. cap. 9. p. 56. Non desunt qui negent, &c.

Seventhly, Popish doctors disagreeing.

Whether he that receives a pardon in the point of death, as is supposed, after recovering, may receive it again when he comes to the point of death, our doctors disagree. See Navar. *de Jubil. Notab.* 30. num. 3. and Cordubensis, q. 39, &c.—*Bellarm.* l. i. c. 9. p. 57. An qui indulgentiam, &c.

Eighthly, Antonius against Navarrus and Cordubensis.

If a man, upon the hope of a jubilee to come, shall willingly and purposely fall into a sin reserved, the doubt is, whether he may be absolved from that sin. Some say he cannot; as Antonius, pt. 1. tit. 10. ch. 3. But others think the contrary; as Navar. *in Tract. de Jubil.* and Cordubensis, *de Indulg.* q. 37.—*Bellarm.* l. i. c. 10. p. 60. Si quis tempore jubilei, &c.

Ninthly, Bellarmine and other nameless, against Felinus, Dominicus à Soto, Navar., Cordub., &c.

Whether a general council may grant full pardons is questioned. For Felinus, Dominic. à Soto, Navar., Cordubensis, affirm it, &c. And though I have not read any that expressly denies that a general council can do it, yet all those authors seem to hold thus, which write, that this authority belongs to the pope De concilio generali quæri potest, &c.

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alone: and I think this latter opinion is most true.—*Bellarm.* l. i. c. 11. p. 62.

Tenthly, Two sorts of popish doctors opposite.

Altera dubitatio est de jure, &c.

Upon what law bishops may give pardons, it is questioned: for some hold, that they may do it by God's law; others deny it. —*Bellarm.* l. i. c. 11.

DECADE IX.

First, Angelus, Bartholm. Fumus, Innocentius, Panormitan, against the common opinion and canon law.

Denique Angelus, in Summa.

Angelus (in Summa) and Bartholomæus Fumus hold, that all parish priests, or what priests soever may hear confessions, may also in that sacrament of Confession grant pardons: and they bring for them Innocentius, *in Com.* cap. *Cum ex eo;* and Panormitan, and others. But the common opinion teacheth the contrary, that no priests under a bishop may give pardons, unless by commission from the pope or bishop: and there is an express text in the law for it, chap. *Accidentibus de Excess. Prælatorum.*—*Bellarm.* l. i. c. 11. p. 64.

Secondly, Thomas, Durandus, Paludanus, Antoninus, Turrecrem., Sylvester, &c. against Bonaventure, Adrian, Cajetan, Major, &c.

Ad justam causam requiri, &c.

For the cause of a pardon-giving, some hold there need not be any proportion; but that it is enough that the cause be honest and holy: that is, that pardon be not granted upon an evil work enjoined, or a work merely temporal and vain, &c.; but such a one as pertains to God's glory and the profit of the Church: thus hold St. Thomas, Durandus, Paludanus, St. Antonius, Jo. de Turrecremata, Sylvester, Jo. Tabiensis, and our Gregory de Valentia. Others hold, that to make the cause just, is required some work that may be proportionable to the pardon: so teach, of the old schoolmen, St. Bonaventure, Richardus, Aug. de Ancona, Jo. Gerson, Gabriel; and of the later, in our age, pope Adrian, Card. Cajetan, Major, Ledesmius, Dominicus à Soto, Petrus à Soto, Navarrus, Cordubensis; to which add Innocentius and Felinus.—*Bellarm.* l. i. c. 12. p. 68.

Thirdly, Bellarmine against Jo. Gerson, Dominicus à Soto, Vega, &c.

Sicut probandum non est, quod, &c.

As it is not to be allowed, that some upon a good zeal, but perhaps over hot, have spoken with some reproach of pardons granted upon slight causes, as Jo. Gerson, Dominicus à Soto, Andreas Vega, &c.: so Clement the Eighth is justly to be praised, which hath received and urged the decree of the Lateran Council, of moderating indiscreet pardons, &c.—*Bellarm.* l. i. c. 12. p. 71.

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Fourthly, Cajetan, Petrus à Soto, &c. against Paludanus, Antonius, Cordubensis, &c.

An requiratur status gratiæ, &c.

First it is questioned, whether the state of grace be required in a man at that time when the pardon is received, or rather when the works enjoined are done, or when the pardon is first pronounced, or the letters thereof delivered. For Cajetan, Petrus à Soto, and others, hold that the state of grace is then required, not only when the pardon is received, but when the work enjoined is performed, not when it is published, &c. Other very grave authors, as Petrus Paludanus, St. Antonius, Anton. Cordubensis, and others, hold contrary.—*Bellarm.* l. i. c. 13. p. 75.

Fifthly, Some nameless doctors against Antonius, Adrian, Cajetan, &c.

Tertia quæstio est de confessione.

It is thirdly questioned, whether confession (which commonly is one part of the work enjoined) be required in deed or purpose only. The answer is, that if the form of the pardon do flatly set down confession to be made within so many days, then it is to be required in deed, and actually; else not: yea, though a man have mortal sins, it is probable that contrition alone, with a purpose of confessing, will serve the turn: so hold Paludanus, Sylvester, Panormitanus, Felinus. But yet it is more safe and probable, that confession is actually required, and not in purpose only, when a pardon is granted under the terms of rightly penitent and confessed; as teach St. Antonius, Adrian, Cajetan, Navarrus, and the Gloss.—*Bellarm. Indulg.* l. i. c. 13. p. 77.

Sixthly, Cajetan and Barthol. Fumus against all other divines.

Nam cardinalis Cajetan., &c.

Cardinal Cajetan teaches, that besides fulfilling of the works enjoined, he that would receive pardon must have a purpose to satisfy God, by his own works, as much as he may: which opinion of his is profitable and godly, but perhaps not true, since it is contrary to the doctrine of others. Neither did I ever read any that followed Cajetan in it but Bartholm. Fumus *in Summa.*—*Bellarm.* l. i. c. 13. p. 78.

Seventhly, Ostiensis and Gabriel against the common opinion.

Ex catholicis Ostiensis.

Not only the heretics, but also amongst the catholics, Ostiensis (*in Summa,* l. v. tit. *de Remiss.*) and Gabriel, (lect. 57. *in Can. Miss.*) have taught, that pardons do no whit profit the dead. But it is a most certain thing, and undoubted among all catholics, that by pardons the souls in purgatory may be helped.—*Bellarm.* l. i. c. 14. p. 80, 81.

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Eighthly, Michael Medina against Bonaventure, Richard, Gabriel, Major, &c.

De modo quo indulg., &c. It is questioned how pardons may help the dead. For Michael Medina, dist. 7. c. 34, holds, that the souls of the deceased belong to the jurisdiction of the pope, and that they may receive pardon from him by way of absolution. But almost all writers hold the contrary; as St. Bonaventure, Richardus, Gabriel, Jo. Major, Cajetan, Dominicus à Soto, Petrus à Soto, Navarrus, Cordubensis, &c.—*Bellarm.* l. i. c. 14. p. 82.

Ninthly, Three different opinions of papists.

Quid significet per modum suffragii, &c. How pardons do help the dead by way of suffrage, see controverted in three opinions, and two of them confuted by *Bellarm.* l. i. c. 14. p. 85.

Tenthly, Dominicus à Soto and Navarrus, against Cajetan, Petrus à Soto, Cordubensis.

Difficillima omnium ea est, &c. The hardest question of all is, whether pardons do help the dead upon any justice and worthiness, or only upon mere favour of God, and congruity. Some hold it is in justice and condignity, as Dominicus à Soto upon 4. dist. 21; Navarrus, *de Jubil.* not. 22. Others hold it merely upon the mercy and bounty of God, and therefore only of congruity: so Cajetan, Petrus à Soto, Cordubensis.—*Bellarm.* l. i. c. 14. p. 86, 87.

DECADE X.

First, Bellarmine against Cajetan.

Requiritur ex sententia Cajetani, &c. Cajetan holds, that he that would be helped in purgatory by suffrages must have been not only in the state of grace, but devoted to the keys of the Church, and studious and careful to help others, while he was alive, by his suffrages. But this opinion of Cajetan, though it be profitable and godly, yet it is not true, and confuted by every one.—*Bellarm.* l. i. c. 14. p. 90.

Secondly, Bellarmine against Præpositivus.

Præpositivus quidam, &c. The opinion of one Præpositivus, of the common help which suffrages give to the deceased, see confuted by *Bellarm.* l. i. c. 14. p. 90.

Thirdly, Bellarmine, with St. Thomas, against himself and Durandus.

Re melius considerata, &c. Whereas Bellarmine, in his fourth book *De Christo*, c. 16, had said, It is probable that Christ's soul went down to all the places of hell; and had confuted St. Thomas's answer of his descending in effect and virtue: For so, saith he, we might with Durandus say, that Christ did descend to no place otherwise than in effect:

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now upon better consideration he saith, he holds Thomas's opinion, and some other schoolmen, rather to be followed.—*Bellarmine, Recognition*[q], p. 11.

Fourthly, Bellarmine against himself and Pighius.

I approve not that I said with Albertus Pighius, that St. Paul appealed to Cæsar as to his lawful prince: the first answer therefore is to be stood in, that St. Paul appealed to him *de facto*, not *de jure*, as the supreme judge of Judea, not as his superior.—*Bellarmine, Recognition*, p. 17.. Non probo quod, &c.

Fifthly, Bellarmine against some not named.

Whereas we said that the opinion of those which teach that infallibility of judgment is not in the pope, but in the general council, is not altogether heretical, but erroneous, and near to heresy: now it seems to us so erroneous, that it may justly, by the Church's judgment, be condemned as heretical.—*Bellarm., Recognition*, p. 19. Ubi dicimus sententiam, &c.

Sixthly, Durand. against St. Thomas and Bellarm.

I do not like that I said, Infidel princes cannot by the Church be deprived of the dominion they have over the faithful, except they go about to turn their subjects from the faith of Christ: for though Durandus, whom I followed, upon sent. 2. dist. 44. q. 3, do probably dispute this against St. Thomas, yet the authority of St. Thomas ought justly rather to prevail.—*Bellarm., Recognition*, p. 44. Non approbo quod dixi, &c.

Seventhly, St. Thomas, Dominicus à Soto, Navar. opposed by some new writers.

I wrote, that civil power in kings and princes is not immediately from God, but mediately from the counsel and consent of men: and because this is the common opinion, I did not strive to prove it. But now, since of late some have written, that the civil power of kings is no less immediately from God than the power of the pope, I hold it necessary to add somewhat of this point. And first I bring forth the author of this opinion, St. Thomas, *Secunda Secundæ*, q. 10. art. 10. Dominicus à Soto; of the canonists, Navarrus, &c.—*Bellarm., Recognition*, p. 57. Docuimus hoc loco, &c.

Eighthly, Suarez against Bellarmine.

How Franciscus Suarez reprehends Bellarmine concerning Rupertus' Error of Impanation, see *Bellarmine, Recognition*, p. 80. Reprehendit utrumque, &c.

[q] Recognitio librorum omnium R. Bellarmini, ab auctore edita; Ingolstadii, 1608, 12mo.—A.

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Ninthly, Some nameless papists against Bellarmine.

Dixi conversionem, &c.

The exceptions taken by catholics against Bellarmine, for saying that the conversion of the bread is adductive, not productive, and his defence, see *Recognition*, p. 81.

Tenthly, Fr. Suarez against Bellarmine and John of Louvain.

Videtur reprehendere Jo. de Louvain et me.

Franciscus Suarez, disp. 41, *de Euchar.* reproves Bellarmine and Jo. of Louvain, for teaching that Christ gave the sacrament in the form of bread in the time of his legal supper, and the wine when supper was ended, after many other businesses and actions: how Bellarmine clears himself, see *Recognition*, p. 84.

First, Bellarmine against Gropperus.

Posui inter libros Catholicos, &c.

I cited the Enchiridion of John Gropperus, which he is said to have written under the name of the Council of Cologne. But though Gropperus himself was a catholic, yet in that book there are no small errors, as we have showed: and therefore it is not without cause put into the number of books prohibited, an. Dom. 1596.—*Bellarm., Recognition*, p. 87.

Secondly, Bellarmine against Abulensis, Adrian, Cajetan, &c.

Allegantur multi authores, &c.

We said, that many authors held that sufficient help is not given at all times to rise from sin, but only in respect of time and place; as Abulensis, Adrianus, Cajetan. But we are to note, that these authors do not only say that which we say, but somewhat also which we say not: that unto some men, for the greatness or multitude of their sins, God in his certain decree denies help in the rest of their life: so Abulensis, quæst. 12, upon Exod. iv; Adrian, quæst. 3, *de Pœnitentia;* Cajetanus, *Jentaculo* 8. q. 1, which three doctors seem to be borne out by three holy fathers—Saint Anselm in Comment. upon Matt. xii.; Saint Isidor. *de Summo Bono*, l. 2; Saint Austin. For me, as I dare not reprove so great authors, so I hold it an holy course, thus to think of God in his goodness, that there are no men which, while they live, are not in time and place visited by the regard of his divine grace.—*Bellarm., Recognition*, p. 105.

Thirdly, Popish doctors, disagreeing.

Quia dum hæc recognoscerem, &c.

Because, while I write this, there is great controversy amongst our writers about the kingdom of Christ, I thought good to explain myself further. I hold therefore that heed is to be taken of godly men, lest they so uphold Christ's temporal kingdom that they deny his poverty. That his kingdom therefore was not temporal but spiritual, besides the ancient, is well taught by two accurate interpreters, Cornelius Jansenius and Adamus Sasbout, &c.—*Bellarm., Recognition*, p. 25.

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BOOK IV.

CONTAINING ABOVE THREESCORE DIFFERENT OPINIONS OF PAPISTS, IN THAT ONE POINT OF CONFESSION, ALL (SAVING FIVE OR SIX OF THE LAST) CONFESSED BY NAVARRUS[a].

DECADE I.

1. *The Gloss and Gratian against Navarre and the common opinion.*

Quamvis Glossa, &c.

Though the Gloss (1. and 2. in cap. *Lachrymæ*) and Gratian (*de Pœn.* dist. 1) hold a man excluded from confession by his contrition; so as being once throughly contrite, he is not of necessity in due time to confess: which they prove by divers authorities from the canon law and from St. Chrysostom and St. Austin; yet we must with a sure faith hold, and defend, that although by the contrition of the heart alone, without actual confession, our sins are remitted, yet that he to whom they are pardoned is bound in due time (if opportunity can be had) to confess them. Navarrus in his Commentaries upon the Seven Distinctions of Penance, abridged by Gregory Sayrus; chap. 4. of his *Summa Sacram. Pœnitentiæ*, printed at Venice with privilege, an. 1601, p. 6.

2. *Navarre against some nameless.*

Confess. sacram. non esse in paradiso, &c.

That sacramental confession was not instituted in Paradise, nor brought in by the law of nature, see defended against some of their nameless writers, by Navar. *Sum Pœnit.* cap. 5. p. 11.

3. *The same author against other catholics.*

A nullo puro homine, &c.

That confession was not instituted by any mere man, or any human law, but only by Christ himself; and that it was not instituted by Joshua to Achan, against the error of some nameless catholics, is maintained by Navar. *Sum. Pœnit.* c. 5. p. 11.

4. *Some nameless catholics confuted by Navar.*

Errasse etiam eos.

The errors of those which held the sacrament of Penance was instituted by St. James, chap. v. see also confuted.—*Sum. Pœnit.* c. 5.

5. *The Gloss, Panormitan, Decius, against Durandus, Major, Navarre.*

Infertur errasse Glossam, &c.

Further, it follows necessarily, that the Gloss (*Summa de Pœn.* dist. 5) erreth, which teacheth that the full confession of

[a] Martin de Azpilcueta, or Aspicueta; born in 1491, at Varasayn, near Pampeluna, in Navarre; died at Rome in 1586. His works were published in 3 vols. folio; *Romæ*, 1590: *Lugd.* 1591, and 1597.—H.

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sins was not instituted by any authority of the Old or New Testament, but only by the tradition of the universal Church: which opinion is followed by Panormitan and Decius, but is confuted by all, but especially by Durandus and Major.—*Sum. Pœnit.* c. 5. p. 12.

6. *Navar. against Cajetan.*

Errare Cajetanum. It is further implied that Cajetan erred, who upon John xx. teaches, that sacramental confession was instituted by Christ, but not commanded.—*Sum. Pœnit.* c. 5. p. 12.

7. *Sixtus the Fourth, and others, against Petrus ab Osma.*

Etiam Petrum ab Osma errasse, &c. It is yet inferred further, that Petrus ab Osma erred, who in the time of Sixtus the Fourth, at Salamanca, and other places of Spain, taught, that sacramental confession began by human institution and the tradition of the Church: and that mortal sins, both for their fault, and punishment in another world, might be done away without confession, by the only contrition of the heart, &c. All which were condemned by Sixtus the Fourth.—*Sum. Pœnit.* c. 5. p. 12, 1.

8. *Navarre against the canon.*

Infertur falli canonem, &c. The canon is deceived which (in *Relect. de Sacram.*) teaches, that penance and outward confession was necessary to salvation, not only under the time of the Gospel, but of the Law also; and under the time of nature, in act, if it might be had, or in desire and purpose, if it might not.—*Sum. Pœnit.* c. 5.

9. *Navar. and Scotus, &c. against the gloss.*

Errasse glossam. The gloss erreth (*Sum. de Pœn.* dist. 5.) that saith, that sacramental confession was not in use in the Greek Church, as is largely taught by Scotus, 4. dist. 17, and the Council of Cologne, fol. 151.—*Sum. Pœnit.* c. 5. p. 12, 2.

10. *Navar. against Cajetan.*

Tenetur homo, &c. A man is bound to contrition and confession so oft as any action is to be done which requires contrition and confession to go before it, such as the sacrament of the Eucharist; howsoever Cajetan teach the contrary, in *Sum.* verb. *Communio,* and upon 1 Cor. xi, who holds, that he sins not deadly which communicates upon contrition had, before he confess himself, though he have opportunity of confession; which opinion is condemned by the Tridentine Council.—*Sum. Pœnit.* c. 6. p. 15, 1.

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DECADE II.

11. *Navar. against Paludanus, &c.*

Navarre holds, there is no precept that ties us, upon pain of sin, to confess before any sacrament, save the Eucharist. Paludanus, in 4. d. 7. q. 2, saith, that to the sacrament of Confirmation, of Orders, of Extreme Unction, an actual confession of our sins is necessary.—*Sum. Pœnit.* c. 6. fol. 15, 2.

Non esse ullum, &c.

12. *Paludanus and Antonius, against Thomas and Navarre.*

How oft we commit one and the same sin is ill put by Paludanus and St. Antonius among the circumstances to be confessed: for the second sin is not the circumstance of the first; whereupon neither Aristotle nor St. Thomas number this *Quoties* among the circumstances.—*Sum. Pœnit.* c. 7. f. 16, 2.

Male autem addunt Paludanus, &c.

13. *Jo. Major against Thomas, Paludanus, Gabriel, Antonius, Adrian, Cajetan, Prierias.*

We are not bound to confess those circumstances which do aggravate the fault, but change it not into another kind of sin, as the common opinion teacheth; St. Thomas, Paludanus, Gabriel, St. Antonius, Adrian, Cajetan, Prierias. The contrary opinion (which is defended by Jo. Major, 4. d. q. 3,) makes the conscience full of scruples and fear.—*Sum. Pœnit.* c. 8. f. 18, 1.

Circumstantias quæ aggravant.

14. *Thomas, Scotus, Major, differing.*

It is hard to know what circumstances change the action from one kind into another: whereof are three diverse opinions: one of St. Thomas, 4. d. 16. q. 3; the other of Scotus; the third of Jo. Major, in 4. dist. 17. q. 4.—*Sum. Pœnit.* c. 8. f. 20, 2.

Difficile est autem, &c.

15. *Alensis against Navarre: Navarre against Lyra, Major, Antonius, Adrian.*

The circumstance of time is not necessary to be confessed; as that we have sinned upon an holy-day: whence Alensis is deceived, which holds, that a mortal sin upon an holy-day is double in respect of the guilt, though single in respect of the act: and Lyra, Exod. xx. and Major, 4. d. 17. q. 4, and Anton. part iii. art. 17, and Adrian, upon *De Confess.* 4. q. 4, are deceived, which teach, that in that precept of the Decalogue only mortal sin is forbidden.—*Sum. Pœnit.* c. 9. f. 24, 1.

Non igitur circumstantia temporis, &c.

16. *Adrian, Major, Sylvester, &c., against other nameless divines: and Navarre betwixt both.*

It is doubted by our doctors, whether he that sins mortally before others, and yet not with any purpose to give occasion of

Dubium est inter doctores, &c.

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sinning to others, be bound to confess the circumstance of his scandal given: for Adrian, in 4. *De Confess.* q. 4, and Jo. Major, 4. dist. 38, and Sylvester, say he must confess it: others deny it. Navarre determines bewixt both.—*Sum. Pœnit.* c. 9. f. 26, 2.

17. *Navarre against Adrian.*

Difficultas est inter doctores, &c.

It is a great difficulty among our doctors, whether he that doth any thing that he thinks he should not do, or doth any thing of which he doubts whether it be a mortal sin or no, be bound to confess, not only that he hath sinned, but that he hath sinned wittingly, or against his conscience. Adrianus, in 4. *De Confess.* quæst. 4, holds, that circumstance must be confessed, &c. But for all that, it is not necessarily to be confessed.—*Sum Pœnit.* c. 10. f. 27, 2.

18. *Major against Thomas.*

Neminem teneri, &c.

St. Thomas, 4. dist. 17. q. 3, holds, that confession is sometimes to be made by an interpreter. Jo. Major, upon the same place, denies it.—*Sum. Pœnit.* c. 12. f. 36, 1.

19. *Paludanus and Adrian, against the common opinion.*

Neque confess. neque absolutionem fieri posse per procuratorem.

No confession or absolution can be given or taken by a proxy, or messenger, nor by writing: for all sacraments (except Matrimony) require our own person, and cannot be done by deputies. But Paludanus, in 4. dist. 17. q. 2, and Adrian, in *De Confess.* 4. q. 1, hold such confessions and absolutions as are done by writing to be of force.—*Sum. Pœnit.* c. 12. f. 37, 1.

20. *Paludanus, Antonius, Thomas, opposed by other doctors, and Navarre.*

Quamvis in confesso sit, &c.

All writers confess a lie to be ever a sin, but especially in confession: but they agree not what kind of sin it is. For Paludanus, upon 4. d. 21. q. 2, saith, it is a mortal sin to lie in confession: and St. Antonius, part iii. tit. 13. c. 18, and St. Thomas, *Secunda Secundæ*, q. 69. art. 1, to the same purpose. Others more truly teach, it is not always a mortal sin to lie in confession. —*Sum. Pœnit.* c. 13. f. 38, 2.

DECADE III.

21. *Scotus, Paludanus, Gabriel, Major, Cajetan, Concil. Florent., Jo. Scotus, disagreeing.*

Res hæc satis dubia, &c.

This matter, concerning the examination of the conscience, is very doubtful and controversial amongst our authors. For Scotus, in 4. dist. 17. q. 1, and Paludanus, ibid. q. 2, art. 1, hold, that such diligence is to be required in this business, as the penitent would

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use for the remembering of any other difficult matter. But Gabriel, upon the said dist. q. 1, saith, that a man ought only to confess all that he can well remember. But Jo. Major, ibid. q. 3, will have a man take such pains to find out and remember all his sins, as a scholar would do to get a Latin oration by heart, which he should utter amongst learned hearers. Cajetan, in verbo *Confess.*, holds, that he that believes he hath made sufficient inquisition for his sin, though he have not done so, hath discharged himself, and need not reiterate his confession. The Council of Florence only teaches us to confess what sins are in our memory, and speaks nothing of any diligence to recall them. Jo. Scotus is too rigorous, &c.—*Sum. Pœnit.* c. 15. f. 43, 2.

22. *Gabriel, Major, Sylvester, Thomas, Paludanus, against Innocentius, Hostiensis, and the truer opinion.*

St. Thomas, in 4. d. 16, and Paludanus, in 4. d. 21. q. 3, will have the third person revealed in confession: as Paludanus instanceth, that a woman committing incest with her brother, ought to confess this, although her brother be known to the confessor: which opinion is followed by Gabriel, ibid. q. 1, and Major, q. 3, arg. 80, and Sylvester, in verbo *Confess.* 1. q. 24. Yet the truer opinion holds, that the person and his sin is to be concealed: so teaches Innocent, in cap. *Omnis;* Hostiensis, ibid. col. 4; yea, herein Jo. Major is contrary to himself.—*Sum. Pœnit.* c. 16. f. 48, 1. Quamvis S. Thomas, &c.

23. *Navarre against Jo. Major.*

As for cases reserved, although an inferior confessor cannot absolve the penitent, yet the penitent is bound to confess all his mortal sins to his own parish-priest, whether reserved or other. The contrary is held by Jo. Major, in 4. d. 15. q. 5.—*Sum. Pœnit.* c. 16. f. 49, 1. Quoad casus reservatos, &c.

24. *Navarre against Adrianus.*

From whence it is plain, that Adrianus is deceived, who, upon 4. q. 4. of *Confess.* col. 9, teaches, that the absolution, which is given by him which receives only the confession of sins reserved, is not sacramental.—*Sum. Pœnit.* c. 16. f. 50, 2. Unde fallitur Adrianus, &c.

25. *Popish doctors divided.*

To heal, or advise him that hath none but mortal sins, lawfully confessed, or venial sins, the confessor hath no need of any knowledge or prudence, but only skill to pronounce the very words of the sacrament; because there is neither contrition necessarily required, nor confession indeed necessarily to be made, as it is the Ad medicandum et consulendum, &c.

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opinion of almost all our doctors, in cap. *Omnis de Pœnit.*, and St. Thomas, part iii. quæst. 87. art. 1.—*Sum. Pœnit.* c. 17. f. 54, 2.

26. *Urbanus and the Gloss and Paludanus, against Innocentius: and Hostiensis and Panormitan, betwixt both.*

Non parva inter doctores, &c.

There is no small difference amongst our doctors, whether, in case our own confessor be ignorant, it be sufficient to ask him leave to choose another, though he grant it not. Urbanus II, in d. cap. *Placuit*, and the Gloss, 3. in d. 3, flatly say, that in case of ignorance the consent of our parish priest is not necessary; and of the same opinion is Paludanus, in 4. d. 16. q. 3, and dist. 17. q. 3. But afterward, Innocentius III, in cap. *Omnis*, decreed it should not be lawful to confess to another without the leave of our own. So Hostiensis and Panormitan, in d. cap. *Omnis*, and Adrian, 4. *De Confess.*, hold, that it is necessary leave should be asked of our own, though not obtained, &c.—*Sum. Pœnit.* c. 18. f. 55. 2.

27. *Paludanus, Antonius, against Navarre, and against Raymundus, Hostiensis, Godofredus.*

Tertius casus est, &c.

In case a parishioner remove his dwelling from one town to another, or winter one where, and summer another; it is questioned to whom his confession is to be made. Paludanus, in 4. d. 17. q. 3, and St. Antonius, part iii. tit. 17. c. 9, hold, that his confession is to be made to him in whose parish he dwells when he is shriven. But it is the truer opinion, that in such case he may confess to either. Hostiensis, Raymundus, Godofredus, hold, that he must confess to his own former priest; but they are deceived.—*Sum. Pœnit.* c. 18. f. 57. 1.

28. *Hostiensis and Paludanus and Antonius, against the Gloss and Panormitan.*

Parochianus delinquens, &c.

A parishioner, sinning in the parish of another, saith Hostien., is to confess to him in whose parish he sinned, not to his own priest: and the same opinion is held by Paludanus and Antonius; but falsely, as the Gloss, in cap. *Placuit*, 6. q. 3, and Panormitan, in cap. *Cum contingit*, num. 26, &c.—*Sum. Pœnit.* c. 18. f. 58. 1.

29. *Paludanus against Hostiensis.*

Ratihabitionem retrotrahi, &c.

That the sacrament, which from the beginning was none, cannot by any after-allowance become good and available, see disputed by Paludanus in 4. dist. 17. q. 3. against Hostiensis.—*Sum. Pœnit.* c. 18. f. 58. 2.

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30. *Bonaventure, Richardus; Panormitan, Hostiensis, Paludanus; Navarrus, disagreeing.*

Who should be accounted our own priest in this business of confession, there are many disagreeing opinions. St. Bonaventure, in 4. dist. 17. art. 5, and Scotus, and Richardus, ibid. art. 2. q. 1, bring three acceptions of this title: Panormitan and others, in d. cap. *Omnis*, and Hostiensis, in *Sum. de Pœnit.* parag. *Cui Confit.* and Cardin. in Clem. *Dudum, de Sepult.* and Paludanus, in 4. dist. 17. q. 3. say, that there are more than three to be taken for our own priest: and Navarrus in that place reckons up eleven.—*Sum. Pœnit.* c. 19. f. 59. 2. Quidtamen nomine proprii, &c.

DECADE IV.

31. *The opinion of doctors, Panormitan, Andr. Sicul. Paludanus, Angelus, Sylvester, Gabriel, &c. against the Gloss.*

Howsoever the Gloss require that he which is chosen for our confessor should have charge of souls, either ordinarily or by commission, yet the truer opinion of doctors teacheth, that whosoever hath leave to choose, may take what confessor he lists, whether he have charge of souls or not; so teach Panormitan, in Clem. 1. *De Offic. Deleg.* and Andr. Sicul. Paludanus, in 4. dist. 17. q. 4, Angelus, verbo *Confess.* 3. sec. 4, Sylvester, verbo *Confess.*, Gabriel, in 4. dist. 18, Adrianus, in 4. *De Confess.* dub. 1. *Sum. Pœnit.* c. 20. f. 62. 1. Quicquid Glossa, &c.

32. *Clement the Eighth, Antonius, and the common opinion of doctors, against the Gloss, Jo. Andreas, and Panormitan.*

Some have held, that though the pope, or our own bishop, should give us leave to choose our confessor, yet we might not do it without the consent of our own parish priest: so Gloss. 6. and Jo. Andreas, and Panormitanus in part, upon cap. *Omnis utriusque.* But the truer and commoner opinion of doctors is contrary; and St. Antonius in part iii. tit. 17. cap. 9. says, that this opinion of the Gloss, Andreas, and Panormitan, was condemned by Clement the Fourth.—*Sum. Pœnit.* c. 21. Quamvis nonnulli olim, ut Glossa, &c.

33. *Navarre against Paludanus and Antonius.*

They are deceived which hold that the bishop, giving any man liberty of pilgrimage, gives him liberty also to be absolved by that confessor he chooseth from cases reserved; yet so held Palud. in 4. dist. 17. q. 4. and St. Antonius, part iii. tit. 17.—*Sum. Pœnit.* c. 21. f. 67. 1. Quamvis viatores, &c.

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34. *Richardus and Sylvester against the common opinion.*

Quidam ejus opinionis sunt, &c.

Some hold that a parish priest is bound upon necessity to hear confessions only at those times when the parishioner is bound to be shriven; so teach Richardus, upon 4. dist. 18. art. 2. and Sylvester, verbo *Confess.*, 1. q. 1. that is, once a year. But those teach truer, which hold him bound to take the shrift of his people as oft as any of them will confess.—*Sum. Pœnit.* c. 23. f. 70. 1.

35. *Jo. Major, Adrian, Cajetan against Richardus and Sylvester.*

Quoties quis putat se non, &c.

Some hold, that so oft as a man thinks he cannot remember what mortal sin he hath committed till Lent, so oft he is bound to confess it before, as Jo. Major, in 4. dist. 17. q. 2, Adrianus, in 4. *De Confess.* dub. 8, Cajetan, verbo *Confess.*; against Richardus and Sylvester, *ubi supra.*—*Sum. Pœnit.* c. 23. f. 71. 1.

36. *Felinus against Paludanus and all divines, &c.*

Laicus cui in articulo, &c.

If a penitent on his deathbed confess himself to a layman, though that layman cannot absolve him, yet he is bound to conceal his secrets by the seal of confession, saith Paludanus, and all divines upon 4. dist. 21. The contrary is taught by Felinus, *in Cura Pastoralis, Præterea.*—*Sum. Pœnit.* c. 24. f. 73. 1. and c. 29. f. 89. 1.

37. *Paludanus, Adrianus, Thomas, Navarre, against the Gloss and the archdeacon.*

Quicquid olim Glossa, &c.

The Gloss teaches, 1. art. in cap. *Placuit, De Pœnit.* dist. 4, that men may be tied to confess over again those sins which they have once lawfully confessed; of which opinion also is the archdeacon, ibid. in verb. *et Consulo.* But they hold truer which teach that no human law can bind a man so to do without his own consent; as Gerson, in Lect. 2. upon Mark; Paludanus, in 4. dist. 17. quæst. 5; Adrianus, in 4. *De Confess.* q. 5; St. Thomas, *Quodlib.* 1. art. 12.—*Sum. Pœnit.* 25. f. 74. 1.

38. *Jo. Twenty-second against Jo. Poliacus.*

Tria illa dicta, &c.

The three heretical opinions of Johannes Poliacus, concerning confession, were confuted by pope John XXII. in *Extravag. vas Elect. Sum. Pœnit.* c. 25. f. 74. 1.

39. *Jo. Major, against the common opinion and Navar.*

Jo. Major, qui maxime contendit, &c.

Jo. Major, in 4. dist. 17. q. 6. in defence of the Gloss, holds this second confession of the same sins requisite for religious persons, but he dares not affirm it fit for all the people. Navar.—*Sum. Pœnit.* c. 25. f. 74.

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40. *Cajetan opposed by Navarre and others.*

Concerning the questions to be moved by the confessor to the penitent before his shrift, see the disagreement betwixt Cajetan and Navar.—*Sum. Pœnit.* c. 26. f. 78. 2. Interrogatio præambula, &c.

DECADE V.

41. *Navarre against Cajetan.*

Concerning the sufficiency of knowledge required in a confessor; see the difference betwixt Cajetan and others on the one side, which hold it enough in some cases if he know the form of absolution; and Navarre on the other, who requires somewhat more.—*Sum. Pœnit.* c. 28. f. 88. 1. 2. Non sufficit autem, ut putat Cajetan., &c.

42. *Some nameless doctors against the rest.*

Some hold, that under the seal of Confession we are bound only to conceal the very sin so confessed: but the common opinion of doctors is, that not only mortal and venial sins, but all circumstances which might bring the sin unto knowledge, must be also concealed.—*Sum. Pœnit.* c. 29. f. 89. 1. Quicquid aliqui, &c.

43. *Navarre against Panormitan and Cajetan.*

Concerning particular cases, how far we may go in the revelation of things confessed; see the disagreement of Cajetan and Panormitan, with P. Navarrus.—*Sum. Pœnit.* c. 30. Quicquid contrarium dicat Cajetan., &c.

44. *Scotus, Bonaventure, Durand. &c. against Archidiac., both cardinals, and the canon, &c.*

That the penitent may give leave unto his confessor to reveal somewhat of his confession, only when it may tend to his own spiritual good, is held by Scotus, in 4. dist. 21; Bonaventure and Durandus, Richardus and Angelus, verbo *Confess.* But it is truer that he may give his confessor leave to reveal it for his own temporal good, or others', as is plain in cap. *Domino Sancto.* d. 50, and Archidiaconus Dominic., and both cardinals, in cap. *Ipsi Apostoli.* Turrecremata's shift in this case, see confuted by Navar.—*Sum. Pœnit.* c. 32. f. 95, 96. Licentiam hanc dari posse, &c.

45. *Alexander, Hostiensis, Jo. Andreas, Panormitan, Petr. ab Anchor. &c. against Thomas, Scotus, Paludan. Bonaventure, Hostiensis, Cajetan.*

Some hold, in two cases confession should be revealed. First, in a case of heresy; which opinion the doctors, upon 4. dist. 21, and Adrianus, in 4. *De Confess.* post. 5, and Cajetan, *Opusc.* tom. i. tract. 21, have rejected, and have condemned that old Latin verse, which maintains it, as pestilent. The second, when Aliqui saltem in aliis duobus, &c.

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a notorious crime to be committed is confessed, as the burning of the city, &c., and the party confessing will not relent from his ill purpose; in such a case it is held by some that the confession may be revealed: so teach Alexander, in par. 4. qu. 78. mem. 2; Hostiensis, Jo. Andreas, Panormitan, Petrus ab Anchorano, Decius, Angelus, Sylvester: which authors grievously erred in this matter, &c. All other, therefore, as St. Thomas, Scotus, Paludanus; Bonaventure, in 4. dist. 21, and Hostiensis himself, in *Summa Pœnit.* paragraph. *In quo?* Turrecremata, in cap. *Sacerdos;* Cajetan, Opusc. in tom i. tract. 21, teach, it is utterly unlawful to disclose it. Yea, Cajetan, asked by another cardinal, answereth, that a confessor to whom is revealed a treasonable purpose to kill the king or the pope, may not reveal it.—*Sum. Pœnit.* c. 32. f. 98 and 99.

46. *Richardus and Navarre against Major and Adrian.*

Quid facere debet confessarius, &c.

Whether a priest, travelling amongst thieves into a wood, hearing by one of them, now beforehand relenting, that they mean to kill him in that wood, be bound to go on into the wood, and die rather than reveal that which was confessed: see disputed betwixt Jo. Major, in 4. dist. 21, and Adrianus, in 4. *De Confess.* post. 5, on the one side, which hold, he may return and save himself; and Richardus, in 4. dist. 21. art. 4, on the other, who holds, and Navarre with him, that he must rather go into the wood, and manifestly hazard his life.—*Sum. Pœnit.* c. 32. f. 99. 2.

47. *Navarre against some nameless.*

Confessarium quoad confitentem, &c.

That which some hold, that a confessor must so behave himself out of confession toward the penitent, as if he had never heard his confession, see confuted by Navar.—*Sum. Pœnit.* c. 32. f. 103. 1.

48. *Navarre against divers confessors.*

In forma absolutionis.

Six several fashions of Absolution used by the confessors of his time, see confuted by Navar.—*Sum. Pœnit.* c. 33. f. 105, 106, &c.

49. *Navarre against the common practice.*

Manus impositio super capite pœnitentis, &c.

The imposition of hands upon every penitent is not necessary always, nor fit to be used; yea sometime evil: see defended by Navarre: as when the penitent is a woman, and perhaps sweetly beautiful, and delicately attired; according to Paludanus in 4. dist. 22. quæst. 3.—*Sum. Pœnit.* 33. f. 107. 1.

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50. Navarre against Angelus.

That a confessor may absolve his penitent from his sins, and after send him for absolution from his excommunication to his superior, unto whom that excommunication is reserved, is falsely taught by Angelus in verbo *Confess.* parag. 10. saith Navarrus. —*Sum. Pœn.* 34. f. 112. 1. Hinc infertur falli Angelum, &c.

DECADE VI.

51. Popish doctors divided.

In this difficult question our doctors agree not: whether a confessor may absolve a penitent which will not obey him; because the penitent follows other doctors, which hold the contrary opinion to the confessor. Some hold, that penitent may not be absolved; but their opinion is more probable which hold he may.—*Sum. Pœn.* 35. f. 114. In hac quæstione difficili, &c.

52. Scotus, and the doctors of Paris, against Thomas, Bonaventure, Richardus, Durandus, &c.

Although many doctors think, that no sacramental satisfaction done out of charity avails any thing to expiate the punishment for sin which we owe to God; because God accepts not his works that is infected with mortal sin, and, by consequent, is his enemy, for any satisfaction: as St. Thomas, Bonavent., Richard., Durand., upon 4. dist. 15, 16. Cajetan, Opusc. tom. 1. tract. 6. q. 1: yet it is more truly held by Scotus, in 4. dist. 15. q. 1., and the doctors of Paris in the same place, that he which is in mortal sin may satisfy for his temporal punishment due to his sin wiped off by contrition.—*Sum. Pœn.* 37. f. 120. Quamvis multi doctores, &c.

53. Navarre against Cajetan.

Cajetan holds, Opusc. tom. 1. tract. 6, that a sacramental satisfaction takes not the like effect afterward which it would have had if it had been done in charity: but the contrary is truer, that such satisfaction, by the addition of charity afterward, becomes as perfect as if it should have been done in it.—*Sum. Pœn.* 37. f. 120. 2. Quamvis Cajetanus, &c.

54. Thomas, Paludanus, Major, Almaine, Roffensis, Antonius, against Cajetan and the truer opinion.

In this question, so difficult and controversial amongst our authors, howsoever St. Thomas, Paludanus, and others, upon 4. In hac quæstione satis difficili, &c.

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dist. 20; Major, in 4. dist. 17; Almaine, in 4. dist. 18; Roffensis in his 5. artic. against Luther; and St. Antonius, p. 3. tit. 14. cap. 19., hold, that the penitent is bound upon command to accept the penance imposed, and, having once accepted, to perform it: yet the truer opinion is, that the penitent is not bound by precept, before he be absolved, to accept the penance enjoined by his confessor; but that it is free for him to accept or not accept it, and it is enough that he will either in this life or in purgatory satisfy for his sins. So Cajetan, in *Summa*, verb. *Satisfactio*, and Hostiensis, *in Summa de Pœnit. et Remiss.*, saith, that only the Lord's Prayer is to be enjoined to the penitent, to be said for penance, rather than he should be sent away not absolved.—*Sum. Pœnit.* c. 38. f. 121. 1, 2.

55. *Navarre against Richard. Antoninus, Sylvester, &c.*

Unde falluntur Richard., &c.

Richardus, in 4. dist. 17. art. 2. q. 8; Antonius, p. 3. tit. 14. cap. 19; and Sylvest., verbo *Confessio*, are deceived; which hold, that, upon mere omission of doing penance, confession is to be iterated.—*Sum. Pœn.* c. 38. f. 124. 2.

56. *Two contrary opinions of popish doctors.*

Whether we are bound to confess venial sins, two opinions are reported by Thomas, q. 6. art. 3. and Franciscus de Victoria, *Sum. Sacram. de Confessione*, art. 129.

57. *Innocentius, Archidiac., Adrian., Palud., Bonavent., against St. Thomas, Fr. Vict., and other doctors.*

That a man is bound presently upon his sin committed to confess, is held by Innocentius, cap. *Omnis*, Archidiacon., cap. *Ille Rex*. But St. Thomas and other doctors hold the contrary, and Franciscus de Victor. ibid. art. 133. who adds, Adrianus, Paludan, and Bonaventure, set down some cases wherein a man is bound presently to confess: but I believe them not; art. 136.

58. *Fr. Victor. against other divines.*

That the pope cannot dispense with the precept of confession: see defended against other their divines by Victoria, art. 140.

59. *Scotus against Pet. Lombard, Thomas, Durandus, Paludan, Richard, Gabriel.*

That we may in an extremity confess our sins to a layman, is held by the Master of Sentences, 4 dist. 17., and St. Thomas, in the same place, and *in Additionibus*, q. 8. art. 2, who citeth Augustine and Bede; by Durandus, Paludanus, Richardus, Gabriel.

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But Scotus defends it not safe to be done, in 4. dist. 14. art. 2., who is confuted by Fr. Victoria, art. 143.

60. *Paludanus, Capreolus, Durandus, against Major and Fr. Victoria.*

That any priest may absolve us in the point of death, stands by the law of God, saith Paludanus, 4. dist. 20. q. 1; and Capreolus, dist. 19, q. *unica;* and Durandus. It stands only by a positive law, saith Major and Fr. Victoria, art. 156.

DECADE VII.

61. *Jo. Major, Bernardus de Gauaco, Capreolus and Cajetan, in three different opinions.*

Whether an imperfect and inform confession be to be repeated, are three opinions; two extreme, and one mean. The first of Jo. Major, 4 dist. 17. q. 3. 1, that it must be repeated, if it were not entire, or wanted of contrition: which Victoria calls an intolerable error. The second of Bernardus de Gauaco, in *Impugnat. Godofredi, Quodlib.* v., that how imperfect soever it be, it is not to be repeated. The third is more likely, of Capreolus, dist. 17. q. 2., and Cajetan, which hold, that some imperfect confession is to be repeated, some not. Victor. art. 157.

62. *Fr. Victor. against Durandus.*

That by an imperfect confession, the precept of confession is satisfied and fulfilled, is denied in some cases by Durandus, 4. dist. 17. quæst. 14 and 15; affirmed by Fran. Victoria, art. 163.

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THE HONOUR
OF THE MARRIED CLERGY,

MAINTAINED AGAINST

THE MALICIOUS CHALLENGES OF C. E., MASS-PRIEST:

OR,

THE APOLOGY

WRITTEN SOME YEARS SINCE FOR THE MARRIAGE OF PERSONS ECCLESIASTICAL, MADE GOOD AGAINST THE CAVILS OF C. E.,[a] PSEUDO-CATHOLIC PRIEST.

IN THREE BOOKS.

BY JOS. HALL, D. D.
DEAN OF WORCESTER.

TO THE MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, AND MY MOST HONOURED LORD,

GEORGE [ABBOTT],

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND AND METROPOLITAN, ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL.

MOST REVEREND FATHER, AND NO LESS HONOURED LORD:

It was my desire and hope to spend the residue of my time and thoughts in sweet and sacred contemplation. Satan, envying me this happiness, interrupts me by the malice of an importunate adversary.

Twelve years ago, I wrote a little apologetical letter for the marriage of persons ecclesiastical[b]: and now, thus late, when I had almost forgot that I had written it, a moody mass-priest drops out a tedious and virulent refutation, through my sides striking at the most honourable and flourishing clergy of the whole Christian world, labouring not so much for my disgrace (what would that avail him?) as the dishonour and scorn of our holy profession in the eyes of our people.

I could contemn it in silence, if the quarrel were only mine; now, my wrong cannot be distinguished from thousands. God and his Church are engaged in this cause, which, in my foil, could not but sustain loss; neither may I be now silent with safety, without misconstruction. Let this hand and tongue be no longer mine than they may serve my Master in heaven and his spouse on earth.

That which I wrote in some three hours, he hath answered in three quaternions of years; and what I wrote in three leaves, he hath answered in no fewer pages than three hundred and eighty. Should I follow him in this

[a] [Edmund Coffin.]

[b] See vol. vi. p. 162.

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proportion, he might, after some centuries of years, expect an answer in Tostatus-hides, whose first word should be *Quis legit hæc?* Or if my patience would delay my reply to the just paces of his answer, this volume of his would perhaps be vanished into grocers' shops for waste paper, *in thuris piperisve cucullos*, and would no more need answer than now it deserveth one. But hearing of the insultation of some popishly affected, who gloried and triumphed in this *Achilles pro catholicis*, I addressed myself to the work with no little indignation and no less speed; that my self-conceited adversary and his seduced abettors may see how little a well ordered marriage is guilty of deading our spirits, or slacking our hands.

At the beginning of this summer's progress, when it pleased his sacred majesty to take notice of this sorry libel, and to question with me concerning it, I had not so much as read it over, so newly was it come to my hands. Ere his happy return, be it spoken to the only glory of Him that enabled me, I had not only finished this answer, but twice written it over with mine own hand, and yet made this but the recreation of the weightier business of my calling, which now did more than ordinarily urge me.

It was my purpose to have answered, as beseemeth the person *à quo* not *ad quem*, mildly, according to my known disposition; but, upon better deliberation, I found the insolency of my refuter such, that I could not favour him and not be cruel to my cause. If, therefore, for many (it is his own art and word) "reilative" pages, he receive from my unwilling and enforced pen, now and then, though not a "reilative" to such an antecedent, yet, perhaps, some drop of sharper vinegar than my ink useth to be tempered withal, he may forgive me, and must thank himself.

What needed this cause so furious an invective? as if the kingdom of heaven and all religion consisted in nothing but maidenhead or marriage? Cardinal Bellarmine, when he speaks of the Greek Church, wherein a married clergy is both allowed and required, shuts up moderately: That if this were all the difference betwixt them and the Roman Church, they should soon be at peace[c]. If my refuter had so thought, this had not been his first controversy. Both estates meet in heaven. John, the virgin, rests in the bosom of married Abraham. This inordinate heat, therefore, of prosecution rises from faction, not from holy zeal.

Hence it was that my adversary cunningly singled out this point from many others ranged in my poor discourses; as that, wherein, in bishop Jewell's confession, he might promise to himself the likeliest advantage of antiquity.

And how gloriously doth he vaunt himself in the ostentation of fathers and councils! which vain flourish, how little it avails him, the process shall show; where it shall appear upon what grounds no small piece of antiquity was partial to virginity, and over-harsh to marriage; as Beatus Rhenanus, a learned and ingenuous papist, confesseth[d].

But this we may boldly say, that if those holy men had outlived the bloody times, and seen the fearful inconveniences which would, after a settled peace, ensue upon the ambition or constraint of a denied continency; they had doubtless changed their note, and with the moderate and wisest spirits of the

[c] Si errorem alium non haberent, facile pax concederetur.—*Bell. de Cleric.*, l. 1. c. 21. [*Disp. T. ii. Ingolst.* 1601.]

[d] B. Rhenan. Arg. lib. de Exhort. Castit. Tertull. [Basil. Froben. 1521. p. 502.]

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latter times, pleaded for that liberty which the Reformed Church now enjoyeth. The universal concession whereof, after the private suffrages of worthy authors[e], came to a public treaty in the Roman Church, amidst the throng of their late Tridentine Council; and it is worth the while to observe on what grounds it received a repulse. "If priests should be allowed marriage," say those wily Italians[f], "it would follow, that they would cast their affections on their wives and children; and, consequently, on their families and countries: whereupon would cease that strait dependance which the clergy hath upon the See Apostolic. Insomuch, as to grant their marriages, were as much as to destroy the hierarchy of the Church, and to reduce the pope within the mere bounds of the Roman bishopric."

This was the plea of the clergy. Their thrifty laity, together with them, enemies to the blessing (or, as they construe it, the curse) of fruitfulness, are wont to plead, *Troppo teste*[g]. Our Gregory Martin[h], of old, computes the prejudicial increase that might arise from these marriages to the commonwealth. It is not religion, but wit, that now lies in our way. Fond men, that dare offer thus to control the wisdom of their Maker, and will be tying the God of heaven to their rules of state.

As it is, no church in the whole world, except the Roman, stands upon this restraint: whereof the consequences have been so notoriously shameful, that we might well hope experience would have wrought, if not redress of their courses, yet silence of ours. And surely, if this man had not presumed, that, by reason of the long discontinuance of popery, time had worn out of men's minds the memory of their odious filthiness, he durst not thus boldly have pleaded for their abominable celibate. The question whereof, after all busy discussions and pretences of age, must be resolved into no other than this, How far the tradition of a particular church is worthy to prevail against Scripture; yea, and against other churches; a point which a very weak judgment will be able to determine.

In this return of my defence, I do neither answer every idle clause, nor omit any essential. This length of mine is no less forced than my adversary's continency; wherein yet my reader shall not sigh under an irksome loquacity.

I presume to dedicate this unworthy labour to your Grace, whom this famous Church daily blesseth, as her wise, faithful, and vigilant overseer; as a renowned pattern of holy virginity and patron of holy marriage. The God of heaven, whose watch you carefully keep, preserve you long to his Church, and make us long happy in your Grace, and you ever happy in his plentiful blessings. Such shall ever be the prayers of

Your Grace's most humbly devoted,

JOS. HALL.

[e] Æneas Sylvius. Panormitan. Durandus. Peresius. Mantuanus. Erasmus, &c.

[f] Che coll' introdottione del matrimonio de Preti si farrebbe, che tutti voltasseo l' affetto ed amor loro alle mogli, a' figli, e per consequenza alla casa, ed alla patria; onde cesserrebbe la dependenza stretta che l' ordine Clericale ha con la Sede Apostolica, è tanto sarrebbe conceder il matrimonio a' Preti, quanto distrugger la Hierarchia Ecclesiastica e ridur il Pont. che non fosse più che Vescovo di Roma.—*Paolo Sarpi, Histor. Concil. Trid.* p. 662. *Lond.* 1619.

[g] Troppo feste, troppo tempeste, troppo teste.— *Vid. Dallingt. Observ. upon Guicciard.* [*Brief Infer. upon Guicciard. digress. Lond.* 1613. p. 57.]

[h] Doctor Mart. against Pet. Mart.

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THE ANSWER TO THE ADVERTISEMENT.

THE man begins with a threat: I may not but tremble.

He frights me with an universal detection of my errors. It is almost as easy to find faults as to make them. Perhaps the time had been as well spent in tossing of his beads. How happy a man am I, that shall see all my oversights! My comfort is, that if my tree were fruitless, there would be no stone thrown at it.

In the mean while, how well doth the title of a detector become him that hides himself! If he be not afraid or ashamed of his cause, let his name be known, that his victories may be recorded. It is an injurious and base advantage to strike and hide; and, after a pitched duel, to gall a fixed adversary out of loopholes. If his person be, upon some treasonable act, obnoxious; it is hard if some of his names be not free.

But if I must needs be matched with the shadow of a libeller, I will so take him as he deciphers himself: C. E. *Cavillator Egregius:* and, under this true style of his, am ready to encounter him; and do here bid defiance to an insolent and unjust adversary.

And, first, let me tell my caviller, this order is preposterous. If all my errors be at the mouth of the press, how is it that two or three of them are thus suffered to outrun their fellows? Was his malice so big with these, that it could not stay the time of the common delivery? Needs must they be notorious falsehoods that are thus singled out from the rest. Let them appear in their own shapes; ugly (doubtless) and prodigious. The first is[1], "that most shameless assertion, that Bellarmine, under his own hand, acknowledges two hundred and thirty-seven contrarieties of doctrine amongst his catholics." Could the man but have patience, he should find above three hundred. What says my detector to this? He hath not seen the severals; yet, like a brave man at arms, he professes to kill his enemy ere he can appear: and tells us those two hundred and thirty-seven contrarieties are nothing but two hundred and thirty-seven lies in one assertion. That there are in them so many untruths I easily grant: for, in contradictions, one part must needs be false; and truth is but single. They are untruths, then; lies are too broad a word: but their own. My assertion shall only justify that they are told: let him take care for the rest. *Obj.* "But they are not in points belonging to faith and

[1] See vol. vi. p. 202. Ep. 5. Reckoned out of Pappus's Enumeration. [Contradict. Doct. Eccl. Rom.] My "Peace of Rome," makes up 303.

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religion: only in matters undecided, and disputable." *Sol.* The sequel shall try that shift. Why do we forestall our reader? Who knows not, that there cannot be so many points fundamental? Let him take them as they are: I aggravate nothing. It is but only in such light chaff as this: in the number and extent of books canonical; wherein Driedo, Erasmus, Genebrard, Cajetan, Sixtus Senensis are acknowledged to oppose the rest: in the pope's infallibility of judgment; wherein Gerson, Almayne, pope Adrian, Eckius, Hosius, Pighius, Waldensis are at quarrel: in the reach and original of spiritual jurisdiction; wherein Abulensis, Turrecremata, Fran. à Victoria, Alphonsus de Castro, &c. proclaim to differ. What should I instance in more? It is but in the pope's power in temporalities; in the inerrableness of councils, whether particular confirmed by the pope, or general; in the authority of councils above popes; in the force of vows; in the worship due to images; and the like These, and such other, are the slight trifles (since all cannot be weighty) impertinent to faith, wherein the Romish doctors vary.

Neither doth my assertion of their discord gall him more than of our unity. O the forehead of heretics! I said that we, in our Church, differ only in ceremonies; they, in substance. Let him give leave to the contra-division of these two, and I will take leave to maintain the indivision of the Church of England in the dogmatical points of faith.

This boldness, together with my eminent ignorance, makes him admire the scarcity of learned men in our country, that could find no better doctors to send to Dort-Conference than Master Hall. To your grief, sir, it was a synod; and that, noble and celebrious. Neither was it out of want that your silly adversary was sent thither. This happy island, which hath no blemish but that it yields such vipers as yourself, abounds, as you too well know, with store of incomparable divines: such as may set your Rome to school. So, as the messengers of Pyrrhus, long since, called your Italy, "A country of kings[k]," and Egypt was wont to be called, "The country of physicians;" so may this blessed island of ours justly merit the title of, "The region of divines." For me, I can be content to be base enough in mine own eyes: but if my disparagement shall redound to my betters, I dare tell him it is my comfort, that I was sent thither by a judgment no less infallible than of Paul the Fifth. Let himself, or any of his eavesdropping companions (to whom that place stood open,) say wherein I shamed those that sent me. It was my just grief, that the necessity of my health, yea of my life, called me off immaturely: but, since either

[k] πατρίδα βασιλέων.

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death or departure must be yielded to, others shall judge whether I went away more laden with infirmity, than, however unworthy, with approbation[l].

But that second lie of mine is so loud, that all my brethren of Dort must hear it; and they, which were lately the witnesses of my sincerity, gracing me with the dear testimony of their approof, are now made the judges of my impudency. What monster of falsehood will come forth!

In my "Censure of Travel," glancing at the Jesuitical brag of their Indian miracles, (whereat their very friends make sport,) I charge cardinal Bellarmine for an avoucher of these cozenages; who dares aver, that his fellow Xavier not only healed the deaf, dumb, and blind, but raised the dead: to which I add, while his brother Acosta, after many years spent in those parts, can pull him by the sleeve, and tell him in his ear, so loud that all the world may hear, *Prodigia nulla producimus.*

This is my indictment. Let me come to my trial. Cast me, if ye can, ye reverend heads: I crave no favour.

Where lies this so lewd lie and malicious abuse? That Bellarmine says thus of the Jesuit Xavier, is not denied. That Acosta says thus of himself and his fellow Jesuits, is granted.

The first lie yet is, Acosta was never in the East Indies at all, nor Xavier in the West: and how then could Acosta spend many years in those parts?

A perilous plea! who ever, I beseech you, mentioned either East or West? I speak of the Indies in common: so did his Bellarmine, from whom I cited this, *Claruit etiam in Indiis omni genere miraculorum*, &c.[m] Here is not one of the Indies mentioned, but both, or either. If both lived in the Indies, though not in one town, in one country, in one India; wherein have I offended, while, speaking of the Indies in general, I said that Xavier and Acosta lived there? Yet this is one lie, he saith, and that so long a one, as that it reacheth as far as it is from the East to the West, from the arctic to the antarctic pole: wherein I doubt not but your reverences will easily mark the skill of this learned cosmographer. Some parts of those instanced Indies differ not so far: not to speak of the small strait of Anian, the mentioned region of Mexico is not above fourscore degrees from Japan. Either your construction must favour him, or else this must go into the book of oversights.

The second lie is, that Acosta pulled Bellarmine by the sleeve in this assertion, as if he denied those eastern miracles, which he elsewhere confesseth.

[l] Necessitate propellente, proditio est ea tacere quæ quis studiose perfecerit.— *Chrysost. in illa.* Utinam tolerassetis, &c.

[m] Bell. de Notis Eccles. l. iv. c. 14.

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Indeed, this sauciness were dangerous. The red hat, you say, is fellow to a crown. But shall I confess where I erred? My dull head could not conceive that God should be the God of the mountains and not of the valleys; of the East Indies, not of the West; and yet be the Jesuits' God in both: especially, since the reason that Joseph Acosta fetches[n] from the persons which should be the subject of those wonders, holds as equally for both Indies, as an almanack, made for the meridian of one city, serveth the neighbours.

Hitherto then the prologue of my infamous falsehoods, such, as if all my writings could have afforded any equally heinous, these had never been chosen out to grace the front of his detection. There must needs be much terror in the sequel.

The rest of this storm falls upon our learned professor, doctor Collins[o]; one of the prime ornaments of our Cambridge; the partnership of whose unjust disgraces doth not a little hearten my unworthiness. The world knows the eminency of that man's learning, wit, judgment, eloquence. His works praise him enough in the gate. Yet this malapert corner-creeper doth so basely vilify him, for ignorance, silliness, prattling, rusticity, lying; as if in these only he were matchless. Indeed, whom doth the aspersion of that foul hand forbear? *Vilium est hominum alios viles facere!* I appeal to all the tribunals of learning through the world, whether all Douay have yielded aught comparable to that man's pen: whether he have not so conjured down his Caco-Dæmon Joannes[p], that he never dares to look back into the light again: whether his Ephphatha be not so powerful, that, if his adversary were any otherwise deaf than the block which he worships, it might open his ear to the truth. It angers C. E. to hear that kings should not die; or perhaps that they, whose heads are anointed, should die by any other than anointed fingers. The sentence of his Cardinal and Jesuits, both *de facto* and *de jure*, of deposing and murdering kings, is now beside our way. Only we may read afar off, in capital letters, *Arise, Peter, kill and eat.* He knows the word, with shame enough. I will not so much wrong that worthy Provost, as to anticipate his quarrel: rather, I leave the superfluity of this malice to the scourge of that abler hand; from whom I doubt not but C. E. shall smart and bleed so well, that he may spare the labour of making himself his own whipping-stock on Good-Friday.

[n] Jos. Acosta, l. ii. de Sal. Ind. c. 9. [De procur. Ind. Sal. Col. Agr. 1596. p. 222.]

[o Samuel Collins, D. D., Provost of King's.]

[p] This book of Doctor Collins, C. E. falsely insinuateth to have been suppressed. All stationers' shops can convince him of a lie. Nothing ever fell from that learned hand without applause.

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THE HONOUR OF THE MARRIED CLERGY MAINTAINED, &c.

THE FIRST BOOK.

Section I.

Neither my charity, nor my leisure, nor my reader's patience, will allow me to follow my detector in all his extravagances; nor to change idle words of contumely with a babbler.

His twelve first pages are but the light froth of an impotent anger[a]; wherein he accuseth my bitterness, and professeth his own.

For me, I appeal unto all eyes: if my pen have been sometimes zealous, it was never intemperate. Neither can he make me believe that my passions need to appear to my shame in calling Rome, Prostitute[b]; or himself, shameless: or in citing from the *Quodlibet* of his own catholic priests the art of his Jesuits in Drurying of young heirs[c]. There is neither slander nor shame in truth.

For himself, he confesseth to have sharpened his pen; and to have dipt it, perhaps too deep, in gall: but where his ink is too thick, he shall give me leave to put a little vinegar to it, that it may flow the better. In the mean time he shall go away with this glory, That a fouler mouth hath seldom ever wiped itself upon clean paper.

After those waste flourishes, his thirteenth page begins to strike[d]; wherein he chargeth me with odious baseness and insufficiency in borrowing all my proofs from Bellarmine's objections, dissembling their solutions. The man were hard driven that would go to borrow of an enemy. If all my proofs be fore-alleged and fore-answered by his Bellarmine, to what purpose hath this

[a] "Declamationes ambitiosorum opera, otiosorum cibi sunt." *Scalig. Exer.* 307, [20 Ed. Franc. 1607. p. 937.]

[b] "Prostituta illa Civitas."

[c] The particulars of this history, he shall receive in due place.

[d] Refut. p. 13. [a refutation of Mr. Joseph Hall, his apologetical discourse for the Marriage of Ecclesiastical Persons, written at the request of an English Protestant, by C. E. a Catholic Priest, 8vo. permissu Superiorum, 1619.]

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trifler blurred so much paper? There, he saith, shall the reader see all my scriptures answered; *The doctrine of devils* explicated; there that other, *Let him be the husband of one wife,* and, *Marriage is honourable.* Answered indeed! but as he said, *δότα ἀνέκδοτα*, answerlessly? Such clear beams of truth shine in the face of these scriptures, that all the cobweb veils of a Jesuit's subtlety cannot obscure them. Their very citation confutes their answer.

And where had we this law, That if a Jesuit have once meddled with a scripture, all pens, all tongues, are barred from ever alleging it? If Satan have miscited the Psalm, *He shall give his angels charge over thee,* for temptation; may not we make use of it, for the comfort of protection? Briefly, let my caviller know that it is not the frivolous illusion of any shuffling Jesuit that can drive us from the firm bulwark of the Holy Scriptures. In this they are clearly ours, after all pretences of solution; as he shall well feel in the sequel: and shall secure us against all human opposition.

Before the disquisition whereof, somewhat must of force be premised concerning the state of our question.

Section II.

Where, that all readers may see how learnedly my wise adversary hath mistaken me and himself; I must tell my detector, that all his tedious discourse sits beside the cushion. For thus he writes of my epistle[e]: "So as his whole scope is, to disprove the single life of catholic priests; and thereby to oppugn our doctrine in that behalf:" upon which conceit, he runs into a large proof of the strong obligation of vows, the necessity of their observation, the penalty and danger of their violation, the praise of virginity, the possibility of keeping it; and upon this very ground builds he the tottering wall of his whole ensuing confutation: insomuch, as, p. 130, he says, "That marriage at all times, without contrary injunction, was lawful, is not denied: nor will it be proved in haste, that priests, or such as had vowed the contrary, might use that liberty: and we say not, that virginity is violently to be imposed on any, for it cometh by free election; but where the vow is free, the transgression is damnable." Thus he.

Now let all indifferent eyes see, whether the only drift of mine

[e] Refut. p. 12.

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epistle be not to justify our marriages, not to improve [disprove] their singleness; to defend the lawfulness of the marriage of our clergy, not to justify the marriages of the Romish; to plead for the marriage of our ecclesiastics, not of popish votaries.

In express terms, I disavowed it. The intervention of a vow makes a new state. Let Baal plead for himself. What is it to me if the Romish clergy may not be husbands? or if, according to the French proverb, "They have a law not to marry, and a custom not to live chaste?" Let it be their care whom it concerns; only, I will have leave to speak for our own. Neither did I ever derogate aught from sacred virginity; or lay it level, whether absolutely or in all circumstances, with holy matrimony; neither did I ever conceive of an impossibility of continence in some persons. Take away these three grounds, which I utterly disclaim before God and men; together with his petulant railings and idle excursions; and what is become of the volume of my great adversary? Those three vast paragraphs are shrunk into so few sheets of paper, that a mouse may as soon run away with his book as with his God.

My masters of Douay, if ye be the superiors under whose permission this worthy work sees the light, for shame keep up your lavish unthrifts of good time; and send us such antagonists as may not feign occasions to empty their note-books.

One dash of a pen might thus justly answer the most part of this bloughty volume: wherein, like a drunken man, he makes a fray with his own shadow; and, like an idle whelp, runs away after his own stern. But that he may not complain to be cast off too contemptuously, he shall receive a fair account of particulars.

SECTION III.

The theme of my epistle is plainly no other than our marriage censured; he answers, of theirs.

I would there were such cause of familiarity and entireness, that what is said of one might agree to both; but the world knows we are two. If I say our clergy is heartily loyal to their king, will he straight take it of theirs? if, that our clergy is willingly subject to more than the directive power of their sovereign, will he challenge this to theirs?

The very point which I purposely declined he follows in hot chase. "Even moderate papists," they are the words of my epistle, "will grant us free, because not bound by vow; not so far as

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those old Germans, *pro posse et nosse:*" and yet all my detector's refutation still drives at the supposition of a vow.

What have we to do with votaries? Our clergy is free; whether as clergy, or as ours.

First, as persons ecclesiastical, *qua tales:* for holy orders, whether as orders or as holy, are no hinderances of matrimony; as cardinal Cajetan truly; and with him the whole school.

That which may be pretended for impediment is either a vow annexed or an ecclesiastical statute.

As for the vow, it is so far from being essential[f] to holy orders, as that it is made by some learned papists[g] a difference betwixt the obligation of their religious and their priests. That their religious are bound by a solemn vow to single life, in the very intrinsical nature of their profession; their priests only by a church-constitution without vow. And those that go farther with their famous cardinal, and teach, That it is expressly forbidden to bishops to ordain any without the promise of single life, ground this but upon an epistle of pope Gregory[h], a late and weak foundation; and, besides, hold, that their vow is but semi-solemn, and accidentally incident into this profession; forsomuch as here is neither a direct exhibition of the body to this purpose in the offerer, nor a direct consecration to this end in the admitter, both which make up the solemnity of the vow; upon which reason, according to them, a religious order, because it yields over the body unto an estate repugnant to matrimony, doth of itself, in its own nature, both hinder marriage and nullify it; not so the ecclesiastical. To which we may add, That according to their own doctors[i], solemnity and simplicity make no difference of the vow before God, though before the Church: a distinction too slight, too newly upstart, to overturn an ancient and well-grounded institution. Neither need we any better or other proof of the

[f] Ordini sacro debitum continentiæ non est essentialiterannexum.—Dom. a Soto. l. vii. q. 4. [art. 2.] de Justit. et Jure. [Antv. 1568, p. 238 b.]

[g] Vide Cajetan. Opusc. de Castit. [i. e. de dispens. Matrim. tract. 27. tom. i. Lugd. 1562, p. 121.] Act. Conc. Trid. "Alia est causa monachi, alia clerici." —*Extr. de Voto*, &c. "Plura profitendo promittit monachus, quam recipiendo sacrum ordinem clericus."—*Dist.* 28.

[h] Greg. Petr. Diacon. l. i. Ep. 42. [Decr. Gratiani, part i. dist. 28.] Cajet. ubi supra. Polyb. Virg. &c.

[i] Maldonat. Sum. q. 15. art. 17. [Colon. 1604, p. 224.] "Item, voti solennitas ex sola constitutione ecclesiæ est inventa, matrimonii vero vinculum ab ipso ecclesiæ capite, rerum omnium conditore," &c.—Extra. "Item, vinculum voti solennis, et solutio ejus est ex statuto ecclesiæ."—*Antonin.* "Simplex votum apud Deum non minus obligat quam solenne." — *Celest. Extr.* "qui clerici," &c.

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inconnexion of this vow with holy orders, than that of their own Dominicus à Soto[k]: *Non est de essentia sacerdotis*, &c. "It is not of the essence of a priest," saith he, "to keep single; for that the Grecian clergy are permitted, even by the Roman Church, to continue in the estate of marriage." What can be more clear? If there were a necessary and inseparable connexion of a vowed continency with holy orders, then would not, neither could the Roman Church acknowledge a true priesthood where it finds conjugal society. Their act of allowance to the Greek Church implies a fair independency of these two, which some of their clamorous clients plead to have indivisibly coupled.

So as now, all the strength of this necessary celibate is resolved into the power of a Church-statute: and of what Church, but the Roman? All other Churches in the world[l], as of Armenia, Grecia, Syria, Ethiopia, Russia, the Georgians, &c., allow the conjunction of ministry and marriage; and are so far from requiring a vow of necessary continency, that they rather erroneously prerequire a necessity of marriage in the persons to be ordained. It is only the Church of Rome[m], the great and imperious mistress of the world, that imposes the yoke of this vow upon her vassals: imposes it; but, *ad libitum;* so as her great paramour, in whose vast bosom that whole Church lies, may dispense with it as he lists.

Hear that irrefutable discourse of cardinal Cajetan. His words bear weight, and are not unworthy the eyes of my reader. "Therefore," saith he[n], "since the pope may, at his pleasure, loose the bond of that statute, it follows necessarily, that if a priest of the Western Church shall marry by the pope's leave, without any reasonable cause, that such marriage of his is a true marriage, and the parties married are true husband and wife, and their issue truly legitimate, although, in so marrying, both the parties should sin mortally, in doing this act against the vow of chastity, without a reasonable, or at least a probable cause[o] of their so licensing; and, consequently, neither should

[k] Non est de essentia sacerdotis castitatem servare; quandoquidem Græci etiam ab ecclesia Latina, permittuntur in conjugii fœdere permanere.—Dom. a Sot. de Just. et Jure, l. vii. q. 4. [art. 2.]

[l] P. Venetus. Brocard. Lud. Vertomannus. Jos. Indus, of the Christians in India and Cathaia, &c.

[m] . . . . . Non si quid turbida Roma
Elevet, accedas.—Pers. [Sat. I. 5, 6.]
Ecclesiæ statuto, nec universalis, sed Latinæ.—Espenc. l. i. de Cont. c. 13.

[n] Idcirco, cum summus pontifex possit, ad libitum, &c.—Cajet. Opusc. de Castitate. [ut supra, p. 122, col. 2.]

[o] Dubia causa.

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the pope himself be excused from mortal sin. But if there be any reasonable cause of dispensing with this vow of chastity, then the party thus marrying and dispensed with, may both safely marry and live in marriage. And hereupon it appears, that since a reasonable cause of dispensing with this vow of chastity may be not only the public utility, whether civil or ecclesiastical, but any other greater good than the observing of that chastity; it justly follows, that the pope not only may, but with a safe conscience may dispense with a priest of the Western," or Roman, "Church, that he may marry; even besides the cause of a public benefit. And, therefore, the determination of some hath been too presumptuous in affirming, that absolutely, and without such cause, the pope cannot dispense; whereas, as we have showed, the pope may do it without any cause, though in so doing he should sin; and with any reasonable cause without sin: and in both, the matrimony stands firm." Thus he. Words that need neither paraphrase nor enforcement.

And how usual[p] the practice of this dispensation hath been, that we may not rest only in speculation, appears enough by the ingenuous complaint of their selected cardinals[q] to Paul the Third; who cry down the abuse of these over-frequent grants which they should not have yielded, but upon public and weighty causes: "Especially," say they, "in these times, wherein the Lutherans urge this matter with so much vehemence."

Neither is it long since our kind apostate, M. Carier, gave us here in England, from bigger men than himself, an overture of the likelihood of this liberal dispensation from his holy father of Rome, upon the conditions of our resubjection. Would we, therefore, but stoop to kiss the carbuncle of that sacred toe, our clergy might as well consist with holy wedlock as the Grecian. O the gross mockery of souls, not more ignorant than credulous! Will his holiness dispense with us for our sin? We can be dispensed with at home for his dispensation. It is their sorrow that the world is grown wiser, and finds heaven no less near to Dover-cliff than to the Seven-Hills.

[p] Sedes clementissima, quæ nulli deesse consuevit, dummodo albi aliquid vel rubei interedat. — Matth. Paris. [Lond. 1640, p. 59.]

[q] Alius abusus est in dispensatione, cum constituto in sacr. ord. &c.—Concil. Selector. Card. [Anno 1538. Paris. 1612, p. 143.] Si sacerdotes non matura deliberatione se astrinxerunt, videat Rom. Pont., qui circa hæc solet dispensare, quid sit agendum in particularibus.—Mart. Peresius, &c. [De divin. apostol. Paris, 1562, f. 300 b.]

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And, ere we leave this point, it is very considerable, what may be a reasonable cause of this dispensation: for those very Jesuits which hold the power of this vow such[r], that the vehementest temptations and foils of the flesh may not be relieved with an arbitrary matrimony; since the matter of this vow is so important, and carries so much danger in the violation, as that it is not to be left to the power of a private judgment[s], though morally certain, whether matrimony, all things considered, be, in this particular expedient; for that may be fit for a man as a singular person, which is not fit for him as part of the community: yet they grant that this extreme perplexedness and violence of carnal motions is a just cause of dispensation[t]. What need we more? Though some casuists[u] be more favourable, and grant that in such cases we may not only allow but persuade matrimony to the perplexed votary: as cardinal Æneas Sylvius[x], who was never less *Pius* than when he was *Pius*, gives this hearty advice to his friend John Freünd, a Roman priest, that he should, notwithstanding his orders, help himself by marriage; yet the former will serve our turn. If therefore those superiors, which have all lawful and spiritual authority over us, shall have thought good upon this reasonable cause, to give a generality of dispensation to all such of our clergy as shall not, after all careful and serious endeavours, find themselves able to contain; allowing them, by these lawful remedies, to quench those impure flames; what can any Jesuit or devil except against this? This is simply the clear case of them whose cause I maintain.

And yet further, put the case this had not been; if, without the thought of any Romish dispensation, the eastern Church[y] never held it needful to require the vow of single life in the

[r] His votis astrictus, non potest matrimonium absque dispensatione inire, quamvis vehementissimis carnis stimulis urgeatur, &c.—Sanch. l. vii. de Matr. Imped. Disp. 11. [sect. 9. p. 36. Antv. 1607.]

[s] Authoritas superioris dispensantis expectanda est.—*Ibid.*

[t] Communis illa regula doctorum, et nominatim Cajetani, nimirum quando ei, qui vovit, constat aliquid esse melius præterita voti materia posse propria authoritate recedere.—Sanch. de Matr. l. vii. de imped. [Disp.]

[u] Angel. Matr. 3. Imped. 5. in fine vera crux. 1. part. spec. art. 15.

[x] Æn. Syl. Epist. 307. So Benedict. XII. gave dispensation to Petrarch, archdeacon of Parma, to marry his Laura; too near him in blood, as it is thought: and, *ex uberiore gratia*, that he should keep all his promotions, and receive yet more, on condition, that the said Benedict might have the use of Petrarch's sister.—Matth. Parker. Defens. of Pr. Marr. ex Fasciculo Temp.: et Platina: et Vita Petrarchæ, &c.

[y] Occidentalis (non Orientalis) ecclesia castitatis obtulit votum: in Dist. 31.

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ministers of the altar, (they know the words of their own gloss,) why should not our Church challenge the same immunity: for (that, from the general consideration of ecclesiastics, as such, we may turn our eyes to our ecclesiastics, in special) no Church under heaven kept itself more free from the bondage of those tyrannous impositions?

The clergy of this island[z] from the beginning never offered any such vow, the bishops never required it, for more, if any credit be due to histories, than a thousand years after Christ. The great champion of Rome, Master Harding, was driven to say, "they did it by a beck, if not by a *Dieu-gard*;" but could never prove it done by either.

Neither is it more worth my reader's note, than my adversary's indignation, that the wise providence of God so pleased to contrive it of old, as that from the beginning of the first conversion of this happy island it rather conspired with the Greek Church than with the Roman. After the Grecian account, we kept our Easter: insomuch as Beda tells[a] us, that pope John the Fourth, about the year 637, was fain to require of the English, that they would keep their Pasch after the Roman fashion; a difference, as it was then taken, of no small importance: the story of St. Aidanus and Colmannus may be herein an abundant witness: and for the Britons, Beda left them in the close, both of his life and history, fast to Greece, loose from Rome. After the Grecian form, we celebrated the sacrament of Baptism. After the Grecian liberty, we continued the marriages of persons ecclesiastical, through so many centuries of years, without the scandal, without the contradiction of the Christian world; so as now we are but repossessed of the ancient right of our forefathers, which the interposition of the Romish tyranny for a while injuriously debarred.

Our adversaries have wont to brand us for the uncharitable censures of our forefathers; and can they think the successions of many generations so faithless, that they made solemn vows for no other purpose but only to break them? It was the question of the rich and precious Jewell of England, to which his hardy adversary had never the face to reply. My refuter's forehead is stronger with a weaker wit. Let him try here the power of his audacity.

[z] Vid. postea. Epist. Girard. Eboracens. Arch. ad Anselm. — Huntingd. Fabian. Polydor. Virgil. vid. post. l. iii.

[a] [Bed. Eccl. Hist. ii. c. 19.]

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And if the Church of this island, in the days of her forced servitude to the Roman see, maintained this liberty, (as we prove in the sequel,) and derived it to posterity, how much more free shall it be for us to renew and enjoy it after the just excussion of that servile yoke!

Let now C. E. go waste good hours and mar clean paper in disproving the marriage of Romish votaries; and in the mean time come as near my question as Thames is to Tiber. What is this but to mock the reader and abuse himself!

How much wiser is he grown in the process of his discourse, where he grants our marriage and denies our clergy. From which weak and witless hold, if we beat him not, in the due place, we suffer not enough from that rude hand.

SECTION IV.

Having then hitherto detected no error, no ignorance, but his own; he now descends to untruths, and finds[b] here so many mistakings, lies, falsifications, that a reader would wonder by what art I could couch so many of them in so small a room, and might verily think that I could outlie the legends and outjuggle a Jesuit. But ere I have done, these shall appear to be but the factions of a passionate fugitive; the man shall be cooler, I shall be innocent; and my reader shall say, that if that forehead had not been so oft crossed, it could not have had so little shame.

My first untruth is, That I avouch St. Paul to call the single life of priests a *doctrine of devils*.

Reader, is my detector awake? I said, That to maintain the unlawfulness of the marriage of the ministers of God, is, according to St. Paul, a *doctrine of devils;* and now he would persuade the world, I said thus of the single life of his priests. What can we make of this? That single life is a doctrine? If not truth, yet let him learn to speak sense.

But that he may not always refute what I never affirmed, I must guess at what he meant. He would elude this charge with that stale shift, worn out with the pens of his predecessors, that St. Paul is to be understood, according to Theodoret, of those which call marriage execrable[c]: according to St. Austin, that say, "Marriage is evil, and of the devil's making:" according to Clemens Alexandrinus, of those that abhor marriage: of Manichees and other heretics, as Ambrose and Epiphanius, from which "catholics are so far, that they approve it for a sacrament."

[b] Refut. p. 16. [c] Nuptias execrabiles, &c. [In Ep. I. ad Tim.]

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First, the words of St. Paul are κωλυόντων γαμεῖν, *forbidding to marry*, not condemning marriage. Then we know well what the Tacians, Ebionites, Encratites, Montanists, Marcionites, Manichees, Adamites, and Apostoliques held of matrimony. "The apostle brands them here:"—but, what! Them only? While he condemns them, doth he free those that partake with them? The act is one, *Forbiddance of marriage*, whether to some or to more, or to all, St. Paul expresses not. The number doth not vary the quality. And if one be a part of all, then to condemn marriage in some one kind of men, can it be other than the partaking of an universal condemnation of it? This then only he hath gained, that some others have been deeper in this evil than themselves.

Object. "But our apostle speaks of them which condemn marriage as evil in itself:"—

Ans. We take what he gives. No man's mouth shall condemn my refuter, but his own. What was he that accused marriage of unholiness, out of *Sancti estote, Be ye holy?* of uncleanness, out of *Omnia munda mundis, All things are clean to the clean?* of contamination with carnal concupiscence? Was it not his own pope Innocentius[d]? Who was he that interpreteth of marriage, the text, Rom. viii. 8, *Those that are in the flesh cannot please God?* that called the married man no less than the whoremonger, *sectatorem libidinum, præceptorem vitiorum;* "A follower of lust, a teacher of vice?" that said, "Marriage was a loosing the reins to luxury, an inhiation after obscene lusts?" Was it not his pope Siricius[e], the first founder, if we may believe their own defaced gloss of forced continency? Who was it that called marriage a "defiling with unclean society," and "execrable contagion?" Was it not his Council of Toledo[f]? Who was it that called marriage *spurcitias immundas*, "filthy beastliness?" Was it not his St. Dunstan and Oswald[g]? Let him construe this, and then tell me what it is, if this be not, "to condemn marriage as evil[h]."

Yet more, his own example shall convince him. He pleads out

[d] Innoc. Exuperio Tolos. Episc. Ep. 3. c. 1. Dist. 82. [Decret. Gratian. ut supra.] *Proposuisti.*

[e] Eadem Dist. [6.] c [3.] *Plurimos* ad Himerium Tarraconem, Ep. 1. *ibid.* Semove namque differentiam perversi nominis connubii, unam eandemque rem effecisti adulterii et conjugii.—Laur. Valla, (Canon. Eccl. Later.) l. i. de Volupt. [c. 38. Bas. 1519.]

[f] Uxorum aut quarumcunque fœminarum immunda societate, et execrabili contagione turpari.—Conc. Tol. 8. c. 5. cit. à C. E. p. 231.

[g] Vide Regist. Eccl. Wigorniensis, postea. l. iii.

[h] Essendo il matrimonio un stato carnale: pleaded in the Council of Trent.—[Sarpi] Histor. Concil. p. 662.

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of St. Austin, that this text, amongst others, intends to strike at the Manichees. Now the Manichees allowed marriage to their auditors, that is, analogically, their laity, forbad it to their electi, that is, their clergy: so far approving it in their laic-clients, that no modest pen may write whence they fetched their sacramental bread[t]. Either, then, the Manichees must be excluded, or papists must be taken in for company into this *doctrine of devils*.

It is true, they miscall marriage a sacrament; so as we may well wonder at these two extremes in one doctrine; and study in vain how the same thing should be sacred in a ceremonious inchoation, and in the real consummation morally impure; how a sacrament should be incompatible with a sacred person. These Sphingian riddles are for better heads.

With what brow, then, can my detector add[u], that, "with St. Chrysostom and St. Austin, they do but compare marriage, they do not condemn it; only teaching marriage to be good, virginity better; with Fulgentius, not so comparing virginity to corn, that they count marriage cockle?" In this, where should they find an adversary? But if luxury, filthiness, uncleanness, contagion, beastliness, vice, obscenity, be the styles of good; we can well allow them to the honour of C. E.'s virginity, and are content our marriages should pass for evil.

SECTION V.

My second untruth, he says, is, that I make the single life of priests the brand of antichristianism[x].

Shameless mouth! Where did I ever say so? My words are: "Were it not for this opinion, the Church of Rome would want one evident brand of her antichristianism." The life is one thing, the opinion another. Single life is good: the opinion of the necessity of single life, and the unlawfulness of the married, is antichristian. What can be more plain? yet this wilful slanderer tells the world, that I make the profession of continence antichristian; whereas we do willingly profess, that true profession of true continency is truly laudable; that the forcible imposition of it as necessary to some state of men savours strongly of that *man of sin*. Now let my reader judge, whose untruths my adversary hath hitherto detected.

[t] August. de Hæres. ad *Quod-vult-Deum*.—[Ed. Bened. T. viii. p. 16.]

[u] Refut. p. 19.

[x] Refut. pp. 19, 20.

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Neither can I eat that word of mine, unless I would renounce the apostle, who seems purposely to decipher our Romanists by these lines. For having immediately before described the condition of bishops and deacons with their wives and children, allowing them indifferently with others a married estate; he presently, as foreseeing that point which would be most subject to contradiction, foretells, that the seducing spirits of antichristianism would forbid marriage; and this he foreprophesies shall be done in the latter, or, as their Vulgar and Rhemists[y] turn it, in the last times; and that, by them which shall speak lies in hypocrisy. Neither of which can so exactly agree to those first heretics; who, as they were early in time, so also gross in their doctrine; wherein there was more open impiety than secret dissimulation.

Section VI.

In vain, therefore, doth my refuter bring in St. Paul as an abettor of his forced continency[z], while he saith of the younger widows, that *when they have begun to wax wanton against Christ, they will marry; having damnation, because they have forsaken their first faith.* In which place, boulted before to the bran by many controversers, mine adversary hath learned of his Bellarmine to triumph above measure. "This first faith," saith he, "all the fathers, without exception, understand to be a vow or promise made to God of continence in the state of widowhood." It is a wide word, "all the fathers." I had thought I had read in holy Athanasius[a], *Væ vobis, qui primam fidem baptismi, cælitus institutam, irritam facitis:* "Woe to you that make void the first faith of baptism ordained from heaven." I had thought Jerome had somewhere said[b], "They are not worthy of belief which have voided their first belief; Marcion, I mean, and Basilides:" whom yet I never found condemned for the breach of any vow of continence. I had thought the author of the interlineary gloss would not have crossed all the fathers in expounding it, *fidem baptismi,* "the faith of baptism," which is indeed the *first faith*; and the apostle saith

[y] And if ὑστέροις καιροῖς may agree to all the ages of the Church after Christ; yet most to the last: and that other addition seems to strengthen this sense.

[z] Refut. p. 21.

[a] L. vi. de Trinitate: de Beatitudine fidei ad Theophilum. "Et instrumenta libertatis semel concessa per iterationem infirmatis."—[Inter spuria Paris. 1690. T. ii. p. 620.]

[b] Non sunt [licet non sint] digni fide, qui primam fidem irritam fecerunt; Marcionem, loquor, et Basilidem.—Hier. Procem. in Epist. ad Tit. [Paris, 1706. T. iv.]

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the first, not "the former." As for that other, which he imagines a vow of continued viduity, it was neither *faith* nor *first*. Let him instance, if he can, where our apostle takes faith for a vow. Rather, as if he meant to expound his own word in this very scripture and this occasion, he clears this doubt, while he speaks of the wilfully improvident man, that *he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel;* and now, in the same context, he speaks of these perverted widows, that *they have forsaken the faith.*

Much less is it the *first*, whether in time or dignity; for they could not have been Church-widows if not Christians; and they could not be Christians, if they should have valued the vow of their widowhood above the vow of their Christendom. Yea, so far was this from the first vow, if it had been one, as that it was the last of all: for, according to them, their first faith must be to their husband; their second to Christ, in their initiation to religion; their last, in the vow of widowhood. So here is a feigned vow made faith, and last made first; and all to uphold a crazy conceit of our Romanists, which hath no other ground but this one ambiguity. Chrysostom [c], indeed, calls it συνθήκην, *pactum*, "a covenant:" but what covenant, or with whom, he expresses not; whether of Christianity, or of widowhood, or of ministration; some of the others, that followed him, spake according to the gloss, which the corrupt conceit of the times had set upon him.

But what need my refuter stand upon particular authors, he says[d], when he may bring two hundred and fourteen bishops, all sitting in council at Carthage, all agreeing in this exposition? pointing us to the Fourth Council of Carthage, can. ult. His Gratian had wont to tell us (for the more grace) that it was in the Third Council of Carthage, can. 4. Now he is taught to change this note. So doth C. E., with his Binius, tell us it was the Fourth Council, and the last canon. We have reason to suspect it was in neither. The very style and manner of discourse, so different from the rest of those brief canons and the fashion of those times, carry in it open likelihood of bastardy. It was an easy fraud to patch it to the end of those canons: neither, which learned Junius taught me first to observe, is it found among the Greek; than which there cannot be a worse sign.

But, that I may at once answer this vaunt of antiquity, and

[c] Refut. p. 20. [Chrys. in loc. ed. Montfauc. t. xi. p. 634.] [d] Refut. p. 21.

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stop the mouth of this caviller, let me ask him, whether those fathers, whom he cites for this sense, do not take those young widows for votaries. If they do, as he cannot deny, how can these two stand together, that they should have damnation, because, against their vow, they would marry; and yet that the apostle should wish them to marry? Can he imagine that St. Paul would advise them to incur wilful damnation?

And if in this I should have dissented from the interpretation of much antiquity, I should but take to myself the liberty of his masters, the Jesuits; with whom this is no novelty. For instance: his not unlearned and bold Maldonate[e], as we shall see afterwards, upon a text of this very question, confessing the current of the stream of antiquity, can come in at last with a doctorly wipe of *adduci non possum ut sequar;* "I cannot go with them." This privilege is for none but the fathers of the society, to control the fathers of the Church.

The state then of these widows was shortly this. They being, for their poverty, sustained by Church-alms[f], upon condition of attendance on the saints, whether sick or travelling, were to dedicate themselves to this service; but some of the younger sort, being inveigled by infidel-lovers, were drawn to leave, not their station only of their ministration, but their profession of Christianity. These had damnation most justly, for *casting off their first faith.* Their marriage was accidentally faulty, because it forced them from their holy employment: their apostasy was absolutely and damnably sinful, in that they left Christ and followed after Satan.

The inextricable dilemmas, then, of my detector is easily answered. "I demand now of Master Hall, whether these young widows, in breaking their vows, did sin or not. If they did not, why shall they have damnation? if they did sin, as indeed they did, then how is the vow unlawful? how the brand of antichristianism?" Nothing can be more base than to beg the question. What do we dispute, but whether any vow were made? and if any, whether of continence or of service? But why then shall they have damnation? for waxing wanton against Christ; not merely for marrying. If to marry were to wax wanton

[e] Maldonat. in Matth. xix. 11. [Paris. 1629, p. 402.]

[f] De his [enim] agit, quæ ad ecclesiæ stipem vel ministerium recipiebantur, ejus sumptibus alendæ. — Espenc. de Conc. l. iv. c. 1.

[g] Refut. pp. 21, 22.

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against Christ, why should the apostle have advised it them? in a word, for abandoning both their office and religion.

Lastly, who can but wonder at the face of our adversaries, that dare bring forth so plain a witness against themselves? For if the vow of continence be the *first faith* here spoken of, then may not any woman, by the apostle's charge, make this vow, till she be threescore years old; which, how is it at this day practised in the Romish church? since[h], as the Cæsar-Augustane Council and the Agathense, can. 13, abated it to forty years; and the Third Council of Carthage, yet lower, to five and twenty: so pope Gregory[i] fell, yet lower, to eighteen; and some other councils, yet lower, to twelve: although the Trent-Conference[k] very liberally rise up to whole sixteen. Either, therefore, let them grant, that our apostle speaks not of votaries; or else, let them follow his rule of the age of votaries; that the world may think they have honest nunneries; and let them confess their change presumptuous.

Thus, I hope, this gordian knot, "that requires more strength than Master Hall's learning, and a sharper edge than Alexander's sword to dissolve or cut," is proved more easy than the knot of a friar's girdle, which a very dull whittle may cut asunder: and C. E.'s appeal to all scholars proclaims him ignorantly confident.

SECTION VII.

If it had not been for two poor words of mine[l], both yet misunderstood, I wonder how C. E.[m] could have discovered to the world his dexterity in serving out his oft-sodden coleworts; the refuse of his Bellarmine and Coccius.

Threescore and four pages[n] or more hath he bravely spent in the vindication of virginity, which never honest and wise man opposed.

"Let their shavelings," I said, "speak for themselves; upon whom their unlawful vow hath forced a wilful and impossible necessity." The man is angry that I meddled with his crown: but if his hair had not been longer than his wit, this deep offence had never been. For if he had taken my words, *cum grano salis*, in the sense which they will only well bear, "Let such of

[h] Bellarm. de Monachis [de Memb. Eccl. Mil.] l. ii. c. 35.

[i] Greg. l. i. Epist. 48. [Ep. 50. Paris. 1705. t. ii. p. 544.]

[k] Sess. 25. c. 15.

[l] "Impossible." "Unlawful."

[m] Refut. pp. 23, 24.

[n] From p. 26, usque ad 90.

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their shavelings, as upon whom an unlawful vow hath forced an impossible necessity, speak for themselves," (none other need speaking for,) he had found the sentence so particular, that it might have spared him both much spleen and work: since, neither was it in my heart ever to affirm the observation of this vow impossible to any man; neither will he, I hope, hold, that it is kept by all. It is not in the power of the razor, together with the hairs, to cut off inordinate affections: some vow, which cannot contain. Upon this supposition only, I called this necessity impossible, and this vow unlawful.

I cannot, therefore, but pity my passionate detector, that he hath set himself all on a froth in running this wildgoosechase alone; following nothing but his own fancy, while he pursues a certain chimerical monster, that holds continence utterly and universally impossible.

And, that he may the better repent him of this witless waste, and prevent the spoil of good paper hereafter, let him know at once, which perhaps hath not hitherto been allowed him, what we hold concerning this point.

We do, therefore, from our hearts, honour true virginity, as the most excellent estate of life which is incident to frail humanity. Gerson hath taught us not to call it a virtue; but it is cousin-german to a virtue. Neither do we think that the earth affords any thing more glorious than eunuchism for the kingdom of heaven: which is therefore commended by our Saviour, not as a thing merely arbitrary, by way of advice, but of charge to the able: *Qui potest capere, capiat.* In this we can gladly subscribe to St. Chrysostom, *Bonum est virginitas, &c.* "Virginity is good; I yield it: and better than marriage; I confess it."

Secondly, every man therefore, not ecclesiastics only, should labour and strive to aspire unto this estate, as the better; using all holy means both to attain and to continue it. Neither do we think it any other than blamable, that young persons, not so much as advising with their own abilities, without all endeavour and ambition of so worthy a condition, leap rashly into the bands of wedlock.

Thirdly, though every man must reach for it, yet every man cannot catch it: since it hath pleased God to reserve this, as a peculiar gift, for some persons; not intending it as a common favour to all suitors.

Fourthly, those, then, which are, upon good trial, conscious to

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themselves of God's call to this estate, and his gift enabling them unto it, may lawfully make profession thereof to the glory of the Giver; and, if need be, may vow, God continuing the same grace unto them, an holy perpetuation thereof, to their end: the observation whereof, if they, through their own neglect, shall let fall, they cannot be excused from sin[o] or freed from censure. But those which, after all serious endeavours, find nothing but weakness and uncertainties in this behalf, shall sin, if they absolutely vow; shall not sin, if they marry[p], in what condition of life soever: nor sin in marrying, however their marriage may have faulty circumstances.

Now, my detector, by this time, in our assertions sees his own folly. If, against this, he can except aught, he knows where to find an adversary.

In the mean time he needed not to take it so highly, that in the Romish use of vows, I made mention of "unlawfulness," of "impossibility;" unlawfulness in the making, impossibility in keeping. I am ready to maintain both, in respect of the indisposition, yea, incapacity of the votaries.

SECTION VIII.

But in speaking of the impossibility of some men's continency, it was not possible for my refuter to contain himself from a scurril invective against Luther, Pellican, Bucer[q].

And it becomes him well. His fathers, like sepulchral dogs, tore up the graves of God's saints, and gnawed upon their dead bones; and now, this whelp of theirs *commingit cineres*, "bedribbles their ashes."

The heroical spirit of Luther, for I cannot be flouted out of that word, hated the brothelry of their cloisters, and chose rather, which galls them to the heart, to be an honest husband than a fornicating friar.

What did he other in this than the holy fathers have advised him; yea, than he learned in their own school? for casting perhaps his eye upon the index of their Aquinas, he found there, *Votum vergens, &c.*: "A vow, tending to the danger of the person,

[o] Qui statuit [statuerit] firmus in corde suo non habens necessitatem, potestatem [autem] habens suæ voluntatis, et voverit continentiam Deo, debet eam usque ad [in] finem tota mentis solicitudine custodire.—Aug. de Fid. ad Petr. [t. vi. Append. p. 28. Fulgentii.]

[p] Solutio voti mala; Conjugium, tamen, bonum.

[q] Refutat. pp. 25, 26, 27.

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may be securely broken, if a dispensation cannot be had[r]:" what other, than all their more ingenuous casuists would think fit to give way unto[s]?

If Luther would have still kept on his cowl, and but have paid the fees of a concubine, he had lived and died a holy Augustinian; but now, all his crimes sink down out of sight: *una uxor supernatat*, as that father[t] said, "his wife only floateth:" and poor honest Catharine Bora hath made more noise in their papers than ten thousand of their courtezans. Neither needs this man any other inscription on his grave to make him odious, than this, "Here lies the man that held marriage better than fornication."

If now doctor Luther, in a vehement detestation of the impurity of their holy stews, after the homely plainness of a blunt German liberty, used some overbroad speeches to express his own freedom and their abominations[u], what is this to us? If we honour the man, must we hold his pen impeccable? This is enough to maintain in their vice-god of the seven hills. For us, we have sworn unto the words of no master but that one in heaven, the eternal Word of his Father.

But this we dare say, that this adversary's truth is no more in fathering all these reports upon Luther, than in fathering Luther upon an incubus. One of them tells us, that a devil begot him. Another[x] tells us, that by his own confession, a conference with the devil begot his opposition to the mass: another[y], that he was in league and favour with Solyman, the great Turk; who, by his instigation, was drawn to war upon Christendom: another[z], that Luther would have been a king alone, and that from him sprang the rebellion of Muntzer: another[a], that Leonard Knoppen was his bawd; and that his Catharine, for two years together after her stealing away, was debauched by the scholars of Wittenberg. And now, lastly, comes in that malicious apostate[b], which should

r Votum, vergens in periculum personæ, debet frangi secure, si dispensatio non possit haberi.—Ind. 3. in Aq. voce *Votum*. [Venet. 1787. p. 289.]

s Plus habet hic luxuria, quam castitas.—Gloss. Extrav. de Bigam. [Decret. Greg. L. i. Tit. xxi. c. 6.]

t Hieron. ad Ocean. [Ep. lxxxii. Paris. 1706.]

u Et lupanaria thalamis præferentur. —Beatus vir, cui non imputavit Dominus uxorem. [Hieron. ut supra.] Refut. pp. 28, 29.

x Cochleus. [Hist. de Act. Lutheri, Paris. 1565. p. 245.b]

y Peter Frarin. Lovan. out of Stolsius in Somn. Luth.

z Jo. Fouler in the Translat. of Frarine's Invective. Marg.

a [Vide Fulke ag. Frar. 16. [at the end of Fulke's Treat. against the defence, &c. Camb. 1586. p. 32.]

b Justus Baronius; formerly called Calvinus.

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rather have changed the false name of Justus than the over-worthy name of Calvinus, and avouches, forsooth, that Luther "was, yesterday, a monk; to day, contracted; to morrow, an husband; the next day, a father." Go on, ye brazenfaced parasites of Rome. Lies and blood may bring you into the calendar.

But this last my detector countenances by the testimony of Erasmus; who, in a letter of his to his friend Daniel Mauchius[c] of Ulmes, delivers the same story in more words. Reader, be entreated to look over that large volume of Erasmus's Epistles; and if there be no such man found there, as there is not; no such letter; judge what to think of these men's fidelity. Yea, to the plain contrary, my detector, having not memory enough for a true liar, in the page 173[d], upon another occasion contemptuously citing Luther's brood out of his own works, confutes this spiteful fiction: *Anno 1525, Junii 12, uxorem duxi, &c.* "In the year," saith he, "1525, on the 12th of June, I married; in the year 1526, my eldest son John was born; in the year 27, my daughter Elizabeth, and so the rest." Either, then, my man hath a new calendar of his own, which, contrary to the Gregorian, begins the year on June 13th, or else Luther was not a father the next day after he was an husband. But what do I trouble my reader with this idle Scoganism? Scolds or jesters are only fit for this combat.

As for those excessive speeches of comparison[e], whereby Luther points forth the necessity of carnal actions, they are spoken only of such persons as have not the gift of continency; whom natural inclination, by which they are led, carries, without an higher restraint, importunately unto these desires; wherein he says not much other than their own saint, Aquinas[f]: *Omnibus animalibus, &c.* "In all perfect living creatures, there is a natural inclination to carnal conjunction."

But when Luther speaks of men blessed from above with this gift, C. E. might have heard him in another strain, pleading both the possibility and worthiness of this condition. As in his Com-

[c] [This letter is printed by Justus Baronius, in his Præscript. adv. Hæreticos, Tract. vi. Mogunt. 1605. p. 143.—It is possible that Erasmus may have suppressed the passage and altered the superscription when he published his Epistles.]

[d] Tom. 2. Lat. Colloq. Tit. "De Morbis Lutheri." [p. 137. misprinted in Coffin's book.]

[e] Refut. pp. 28. 29.

[f] Lib. iii. contr. Gent. c. 126. "Omnibus animalibus perfectis, inest naturalis inclinatio ad conjunctionem carnalem."—[Ed. Ven. 1786. T. xviii. p. 334.] Item: "Cum muliere semper esse, et illam non cognoscere, majus est quam mortuum suscitare"—Joan de Sanct. Geminiano. Simil. l. 10. c. 27. [Lugd. 1585.]

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mentary upon the Psalm cxxviii. verse 3[g], to give one for all, thus he saith: "For one and the same spirit hath distributed his gifts, to some after one manner, and to some after another, &c. Let them, therefore, to whom it is given to receive this, abide in their single life, and let them glory in the Lord: on the other side, let them that are not so strong, but know and feel their infirmity, that they cannot live both chaste and out of matrimony; let these, I say, consider more their own infirmity than the discommodities and troubles that belong unto matrimony." Thus he, gravely and holily.

Section IX.

Now, to follow my adversary in particulars; whereas all the world sees, that the unlawfulness of their vow depends upon the inability of performance; he, like a true artist, begins first with the unlawfulness[h].

It is well that all these sheets of paper, which he hath spent in this point, may serve for some necessary use; this, which he hath put them to, is foolishly superfluous.

"If the vow of chastity be unlawful," he saith[i], "it must be either in respect of the vow or the matter vowed."

"Not the first, because vows in general are lawful;" which he will prove out of scriptures and fathers'. Idle head! Who ever denied it, but the exploded Lampetians? His own cardinal[k] could have taught him that Luther and Calvin approve the vowing of things commanded, first; and then of things not commanded too, to the avoiding of sin, or other good purposes.

"Not the second[l]," which he will prove by many arguments; some of them from the fathers, extolling virginity, and comparing it with the state of angels, and preferring it before marriage. And who ever thought otherwise, except Jovinian? and perhaps not he.

And at last, after some severe examples of penance enjoined to fornicating vow-breakers, by Chrysostom and Basil; to incontinency and rape, by the civil laws[m], as if these concerned us so much as themselves, he descends to this challenge[n]: "Let Mr.

[g] Luth. in Ps. cxxviii. vers. 3. "Unus idemque Spir." &c. [The bishop, as was frequently his practice, gives here the sense and not the exact words.]

[h] Refut. p. 29.

[i] Ibid. p. 30.

[k] Bell. l. ii. de Monachis: c. 15. "Ad negotia hujus vitæ expeditius peragenda, aut ad vitanda peccata, aut ad alios bonos fines."

[l] Refut. pp. 32, 33, 34, usque ad 42.

[m] Refut. p. 43. usque ad 48. et p. 54. usque ad finem parag. l.

[n] Refut. p. 45.

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Hall, if he be able, produce us some proof, although but one classical authority of any one ancient writer, where he hath ever persuaded such as have [haveing] solemnly vowed chastity, to use marriage as a means to overcome temptations; and he shall have some excuse for calling it a filthy vow; and his heroical Luther for terming it a diabolical thing."

So he. I take him at his word; only let him not fly forth upon the shift of solemnity which their school lately hatched. That were to seek grey hairs in infancy.

First, I bring forth that famous place of St. Cyprian, in his epistle, written, both in his own name and his fellow bishops', to Pomponius, concerning some vowed virgins, which were found in bed with men, whereof one was a deacon; of which virgins, he, with his brethren, pass this sentence[o]: *Quod si se ex fide Christo dicaverunt, &c.* "If they," saith he, "have faithfully dedicated themselves unto Christ, let them, without all deceit, persevere in the course of chastity[p], and so courageously and constantly expect the reward of their virginity." *Si, autem, perseverare nolunt, vel non possunt, &c.* "But if either they will not, or cannot persevere, it is better that they marry, than by their wantonness fall into the fire[q]. Let them give no scandal to their brethren and sisters." What could Luther or Calvin write more directly? So that Erasmus notes in the margin[r], *Etiam virginibus sacris permittit nubere:* "Here Cyprian permits even holy virgins to marry." Bellarmine's shift[s] hereof is ridiculous: that Cyprian, by occasion of some virgins which after their vow behaved themselves dishonestly, advised others, that if they had not a firm purpose of persevering, they should not vow, but marry: whom we remit to the check of his own Pamelius; yea, of his conscience. Indeed, what is this but to mock both the author and the reader? For, doth Cyprian at all vary the persons of whom he speaks? Doth he not speak plainly of virgins devoted to Christ? And what persevering could there be, but in that which they had undertaken? and what had they undertaken, but a dedication of themselves to Christ? What is this, reader, but willingly to try his oars against the stream of truth?

To the same purpose is that noted sentence of Jerome, though

[o] Epist. l. i. Epist. 11. [Ed. Bened. 1726. Ep. 62.]

[p] Pudice et caste, [pudicæ et castæ Ed. Ben.] sine ulla fabula perseverent.

[q] Melius est ut nubant, quam in ignem, deliciis [delictis Ed. Bened.] suis cadant.

[r] [Mentioned by Pamelius in his Annotations.]

[s] Lib. ii. de Monach. c. 34.

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otherwise none of the best friends to marriage[t]; who, speaking of virgins, ascribed by their vow into the celestial family, adds, *Quibus aperte dicendum*, &c. "Whom we must openly charge, that, either they would marry, if they cannot contain; or, that they would contain, if they will not marry." We know the elusion of this place also[u]: that Jerome speaks of virgins in purpose, not in vow. But whose name, I beseech you, was defamed by their lewdness? or, what was the heavenly and angelical family whose glory was blemished herewith? Was it of any other than professed virgins? Or could the act of a purposed virgin only shame virgins professed?

To the same purpose is the advice of Basil[x] and Epiphanius[y].

Add to these an elder than they all, Tertullian; and with him all those Fathers which interpret St. Paul's *volo juniores nubere*[z] of vowed widows: all which must needs hold, that our apostle allows marriage for the lawful remedy of unable votaries.

Let not this malicious mass-priest then turn us over to his Tyberianus or Jovinian[a], for the first founders of our opinion and practice, which we received from no other than that divine archheretic that sat at the feet of Gamaliel; from no other than the holily-heretical fathers and martyrs of the Church.

As for those two misalleged authors to whom he ascribes us, his skill doth palpably fail him in both.

For Tyberianus: he, being suspected of Priscillianism, wrote affectedly against that heresy; at last, foully fell to that which he disclaimed: whereon it was, that Jerome says, *Canis ad vomitum;* not upon the marriage of his daughter. And, for that particular fact, it is no less mistaken. Jerome[b] says only, *Filiam virginem Christo devotam, matrimonio copulavit:* "He married his daughter, being a virgin dedicated to Christ:" but Sophronius, who it seems well knew the story, turns it γαμηθῆναι κατηνάγκασεν; compelled his daughter, a consecrated virgin, to marry[c]. A foul fact, which we detest no less than the contrary

t Hieronymus impendio semper virginitati favens; et, ob id, nuptiis iniquior.—Erasm. [Hieron. Ep. xcviii. ad Demetr. Paris. 1706. t. iv. p. 796.]

u See the Scholia of Erasmus upon the place. [Ed. Bas. 1526. t. i. p. 73.]

x Basil. l. de Virg.

y Epiphan. Hæres. 61. [χρεῖττον τοίνυν ἔχειν ἁμαρτίαν μίαν καὶ μὴ περισσοτέρας.] Melius est unum peccatum habere quam plura. Φανερῶς ἑαυτῷ λαβεῖν γυναῖκα κατὰ νόμον. Ibid. Epiphan.

z *I would have the younger widows to marry.*

a Refut. p. 51.

b [Ed. Erasm. Bas. 1526. t. i. p. 303.]

c Coegit ut nuberet.—Vide Erasm. Schol. in Hier. Catalog. Scriptor. Eccl. [Ed. ut supra, p. 314.] So Syagria in Greg. Epist. "marito violenter sociata." [Lib. ix. Ep. 114. Paris. 1705.]

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practice of those Romanists, who compel their daughters, which would marry, to be consecrated virgins. It is then no less false, that Tyberian gave beginning to us, than it is true, that Tyburn hath given a just end to some of them.

For Jovinian, what is he to us? when neither our practice was his, nor his opinion ours. Not our practice; for he lived and died a single monk: not his opinion; how can we be said to admit marriage to an equal share of merit with virginity, when we deny merit in either? Again, that eunuchism (not in itself, but) for the kingdom of heaven, is better than it, we doubt not. But when these two are reduced to their subjects, their value is according to their use[d]. Chrysostom could say[e] *μετὰ συμμετρίας*, &c. "Use marriage with meet moderation, and thou shalt be the first in the kingdom." And Gregory Nazianzen, besides that he saith of his sister Gorgonia, when he commends the children of Basil the elder, tells us[f], some of them so used their marriage, that it was no hinderance to them, *quo minus ad parem virtutis gloriam aspirarent;* "that they might not aspire to an equal glory of virtue with the virgins;" and made these two rather different kinds of life, than manners of living.

St. Chrysostom, then, and Nazianzen, shall usher us into the school of Jovinian. And if Jovinian were *formosus monachus, crassus, nitidus*, &c. "a fair, fat, spruce monk," as he saith[g]; methinks he should rather have hoped to match him in their Sybaritical cloisters, where they abound with meat and drink and ease, than in our laborious clergy.

It is happy for us, and for that reverend archbishop Marcus Anton. de Dominis, that this railer[h] can object nothing to him but an harmless load of corpulency. It moves their spleen enough, that this learned prelate hath honoured our island with a Dalmatian pall. Their cause feels that he can, notwithstanding, pass into the pulpit. What speak they of this? when, to their sorrow, they see he could pass over the Alps to leave Rome. This beagle, and his bawling Beverlinck, and the kennel of Sor-

[d] [Nihil autem prohibet] "Quamvis universaliter dicatur [uni] homini melius esse continentiam servare, quam matrimonio uti; tamen [cum] alicui hoc [illud] melius est."—Thom. l. iii. contr. Gent. [c. 136.]

[e] Μετὰ συμμετρίας τῷ γάμῳ χρῶ, καὶ πρῶτος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἔσῃ.—Chrys. ad Heb. κεφ. δ. λογ. ζ. [c. v. Hom. VII. in fine.]

[f] Greg. Naz. Orat. in laudem Basilii. Or. 22. [20. t. i. Paris. 1609.]

[g] Hier. l. i. in Jovin. [t. iv. pars II. p. 183.]

[h] Refut. p. 52.

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bonne, may bay at him; but not one of their bandogs dare fasten.

But why do I suffer this babbler to lead me out of my way? What is all this sleeveless discourse[i] to a man, that never said, never thought every vow of this kind unlawful, nor every breach of such vow sinless? When he takes me with this *tenet*, let him load me with authorities. Till then, his now-frivolous papers may serve for any honest use.

Section X.

No less wise and proper is that other discourse of impossibility[k].

For, to make short work; "That no man can contain, though it be given him," I never said: "That any man may contain, though it be not given him," either he will not say, or, if he do, he hath Christ for his adversary.

Why do we blot paper? How the performance of this vow is not possible only for all, but facile[l] also, which he contendeth, the issue proves too well; and the world blushes to see it.

Let it not be too much burden to his patience, that I said, "some of their shavelings cannot hold." He knows what their gloss upon Gratian said[m] of old, though now they have pulled out that tongue for blabbing, *Communiter dicitur*, &c. "It is commonly said, that a clerk ought not to be deposed for simple fornication;" *cum pauci sine illo vitio inveniantur;* "since there are but a few found without that vice." This they have wiped out of the book; but the *Margarita Decreti*, as happy is, holds it still. And their honest Cassander[n], yet more plainly, *Vix centesimum invenias;* "you shall scarce find one of an hundred free." And, if need were, I could tell him, out of old Bromiard[o], what the voice of a ghost said to a priest of theirs; but I will not: only thus he shut up; "That there came daily such store of priests to hell for their luxury;" in plain English, lechery; "that he had not thought there had been any left upon earth."

[i] The residue of this paragraph is spent in the Canon and Civil Laws against vow-breakers. "Quid ad Rhombum?"—Refut. pp. 54, 55, 56.

[k] Refut. pp. 57, 58, 59.

[l] Majus miraculum est, de propria carne fomitem eradicare luxuriæ, quam expellere immundos spiritus de corporibus alienis.—Joan. Brom. Sum. Prædic. cap. *Castit.* [Ven. 1586, t. i. p. 108.]

[m] Distinct. 81. Maximianus [c. vi. note [e], Paris. 1612.]

[n] Consult. [de] Art. [Relig.] 23. [Colon. 1577. p. 202.] And Bellarm. Qui [re ipsa] continent, quos notum est non esse multos.—De Monach. l. ii. c. 31.

[o] Jo. Bromiard. Sum. Prædic. voce *Luxuria.*

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And to these I could add the jerks of their zealous preacher, friar Menot[p], who fetches the threefold shame of their clergy out of the Ave Mary: "The second whereof," though the first in mischief, is, "*in mulieribus.*"

But what should I fill carts with such stuff, as I easily might, when the salacity of the Romish clergy is grown to be the proverb[q] and scorn of the world?

Let not my refuter scare us with the threat of recriminations. We know that in all professions there may be found lewdness enough. But when all is done, we shall justify that which worthy bishop Jewell said long ago: *Scortum apud nos modestius vivit, quam apud vos Penelope:* "Our strumpet is their Penelope."

What needed he therefore to upbraid[r] us with that frump of Erasmus, *Quæ malum est ista tanta salacitas*, &c.! when he knows how easily we can overpay him in this coin?

Was it not Erasmus[s], whose word it was, which Master Doctor Colet, dean of Paul's, was wont to have familiarly in his mouth, *Nunc is est rerum ac temporum status, ut nusquam reperias minus inquinatam morum integritatem, quam inter conjugatos?* "Now such is the state of the times, that you shall never find less corruption of manners and life than amongst the married."

Was it not Erasmus[t] that said, *Atque utinam vere castrati sint, quicunque suis vitiis magnificum castrationis prætexunt titulum: sub umbra castitatis turpius libidinantes, &c. - Neque enim mei pudoris esse puto commemorare, in quæ dedecora sæpe prolabantur, qui naturæ repugnant, &c.*

This is enough to let my detector see we need not die in his debt for Erasmus.

SECTION XI.

"But it is no arguing from the act to the possibility. These

[p] Zelantissimus Prædicator.—Tit. Concion. [Serm. Quadr. Paris. 1526.]

[q] Cauda salax sacrificulorum in proverbium abiit.

[r] Refut. p. 61.

[s] Erasm. Apolog. pro Declam. Matrimonii. [Lugd. Bat. 1706. t. ix.]

[t] Ibidem Erasm. Englished this: "And I would they were gelded indeed, which hide their vicious courses with the glorious name of eunuchism: more freely following their filthy lusts, under the shadow of chastity, &c. Neither will my modesty suffer me to report into what shameful courses they fall many times which resist nature, &c." Ex vita sacerdotum palam dedecorosa [Propterea quod ob vitam dedecorosam] palam [a populo] contemnitur illorum doctrina; et inde perit fructus Verbi Dei. Quod si his qui [se] non continent concederetur matrimonium, et ipsi viverent quietius, et populo cum authoritate prædicarent Verbum Dei.—Ad Christoph. Epist. Basil. [de interdict. esu Carn.]

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did not contain; but they might." What! whether it were given them or no? So seems mine adversary to hold, while he censures Luther[u], for saying, that this is God's gift; and that here we can only take, and not give.

"Yea, but if they had asked, it would have been given them. "*Ask, and it shall be given;*" so says my refuter[x], out of Origen, none of the best interpreters: so his masters, the Jesuits: *Sufficit promissio generalis*, saith Bellarmine[y]. By this rule, if the cardinal should but pray for the popedom, the three crowns must come tumbling upon his head; and if C. E. should but pray for a red hat, it would have mercurial wings, and come flying to Douay. I would he had but prayed for wit: he had then, perhaps, been silent: not considering, that virginity and honour, and degrees of wit, though excellent in their kinds, yet are such things, as without which we may enjoy God, and go to heaven; and, therefore, that perhaps God sees it best for us to ask them and go without.

What can be more plain than that of Jerome[z]? "If all might be virgins, Christ would never have said, *Qui potest capere, capiat;* neither would the apostle so timorously have persuaded to virginity." Could he ever suppose that virginity might be had without prayers? and yet he says, "If all might be virgins," &c.

Who would not have thought, that this one text of our Saviour should have stopt all mouths? His disciples had said, *If thus, it is good not to marry:* he replies; *All men cannot receive this word, save they to whom it is given;* and concludes, *He that is able to receive it, let him receive it.* Yet here see the forehead of a Jesuit: Maldonate, upon the place, dares say thus[a]: "That he saith, *All men do not receive this word,* all interpreters, almost, do so expound it, as if the sense were, All men cannot perform this which you say, that is, want a wife, because all have not the gift of chastity; but only those to whom it is given:" for which he cites only Origen, Gregory, Nazianzen, Ambrose; concealing the rest of his "almost all:" yet after, in the same page, forgetting himself, *solus D. Augustinus*, &c. "Only St. Austin uses," saith he, "to teach, that this gift of continency is not given to all, but to some only." It is happy, yet, that herein we are granted to err with St. Austin; and yet, ere long, we

[u] Refut. p. 60.
[x] Refut. p. 74.
[y] Bell. l. ii. de Mon. c. 31. [t. ii.]
[z] Hieron. advers. Jovin. l. i. [Paris. 1706. t. iv. pars ii.]
[a] Mald. in Matt. xix. 11. *Omnes fere*, &c. [ita fere omnes exponunt, &c.]

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take in Origen, Nazianzen, Ambrose, Jerome, and, at last, overtake, *fere omnes:* so as we need not fear solitariness in this error.

But what says the Jesuit to this good company? *Adduci non possum ut sequar;* "I cannot be persuaded to follow them." No marvel: mark, how well the Jesuits follow Jesus himself! Jesus says, *All men cannot receive this:* the Jesuits say[b], "All men may receive it." Jesus says, *It must be given from God:* the Jesuits say[c], "It is so the gift of God, that it is in the power of man." How can we look to escape their opposition when they dare thus contradict our Saviour?

For me, I shall be still in this heresy, that all their priests and monks and nuns cannot contain: and his Bonaventure[d] shall bear me out, who teaches me, that, to the third degree of chastity *requiri privilegium singulare,* "there is a singular privilege required;" for that it seems to be above the pitch of natural possibility to live in the flesh, and not to feel the faults of flesh.

SECTION XII.

As for his holy sisters at Brussels, the touch of whom hath so much enfired his ghostly zeal, I intended no quarrel to them in particular. They may be as honest as their champion is malicious[e]. What I said, was out of the supposition of the common frailty: and if he have been so much in their bosom as to know they never repented them, it is well known that others have; whose song hath been, in the hearing of those I know,

"What shall I do? shall I die, and never married be?"

Like unto those vestals,

Felices nuptæ, moriar nisi nubere dulce est.

As for the mischief following hence, the visible monuments of so many murdered infants, if not in Gregory's ponds, in the very place where I now live and elsewhere[f], convinces it too much.

[b] Omnes continere posse, si velint.—Bellar. l. ii. de Mon. c. 31.

[c] Et donum Dei esse, et tamen in potestate et arbitrio hominis positum.—Ibid. Qui potest, habeat secum aurum hoc virginitatis: Qui minus nuptiarum argentum excipiat.—Chrysost. in 1 Tim. iv.

[d] Bonaven. in Opusc. de Profectu Relig. p. 120. [l. ii. c. 56.] "Sumptuosa turris est, et verbum grande quod non omnes capere possunt."—Bern. de Contempt. Mun. "Nam si generale esset, quod potest unus, et omnes possunt."—Primas. [Comm. in D. Paul. Ep. in 1 Cor. vii. 25.]

[e] Refut. pp. 60, 61.

[f] Vid. Histor. Radulphi Bourne Augustadensis Eccl. Abbatis, qui testatur se vidisse, in quadam piscina in Mo-

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But my example[g], Ywis, shall clear his vestals of Brussels, and all other votaries. "Master Hall was absent," some three months, in France. Flesh is frail: temptations frequent:" add to these his body sickly, and well-near to death: "yet both then and before his marriage he would take it in great scorn," as well he might, "to be suspected for dishonest." True, and might defy men and devils in that challenge. What of this? It follows then: "If Master Hall could, for so long together, live a chaste life, why no more?" Why not always? Demonstratively concluded! as if a man should say: "C. E. doth speak some wise words: how can he, at any time, write thus foolishly! A Christian hath sometime grace to avoid a temptation: why not always? Why doth he not keep himself ever from sinning? A good swimmer may hold his breath under the water for some portion of a minute: why not for an hour? why not for more? A devout papist may fast, after his breakfast, till his dinner in the afternoon: therefore, why not a week? why not a month? why not so long as Eve, the maid of Meurs?"

The Spirit of God, if at least he may be allowed for the Author of continency, breatheth where and when he listeth; and that God, which makes marriages in heaven, either averts the heart from these thoughts, or inclines it at his pleasure.

Shortly, the great doctor of the Gentiles had never learned this divinity of Douay: whose charge is, *Defraud not one another, except with consent for a season, that ye may give yourselves to fasting and prayer;* and, *again come together, that Satan tempt you not through your incontinency,* 1 Cor. vii. 5. He only wanted my monitor, to jog him on the elbow, as here: "What needs all this fleshliness? If they can safely contain while they give themselves to extraordinary devotion, why not more? why not always? It is pity that no man would advise the apostle how great a gap this doctrine "of his opens to all lasciviousness[h]."

Let me but have leave to put St. Paul's name instead of mine into this challenge of my refuter, and thus he argues[i]: "If St. Paul say, that πρὸς καιρὸν, *for a while*, they are able to live chaste, but not for any long while; I ask again, how long that while shall endure; and what warrant they have therein for not falling: seeing it may so fall out, that, in the while appointed,

nialium Abbatia, quæ Provines dicebatur, multa parvulorum ossa, ipsaque corpora integra ibi reperiebantur [Parker,] Antiq. Brit. [c. cui tit.] Revocatio Clem. V. Papæ, ex Adam. Murim. [Hanov. 1605. p. 210.]

[g] Refut. p. 61. [h] Refut. p. 64.

[i] Refut. p. 65.

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they may be more tempted than they shall be again in all their lives after." How saucy would this sophistry be! how shameless! The words are his: only the name is changed. What the Elect Vessel would answer, in such a case, for himself, let C. E. suppose returned by me.

SECTION XIII.

The refuter hath borrowed some weapons of his master Bellarmine, and knows not how to wear them. It would move any man's disdain to see how absurdly those poor arguments are blundered together. We must distinguish them as we may.

First[k], "St. Paul condemns the young widows mentioned: therefore he overthrows this impossibility of containing:"—

I answer: St. Paul advises the young widows to marry; and admits none into the Church-book under threescore years: therefore he establishes in some this impossibility.

Secondly[l], "St. Paul advises Timothy to live chaste:"—

Reader, tell him the word is *σώφρονα*; 1 Tim iii. 2: which their own Vulgar, Tit. i. 8, turns *sober;* and in Tit. ii. 5, *prudent.* But to grant him his own phrase, can my detector descry no difference betwixt chaste and single? Did he and his fellows never hear of a conjugal chastity? So they have still wont to speak, as if chastity were only opposite to marriage; as if no single life could be unchaste. His Espencæus might have taught him that verse in Virgil,

Casta pudicitiam servat domus:—

and he might have heard of that Roman law of vestals, *Castæ ex castis, puræ ex puris sunto:* yea, his Erasmus[m] might have taught him yet further, *E diverso, nihil prohibet in conjugio virginitati locum esse;* that even in marriage there may be virginity.

Thirdly[n], "The Fathers exhort to virginity, especially St. Ambrose and St. Austin:"—

Let him tell this to them that know it not; to them that dislike true chastity in virgins; not to them that condemn unchasteness in a pretended virginity. To what virtue do not the Fathers exhort? yet never supposing them to be within our lure.

[k] Refut. p. 63.

[l] Refut. pp. 63, 64.

[m] Eras. Apol. pro Declam. Matr. [Apol. Basil. 1522. p. 130.] Secundus gradus Virginitatis est Matrimonii casta dilectio.—Opus Imperf. in Matth.

[n] Refut. p. 64. Ab his ergo duabus columnis Augustinum loquor et Ambrosium crede mihi difficile avellor.—Ibid. ex Bernardo. C. E. [Epist. ad Hug. de St. Victor. c. 11. § 6.]

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Lastly, where is the shame of my refuter, that cites Austin as the man on whom he depends for his universal possibility of continency, when his own Maldonate professes that St. Austin is the only enemy to this doctrine?

Fourthly[o], "Where there is impossibility or necessity, there is no sin, no counsel: as no man sins in not making new stars, in not doing miracles:"—

A stale shift, that oft sounded in the ears of Austin and Prosper from their Pelagians. "The natural man, in this depravedness of estate, cannot but offend God: therefore he sins not in sinning. Counsel given shows what we should do, not what we can." *Jubendo admonet*, &c. saith Austin[p]: "In commanding, he admonisheth us, both to do what we can, and to ask that which we cannot do." In continency then, our endeavour is required for the attaining of that which God will give us. God never employed us in making of stars: though my refuter is every day set on greater work—the making of Him that made stars! Lastly, it is true, there is no sin in marrying: there may be sin, after a vow, in not using all lawful means of chastity. The Fathers, therefore, supposing a prerequired assurance of the gift and calling of God in those whom mature deliberation and long proof[q] had covered with the veil of virginity, do justly both call for their continence, and censure their lapses.

Fifthly[r], "Upon this ground, the father cannot blame his child for incontinence. To contain, implies impossibility:"—

Ask him wherefore serves marriage. "Yea, but to provide a husband or a wife is not a work of an hour's warning: in the mean time, what shall they do?" Sure, the man thinks of those hot regions of his religion, where they are so sharp set, that they must have stews allowed of one sex at least. Else, what strange violence is this that he conceives? As our Junius answered his Bellarmine in the like, *Hic homo sibi videtur agere de equis admissariis ruentibus in venerem, et de hippomane, non de hominibus rationis præditis.* He speaks as if he had to do with stallions, not with men, not with Christians; amongst whom is to be supposed a decent order, and due regard of seasonableness and expediency. A doughty argument! wherewith "Master Hall is sore pressed[s]:" "They may contain till they marry;

[o] Refut. p. 64.
[p] Aug. Lib. de Nat. et Grat. c. 43.
[q] Post multam deliberationem ac consiederationem, &c.—Basil. [Regulæ fusius tract. qu. 15.]
[r] Refut. p. 64.
[s] Marg. of the Refut. p. 65.

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and, therefore, they may ever contain, and not marry." How easy is it for me to take up this load, and lay it upon my Saviour, which said, *All men cannot receive it;* and upon his great apostle of the Gentiles, who hath taught us an ἴδιον χάρισμα, a *proper gift,* 1 Cor. vii. 7: which God hath bestowed on some, not on others; and supposes a necessity that may be, of giving a virgin in marriage!

Sixthly[t], "The husband and wife are separated upon discord or disease. What shall they do? To live continent with this man is impossible:"—

I answer; if only their will sunders them, that must yield to necessity: dissension may not abridge them of the necessary remedy of sin. If necessity; that finds relief in their prayers: if they call on Him who calls them to continency by this hand of his, he will hear them, and enable them to persist. "And why not then in the necessity of our vows?"—This is a necessity of our own making: that, is of his. He hath bound himself to keep his own promises; not ours.

SECTION XIV.

While his fellow, or master, Maldonate, talks of confuting Austin in this very point, by Austin himself, this man will confute us by him[u]; whom he no otherwise cites for himself, than his ancestor, Pelagius, cites Lactantius, Hilary, Ambrose, Jerome, and Austin, in this case. "The thing," saith he, "is in our power: and though it require the assistance of God's grace, which still preventeth our will, yet that hinders not but that we may, if we list, live chaste all the days of our life; as we may, upon the same terms, believe in God, and love him."

What impudency is this! to make him the patron of the power of our freewill to God, whom all the world knows to have been *malleus Pelagianorum;* and who, in so many volumes, damns this conceit to the pit of hell: evermore so establishing the natural faculty and use of the will against Stoical necessity, as that he abandons any power of the act or exercise of it unto good without grace, against human presumption! When he speaks of this, here is not a cold and feeble prevention, but an effectual inoperation; yea, a powerful creation.

Since my refuter, then, will needs be paralleling our ability of

[t] Refut. p. 65. [u] Refut. p. 66.

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containing and of believing, let him hear that holy Father say[x], *Non solum Deus posse nostrum*, &c. "God doth not only give and help our power to good, but works in us both our will and working of good."

And elsewhere[y]: "He is drawn to Christ, to whom it is given to believe in Christ. Power is therefore given unto them to be made the sons of God, which believe in him, when this is given them to believe in him."

And so far is he from saying, with my detector and his Bellarmine, that who lists may believe when he lists, that he reasons thus[z]: *Quid mihi obtendis*, &c.? "What dost thou tell me of thy freewill; which can never be free to do good, except thou be a sheep of God? He therefore that makes men to be his sheep, frees the wills of men to the obedience of piety. But why doth he make these men sheep, and those not; since with him is no respect of persons? the apostle answers, *O homo!* &c." Thus he.

Either, therefore, let him never cite St. Austin against us, in this point, or else we must be forced to countercite him once more than we meant: *Plane possumus dicere frontem hæreticorum non esse frontem*[a].

And if there could be any more on that holy Father's score, Father Maldonate hath paid it for us. To conclude, therefore, for him; *Arbitrium humanæ voluntatis nequaquam destruimus*: We know no man doth well against his will. God uses not to make virgins by force: and the same goodness that gives chastity to the married, continues virginity to the single.

What of all this? "Therefore," saith he[b], "it is as well in the power of all single persons to be always continent, as of the married to keep conjugal chastity:"—an illation and conclusion worthy of my refuter's logic and divinity! As if he argued thus for himself: "The same God, that disposes of orders, disposes of the popedom: therefore I may as well look to wear three crowns as one shaven." Or, "The same God gives both life and grace and glory; therefore, all those that live the natural life, may also live the spiritual and glorious." Who sees not the reason of

[x] Aug. de Grat. [Christi contra Pelag. l. i. c.] 25.

[y] Cont. duas Epist. Pelag. [lib. i, c. 3.]

[z] Aug. [duas Epist. Pelag.] l. iv. c. 6. Qui facit igitur oves homines, ipse ad obedientiam pietatis humanas liberat voluntates. Sed quare istos homines oves facit, et istos non facit; apud quem non est acceptio personarum?—Respondet Apost. "O homo!" &c.

[a] Ibid. [Contra Jul. l. iv. c. 3.]

[b] Refut. p. 69.

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these unlike? Conjugal honesty is absolutely commanded of God to all married persons: perpetuation of virginity he grants was never commanded. The breach of conjugal honesty is of itself a sin to all: marriage is not so. Against the one, therefore, we may absolutely pray in faith[c]; against the other, but with condition. God hath promised to deliver us from our sins, not from our marriage.

As for St. Ambrose, we easily grant him large in the praise of virginity. But no one word of all his cited authorities[d] toucheth our assertion. The helps of the Church, the service of angels, the merit of the prayers of our Saviour, we yield to be good means of continence where it is intended; but that it is meant to all comers, we deny. Let the success speak.

Neither do we tax the vow for any improbity in itself, but for the incapacity of the persons. The vow were good, if the men were not either evil or unfit.

And here, by the way, whereas C. E., like a masterly monitor, wishes "Master Hall to read the divine works of Ambrose concerning this subject[e];" Master Hall is bold, in requital, to tell C. E. that he knows not Ambrose; and to teach him, since he hath not learned it of other masters, that the book which he so oft and so solemnly cites[f] for Ambrose's, *Ad virginem lapsam*, is a noted counterfeit, a true Novatian; which his grave ignorance might have heard from his Bellarmine and Possevin. And how much better is that other tract which he cites[g] from Ambrose, Epist. 82, wherein mention is made of Venice[h]; which was not extant till Ambrose was not? And the commentary of Ambrose, upon 1 Tim. iii, whence he fetches his forciblest testimony[i] for forced continency; slit in the nose, and bored in the ear, long since, by Salmeron[k], Baronius, Bellarmine, and Francis Lucas.

Of the same stamp, that the reader may here see, once for all, how he is gulled by this false priest with foisted authorities, is his Augustin, de Bono Viduitatis[l], thrice[m] by him here quoted,

[c] Christi erit, si fides aderit, quæ impetrat a jubente quod jusserit. Aug. de Adult. con. l. ii. c. 19.

[d] Refut. pp. 71, 72, 73.

[e] Refut. p. 71.

[f] Cited four times by C. E. upon weighty occasions. Refut. pp. 34, 43, 48, 50.

[g] Refut. p. 41.

[h] Vide Censur. Rob. Coci. p. 129. [128. Lond. 1614.]

[i] Refut. p. 94.

[k] Censur. Coci. p. 133. [134.]

[l] [This appears in the Benedictine edition, among Augustine's genuine works.]

[m] Refut. pp. 20, 49, 68.

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not without great triumph; branded by Erasmus, Hosius, Lindanus: as likewise his Augustin, de Eccles. Dogmat.[n], confessed counterfeit by Bellarmine and his friends of Louvain: and the Sermons, de Tempore[o]; cashiered by Erasmus, Mart. Lipsius, the Louvanians.

Whereto let us add the book of great Athanasius, de Virginitate, produced[p] in great state by C. E., not without great wrong and shame fathered upon that saint; as if Erasmus and Nannius did not show the ridiculous precepts therein contained would speak enough.

To follow all were endless. Of this kind, lastly, is his Cyprian de Disciplina et Bono Pudicitiæ, not more magnificently brought forth[q] by C. E. than fairly ejected by Erasmus and Espencæus.

These are the glorious testimonies which grace the swelling pages of mine adversary. These are the pious frauds wherewith honest readers are shamefully cozened. It shall suffice thus, in a word, to have thanked my reverend monitor for his sage advice, and to advise my reader to know whom he trusts.

For Origen: we have already answered[r]. My detector could not have chosen a better man for the proof of the facility of this work than him, who, according to the broad tralation of his rude Rhemists, gelded himself, and made himself no man for it.

"That all graces are derived to us from the fountain, or rather the full ocean, of Christ's merits and mercies," which he shows[s] from St. Jerome, we willingly teach against them; so far are we from being injurious to the Passion of our dear Redeemer. But if he will therefore infer, that every man may be a perpetual virgin, he may as well hope, that therefore every scribbler may write all true. Our Saviour himself, which said, *I will draw all men unto me;* yet said, *All men cannot receive this:* not, "I cannot give it;" but, "They cannot take it."

As for that practice, which he cites[t] from St. Austin, of forcing men both into orders and continency, it shows rather the fact than the equity; what was done in a particular Church, rather than what should be. The refuter himself renounceth it in the precedent page: "For the Church forceth none thereunto." Neither is it any other than a direct restraint of that which the Council of Nice determined to be left free.

[n] Refut. p. 40.
[o] Refut. p. 80.
[p] Refut. p. 35.
[q] Refut. p. 36.
[r] Vid. supra.
[s] Refut. pp. 74, 75.
[t] Refut. p. 78.

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Lastly, that there may appear to be no less impossibility of honest truth in some men than true chastity, he cites[u] one place for all out of St. Austin[x]: "Let not the burden of continency affright us: it will be light, if it be of Christ: it will be of Christ, if there be faith, that obtains of him which commands the thing which he doth command:" see, reader, with what fidelity: and by this esteem the rest! St. Austin speaks there of persons divorced each from other, whom necessity, as he supposes the case, calls to continency: the detector cites him for the power of voluntary votaries. The very place confutes him. "It will be Christ's yoke," saith Austin, "if there be faith that obtains of him which commands the thing which he doth command." There can be no faith where is no command. Now C. E. will grant there is no command[y] of single life to all: therefore all cannot ask it in faith: therefore all cannot think it the yoke of Christ; all cannot bear it.

SECTION XV.

Now, at last, like some sorry squib, that after a little hissing and sparkling ends in an unsavoury crack, my refuter, after all these flourishes of their possibility, shuts up[z] in a scurrilous declamation against our ministry; granting it indeed impossible, amongst us, to live chaste; and telling his reader that we blush not to blaze in pulpits and printed books this brutish paradox, that chastity is a virtue impossible to all[a], because so it is to such lascivious "libertines, sensual and sinful people, as heretics are: and here are *sordes, dedecora, scabies libidinum:* the brutish spirit of heresy, fleshly and sensual." Impure mouth!

How well doth it become the son of that Babylonian strumpet to call the Spouse of Christ harlot! How well doth it become lips drenched in the cup of those fornications to utter blasphemous slanders, *Spumam Cerberi,* against innocence!

By how much more brutish that paradox is, so much more devilish is the unjust imputation of it to us. Which of us ever

[u] Refut. p. 79.

[x] Lib. ii. c. 19. De adulter. Conjug. vid. sup.

[y] Neque enim, sicut non mœchaberis, non occides ita dici potest, non nubes.—Aug. de Virg. Sanct. l. sing. c. 30. [opp. t. vi. p. 355.]

[z] Refut. p. 80. usque ad 87.

[a] Illud dixerim, tantum abfuisse, ut ista coacta castitas illam conjugalem vicerit, &c. saith Polydore Verg. "This I may say, that it is so far off, that this compelled chastity excelled the conjugal chastity, that no crime of any offence could bring more hatred to the state of priesthood, or more disgrace to religion, or more sorrow to all good men, than the blemish of the unchaste life of priests, &c."—Polyd. [De rerum inventoribus] l. v. c. 4.

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blazed it? Which of us doth hate it less than the lie that charges it upon us? How many reverend fathers have we, in the highest chairs of our church; how many aged divines, in our universities; how many grave prebendaries, in our cathedral churches; how many worthy ministers, in their rural stations; that shine with this virtue in the eyes of the world!

"If, therefore, the proper place of chastity be the Church of God," as this caviller pleads, it is ours in right, theirs in pretence[b]. And so much more noble is this in ours, for that in ours it is free[c]; in them, forced[d]. *Infida custos castitatis necessitas*, as that Father said: *Neque opus passeri fugere ad montem.* In them, as Chrysostom said, long since, τὸ σεμνὸν τῆς Παρθενίας ἀπόλωλεν, "the grace of virginity is lost:" γελῶσιν αἱ κοσμικαί, "the world makes sport with such maidenhead."

For the rest, the God of heaven judge betwixt us and our enemies. To him we appeal, how we desire to serve him in chaste wedlock, whom they dishonour with unclean and false virginity.

Not to put my detector in mind how honourably he now speaks of marriage, how dares he talk of our fleshliness and their chastity? as if he had to do with a world that were both deaf and blind.

Do not their own records fly in their faces, and tell him "there are but a few of them honest?" Did not their own select cardinals complain[e], that "the most of their nunneries were justly scandalized with sacrilegious incontinencies?" Do not our histories tell us[f], that, in the reign of Henry the Third, Robert Grosthead, the famous bishop of Lincoln, in his visitation, "was fain to explore the virginity of their nuns by nipping of their

[b] Quicunque amare pudicitiam se simulant, ut Manichæus, Marcion, Arius, Tatianus, et instauratores veteris hæreseos venenato ore mella promittunt: cæterum, juxta Apostolum, quæ secreto agunt, turpe est dicere.—Hier. l. ii. in Hos.

[c] Inviolati corporis virginitate [perpetua] fruuntur potius, quam gloriantur.—Min. Fel. Oct. [§ 31.]

[d] Talis castitas, quia non est spontanea, non magnam habet retributionem.—Brun. Carthus. [De Ornat. Eccl. c. ix.] O mysteria, O mores, ubi necessitas imponitur castitati, authoritas datur libidini: Itaque nec casta est, quæ metu cogitur; nec &c. nec illa pudica quæ these tenetur [lege retinetur].—Ambros. De Virg. l. i. [c. 4.]

[e] Concil. Delect. Cardin. Paul. iii. Exhib. Abusus alius turbat Christianum populum in Monialibus, quæ sub cura fratrum conventualium, ubi in plerisque monasteriis fiunt publica sacrilegia cum maximo omnium [civium] scandalo.

[f] Mat. Paris Hist. Angl. Hen. iii. p. 1085. Et, quod indignum est scribi, ad domos religiosarum veniens, facit exprimi mammillas earundem, ut sic physice, &c. [A. D. 1250.]

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dugs;" *indignum scribi*, as Matth. Paris? Do not the forenamed cardinals find it a common grievance[g], that "their courtezans rode in state through Rome itself, attended, even at noonday, with the retinue of their cardinals and with their clergymen?" Doth he find the Church of England to maintain stews; and to raise rents from professed filthiness? Can he deny the unnatural beastliness that reigns in his Italy?

But what do I stir this puddle? Let me hear no more brags of their chastity, no more exprobrations of our lasciviousness.

SECTION XVI.

As if my refuter had vowed to write no true word, he challenges me[h] for translating Isidore's *turpe votum*, "a filthy vow."

I turn to my Epistle, and find it not Englished by me at all. His own conscience, belike, so construes it; or, if some former impression of mine, which I believe not, had so turned it, here is neither ignorance nor unfaithfulness. Wheresoever is sin, there is filthiness. And if a lawful vow be properly *de meliore bono*, can there not therefore be an unlawful vow? What was that of Jephthah's, or that of St. Paul's forty conspirators?

"But the word there," saith he, "signifies a promise:" as if every vow were not a promise: and if Isidore take *votum* for *promissum*, Gregory takes[i], by his construction, *promissum* for *votum*, in this very case we have in hand.

This vow of theirs, therefore, is metonymically filthy, because it makes them such. In one word, (that he may rave no more of Epicures, Turks, Pagans,) their vow is in profession glorious, filthy in effect.

And now, for a conclusion of this point, I must, out of all these gross and ignorant passages of his, (though unproperly, yet,) truly vow to the world, that a truer Bayard did never stumble forth into the press.

SECTION XVII.

He hath done with their own vows, and now descends to us, whom he confesses vowless[k]. His scorn cannot strip us of the benefit of that truth which he confesseth.

[g] In hac etiam urbe meretrices, &c. —Concil. Del. Card. [ut supra p. 145.] Pejus est quam mœchari, continentiam ducere criminosam.—De Singul. Cler.

[h] Refut. p. 88.

[i] Dist. 28. Greg. Petro Diac. l. i. Ep. 42. [Gratiani Decr. Paris. 1612. p. 145.]

[k] Refut. p. 89.

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Thus then he writes: "I freely, with other catholics, grant, that our English ministers, according to their calling, make no vows. I grant their marriage to be lawful: I grant that every one of them may be the husband of one wife," &c.

And why did not this liberality of my wise detector tie up his tongue in his purse all this while? No more was required: no less is yielded: whereto is all this jangling?

But that his grant may prove worse than a denial, thus he proceeds: "But we deny them to be truly clergymen; or to have any more authority in the Church than their wives or daughters have: and this, because they want all true calling and ordination. For they entered not in at the door like true pastors, but stole in at the window like thieves. We deny their ministry, I say, to be lawful, because they did run before they were sent; took their places by intrusion, &c. Let Master Hall disprove this, and I will say, *Tu Phyllida solus habeto.*" Thus he.

A deep crimination; and such, as if it could be proved, would rob our question of the state, and us of our duly challenged honour.

Reader, this vehemence shows thee where his shoe wrings him. It is the gall of Romish hearts, that we prosper, and are not theirs. Where they have presumed upon credulity, they have not stuck to say, we are not men like others; but more frequently and boldly, that we are no Christian men; and here most peremptorily, that we are no clergymen. There is no Church, no Christianity, no Clergy not theirs. Neither can we be in orders while we are out of Babylon!

The man dreams of the Nag's Head in Cheapside; where his lying oracle, tradition, hath not shamed to report, Jewell, Sands, Horne, Scory, Grindall, and others, in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's time, being disappointed of the catholic bishop of Llandaff, to have laid hands mutually on each other; and that from hence have flowed our pretended orders.

This our shameless Sacrobosco[1] heard of some good old folks; and they had it of one Neale, professor *Ebrius* in Oxford; Kellison took it of Sacrobosco, and C.E. of him: *Concordat cum originali. Diabolus est mendax, et pater ejus.*

And is not this a worthy engine to batter down the walls of a whole church, to blow up all our ordination? Is it possible

[1] Alias, Halywell, the Jesuit. [Holywood.]

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that any Christian face should be so graceless, as to bear out such an apparent and ridiculous falsehood, against so many thousands of witnesses, against the evidence of authentical records, against reason and sense itself?

For, can they hope to persuade any living man, that these, having at that time a lawful archbishop of their own religion, legally established in the metropolitical chair by an acknowledged authority, the sway of the times openly favouring them, when all churches, all chapels gladly opened to them, that they would be so mad as to go and ordain themselves in a tavern? He that would believe this, may be persuaded that their adored blocks can weep and speak and move—that their cake is God.

Never truth could be cleared, if not this.

No less than the whole kingdom knew that queen Mary died in the year 1558, November 17th; and her cardinal, then archbishop of Canterbury, accompanied her soul in death the same day. The same day was queen Elizabeth's *initium regni*; her coronation, January 15th following.

That leisure enough might be taken in these great affairs, the see of Canterbury continued void above a year. At last, in the second year of queen Elizabeth, 1559, December 17th, was Matthew Parker legally consecrated archbishop of Canterbury by four bishops: William Barlow, formerly bishop of Bath, then elect of Chichester; John Scory, before of Chichester, now elect of Hereford; Miles Coverdale, bishop of Exeter; John Hodgskins, suffragan of Bedford.

Matthew Parker, thus irrefragably settled in the archiepiscopal see, with three other bishops, in the same month of December solemnly consecrated Edmund Grindall and Edwin Sands. The public records are evident and particular: relating the time, Sunday morning, after prayers; the place, Lambeth chapel; the manner, imposition of hands; the consecrators, Matthew Cant., William Chichester, John Hereford, John Bedford; the preacher at the consecration, Alexander Nowell, afterwards the worthy dean of Paul's; the text, *Take heed to yourselves, and to all the flock, &c.*; the communion, lastly, administered by the archbishop.

For bishop Jewell, he was consecrated the month following, in the same form by Matthew Cant., Edmund London, Richard Ely, John Bedford,

Lastly, for bishop Horne, he was consecrated a whole year after this, by Matthew Cant., Thomas St. David's, Edmund Lon-

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don, Thomas Coventry and Litchfield: the circumstances, time, place, form, preacher, text, severally recorded. The particulars whereof I refer to the faithful and clear relation of Master Francis Mason; whose learned and full discourse of this subject might have satisfied all eyes and stopped all mouths.

What incredible impudency is this then, for those, which pretend not Christianity only, but the consecration of God, wilfully to raise such shameful slanders from the pit of hell, to the disgrace of truth, to the disparagement of our holy calling!

Let me, therefore, challenge my detector in this so important a point: wherein his zeal hath so far outrun his wit, and with him all the brats of that proud harlot, that no Church under heaven can show a more clear, even, uncontrollable, untroubled line of the just succession of her sacred orders, than this of ours. If his Rome, for her tyrannous primacy, could bring forth but such cards, the world would be too strait for her.

He shall, maugre, be forced to confess, that either there were never true orders in the Church of England, which he dares not say, or else that they are still ours.

The bishops, in the time of king Henry the Eighth, were undoubted. If they left Rome in some corrected opinions, their character was yet, by confession[m], indelible. They laid their hands, according to ecclesiastical constitution, upon the bishops in king Edward's day: and they both upon the bishops in the beginning of queen Elizabeth: they, again, upon the succeeding inheritors of their holy sees; and they, lastly, upon us: so as never man could show a more certain and exquisite pedigree from his great-grandfather, than we can from the acknowledged bishops of king Henry's time, and thence upwards to hundreds of generations.

I confess, indeed, our archbishops and bishops have wanted some Aaronical accoutrements; gloves, rings, sandals, mitres, and pall, and such other trash: and our inferior orders have wanted greasing and shaving, and some other pelting ceremonies. But let C. E. prove these essential, which we want; or those acts and forms not essential, which we have; *Et Phyllida solus habeto.*

In the mean time, the Church of England is blessed with a true clergy, and glorious; and such a one as his Italian generation

m Quis ignorat Cathol., &c. et similiter ordinatos vere esse Ordinatos, quando Ordinator [hæreticus] vere Episcopus fuerat et adhuc erat, saltem quantum ad characterem? Bellar. de Rom. Pont. l. iv. c. 10. [Ingolst., 1596, t. 1. p. 1004.]

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may impotently envy and snarl at, shall never presume to compete with, in worthiness and honour. And, as doctor Taylor, that courageous martyr, said at his parting, "Blessed be God for holy matrimony."

SECTION XVIII.

My caviller purposely mistakes[n] my rule of Basil the Great, and my text of the great apostle.

While from both I resolve thus, "I pass not what I hear men or angels say, while I hear God say, *Let him be the husband of one wife;*" he will needs so construe it, as if I took this of St. Paul's for a command, not for an allowance: as if I meant to imply from hence, that every bishop is bound to have a wife.

Who is so blind as the wilful? Their Leo calls these words a preception[o]: I did not. If he knew any thing, he could not be ignorant that this sense is against the stream of our Church; and no less than a Grecian error.

Who knows not the extremes of Greece and Rome; and the track of truth betwixt them both? the Greek Church saith, "He cannot be in holy orders that is not married:" the Romish Church saith, "He cannot be in holy orders that is married:" the Church reformed says, "He may be in holy orders that is married, and convertibly."

Some good friends would needs fetch us into this idle Grecism, and to the society of the old Frisons[p], and if St. Jerome take it aright, of Vigilantius; Espencæus, and Bellarmine, and our Rhemists free us.

There is no less difference betwixt them and us, than betwixt *may* and *must, liberty* and *necessity*. If then, *Let him be the husband of one wife* argue that a bishop may be a married man, I have what I would; and pass not for the contrary from men and angels.

We willingly grant[q], with Luther, that this charge is negative. *Non velut sanciens dicit,* saith Chrysostom. But this negative charge implies an affirmative allowance: we seek for no more.

As for the authorities, which my detector hath borrowed of his uncles of Rheims, they might have been well spared.

He tells us St. Jerome says, *Qui unam habuerit; non, habeat:*

[n] Refut. pp. 90, 91.

[o] Leo. Ep. 87. Tam sacra semper habita est ista Præceptio. [Leo. Mag. Opp. Paris, 1675. t. i. p. 401.]

[p] Espenc. lib. i. de Contin. c. 1.

[q] Refut. pp. 91, 92.

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"He who hath had one wife; not, he that hath one." I tell him St. Paul saith, *εἴ τις ἐστὶν, If any man be the husband of one wife,* Tit. 1, 6; not, "If he have been." Let St. Chrysostom[s] therein answer Jerome, and Epiphanius, and all other pretended opposites: *Obstruere prorsus intendit hæreticorum ora, qui nuptias damnant, &c.* "He purposed in this to stop the mouths of heretics, that condemned marriage; shewing, that that estate is faultless, yea, so precious, that with it a man might be advanced to the holy episcopal chair." Thus he.

Whom their learned bishop Espencæus seconds[t]; and by the true force of the text, cleareth this sense against all contradiction. *Nec enim Paulini de Episcopis, &c.* "For," saith he, "those places of St. Paul, concerning bishops, priests, and deacons, cannot be so eluded, as that they do only belong to men that have been sometimes married, and are now widowers and single: but the text doth plainly note out husbands, and those that are now found in the present estate of marriage; which is implied, both by the word *esse,* and by *unius uxoris vir;* that is, *having one wife,* not, as some have understood it, "which hath had one:" for, as St. Chrysostom hath noted, the apostle would, by the society of marriage and priesthood, stop the mouths of heretics that condemned marriage; whereto add, that the apostle, amongst the virtues of a bishop, reckons up this, that he doth *govern his own house well,* not, that he did govern it." Thus he.

Unto which, let me yet adjoin this other consideration, that the apostle describes what manner of wife a bishop should have; which as in other professions he hath not done, so in this would have been useless, if he had only aimed at an estate past, and not present. Where it is a cunning trick of the Rhemists, and their Vulgar, instead of *their wives,* to read, "the women;" quite beside the scope and context of the apostle.

As to the same purpose, whereas their Leo, in the forecited epistle, says, that this precept of a bishop to be the husband of one wife was always so sacred, *ut etiam de muliere sacerdotis eligenda eadem intelligeretur servanda conditio,* "that the same condition is to be understood of her that is to be chosen for the wife of the priest;" Bellarmine and his mates would needs face us out, that the copies are corrupted; and contends to have

[s] In i. Tit. Homil. 2. [*ἐπιστομίζει τοὺς αἱρετικοὺς τοὺς τὸν γάμον διαβάλλοντας.*]
[t] Esp. ubi. supra.

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it read *sacerdotis eligendi;* "of the priest to be chosen," not, "of the wife:" whom our industrious and worthy Doctor James hath refelled, both by the press and the pen; by the Cologne edition, and manuscript authority.

As for that he cites[u] from Jerome against Vigilantius, he might have found the salve together with the wound. Our Rhemists clear us from the imputation of his opinion.

For the rest, nothing is more plain than that our apostle, according to the just interpretation of Chrysostom, Theodoret, Theophylact, and others, alludes to the loose fashion, as of the Greeks, so especially of the Jews, with whom polygamy and remarriages, after unjust divorces, were in ordinary use. These, the apostolical spirit finds unfit for the man of God, whom he therefore charges to be only *the husband of one wife.*

Neither doth it argue too much wit in my refuter to bring[x] two Fathers upon the stage for his purpose, and then to set them together by the ears with each other: Ambrose, I mean, and Jerome: who, in this which he cites them for, confute one another: Jerome, though otherwise a back-friend to wedlock, censuring the opinion of Ambrose, as savouring too strongly of Cainism and superstition.

However, even the more vehement of the two out of this place doth hold marriage compatible with holy orders, which is the only thing I required. So as still[y], "this one word shall confirm me against all impure mouths:" impure, not for preferring continency, as my caviller will take it; but for depraving of marriage by the foul titles of fleshliness and sensuality, such as his own; a worse we need not.

Neither doth St. Ambrose at all control me herein[z], while he teacheth that the apostle "doth not here invite us to beget children in the priesthood:" *habentem enim dixit filios, non facientem.* We did not challenge hence any command: we challenge an allowance; which we have, and proclaim. That I may not say, some copies of Ambrose run, according as I have learned of our eminent doctor Fulke, *habentem filios, aut facientem;* "having children, or begetting them:" the difference is not worth standing for: let it pass after his own reading: I could stop his mouth with the ignenuous answer of his Espencæus[a]: "*Habentem enim*, &c. for he said, 'Having children, not beget-

[u] Refut. pp. 92, 93. [x] Refut. pp. 94, 95. [y] Refut. p. 95.
[z] Ibid. [a] Espenc. l. Præcit.

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ting them;' *Debellatum hic esset*, &c. This field were won, if either this were the text, and not the gloss; or they that thus interpret it were apostles, as they are not." Thus their own bishop. But I need not call for any aid. The words of Ambrose do plainly drive against an invitation or command; which we do willingly disclaim.

Section XIX.

How unhappy is this man, that still shoots his arrows quite beside the butt[b]! He proves, forsooth, with great zeal, that the fathers never understood a positive command in our apostle's words; which I never thought so much as in dream: and then he bends his forces against bigamy; which I nowhere avouched. The man of valour loves to play his prizes alone.

"Here is no command then," saith he, "but a permission." How much are we bound to him for this favour! "Permission!" Thus much he, with his holy father, yields to their stews.

No, here is a direct allowance: *Let him be the husband of one wife;* not, "He may be so."

"But this was only for a time," he saith, "because of the paucity of single clergymen." Let him show me the apostle's limitation, and I am satisfied: otherwise, this misgrounded conceit, what countenance soever it may find in a private human authority, shall pass with us as a gloss of Bordeaux, that mars the text[c].

But how shamelessly, how fraudulently, how like himself, doth my refuter cite Chrysostom's *Castigat impudicos*, &c.? "He checketh the incontinent," saith the Father[d], "while he permitteth them not, after their second marriages, to be preferred to the government of the Church, and dignity of pastors:" and there my refuter stops, with "So he;" whereas, if he had gone forward, the place had answered him and itself. "For," saith Chrysostom, "he which is found not to have kept his benevolence towards his wife, which is gone from him[e], how should he be a good teacher to the Church?" plainly showing us, that he intends this to those unchaste husbands, which, after an unjust divorce of their former wives, have married also a second; not after the death of the first.

The like priestly fidelity he useth in the place of Chrysostom,

[b] Refut. p. 96. [c] Refut. p. 96. [e] The word is τῇ ἀπελθούσῃ; by them translated falsely *defunctum*.
[d] Chrysost. in Tit. Hom. 2. [τοὺς ἀσελγεῖς κολάζων καὶ οὐκ ἀφιεὶς, &c.]

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Hom. 2. upon Job. The poor man had taken up some scraps of quotations upon trust, having never seen the authors: for Chrysostom never wrote any Homilies upon the book of Job; only he hath five Homilies of the Patience of Job, whereof this cited is the second: wherein his *errori ignoscebat* hath reference rather to *sine crimine*, which he opposeth to *irreprehensibiles*, than to *vir unius uxoris*, as the sequel plainly shows.

As for bigamy, it is out of our way; but since his loquacity will needs rove thither[f], let him show, that, before Montanus infected the world with a prejudice against second marriages after decease, they were held unlawful for any calling or person, and we will grant him clamorous to some purpose.

To prove this opinion and practice of the Church, like a wise master, he brings in[g] Tertullian's authority in his book which he wrote in the time of his heresy[h], while he was over the ears in Montanism: where he tells us he hath known some ejected for second marriages. But if he had ever read the book following, of Monogamy, he might have found his Tertullian, then Montanizing, to upbraid the true and catholic Church, which he calls *Psychicos*, with the usual practice and allowance of the second marriages of their bishops. *Quot enim et digami*, &c.[i] "For how many bishops are there amongst you twice married!"

But who ever was matched with so vain a babbler? I proved from St. Paul, that a bishop might have one wife: he proves, by Councils and Fathers, that he may not have two. It is pity that his masters, the Jesuits, have no more trees for him to set with the roots upward. Any thing, rather than to weary the world with this foolish clacking.

Out of this indiscreet and odious verbosity, lest he should want noise, he stumbles upon the Council of Constantinople[k] before it come in his way; and spends a whole leaf only to tell us that he will talk of it hereafter. Hereafter he shall receive answer enough. What needs this disorderly anticipation?

To conclude then, this place of our apostle stands for us un-

[f] Refut. p. 97. [g] Refut. p. 98.

[h] Tert. Exhort. ad Castit. c. 7.

[i] Quot enim et digami præsident apud vos, insultantes utique apostolo, &c.! [quosdam memini digamos loco dejectos] Tert. de Monogamia, c. 12. Miror te unum protraxisse in medium, cum omnis mundus his ordinationibus plenus sit. Non dico de presbyteris; ad episcopos venio; quos si sigillatim voluero enumerare, tantus numerus congregabitur, ut Ariminensis Synodi multitudo superetur.—Her. ad Ocean. de Carterio Hisp. Ep. digamo, &c.

[k] Refut. p. 99.

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shaken by any the impotent blasts of his frivolous elusions; and shall warrant us against earth and hell, that a bishop may be the husband of one wife.

Section XX.

My next place[l], of the honourableness of marriage amongst all, he smooths over with a pretended concession: professing, with Fulgentius and Jerome, to give all high titles to that state; only preferring the rule of a better life: praising marriage; but more extolling virginity.

But who ever made the comparison? These are fair nets to catch fools. While he heaps up all the reproachful terms that spite can devise against the very state of marriage in some callings, not so much as prejudiced by vow; how doth he grant marriage honourable amongst all? If the comparison be the matter he stands upon, let him say, "Marriage is good and lawful for all conditions; virginity is better;" he shall have no adversary.

And whereas, to call him to reckoning for arrearages, he turned off this place, when it was[m], with a scoff out of Bellarmine, that marriage is honourable amongst all, yet not between father and daughter, &c.; the man alluded sure to their great and good Alexander the Sixth, and his chaste Lucrece, of whom he knows the riddle,

Filia, Sponsa, Nurus[n].

For us, that it is honourable in all estates of men by apostolical warrant, is sufficient assurance, that to no calling or estate it can be dishonourable and unlawful.

But, to untie Bellarmine's trifling knot: I say, marriage is honourable, *ἐν πᾶσι*, but not *πάντων πρὸς πάσας*: *in all*, but not "between all;" that is, every man may marry with a woman, but not with any woman whatsoever; as with his mother, or sister. So father and daughter may marry; but not one the other.

See now what a worthy mess of sophistry is laid in St. Paul's dish by these carvers; and how easily overturned: so as I might very well proclaim to all the world, which I do now confidently

[l] Refut. pp. 100, 101. [m] Refut. p. 13.

[n] Here lies Lucrece, in name; Thais in life:
The same pope's daughter, leman, and his own son's wife.
[Conditur hoc tumulo Lucretia nomine, sed re
Thais, Pontificis filia, sponsa, nurus.]

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second, "that, if God might be judge of this controversy, it were soon at an end."

If my refuter make faces at this[o], their whole school shall bear me out in it. *Et sane communis est Scholæ resolutio*, &c. "And in truth it is," saith their Espencæus[p], "the common resolution of the school, that, if we insist only in those things which were spoken by Christ and written by the apostles in the canon of the New Testament, secluding the laws of the Church, holy orders, neither as orders nor as holy, are any hinderances of matrimony." Thus he. And said I any more? any other?

By their confession then[q], God never imposed this law. My proof was, that even in the time of that legal strictness, he allowed wedlock to the ministers of his sanctuary. Herein, how am I refuted? "If he mean," saith my detector, "that, for purity and perfection of life, the Law of Moses was more strict than the Gospel, the untruth is notorious." To which he adds, out of Jerome, that the greater perfection of the evangelical sacrifice exacteth greater holiness; and concludes, that "the permission of wives in the Aaronical priesthood argues evidently the imperfection of that Law." So he. Surely, God wanted this counsellor upon Mount Sinai. He could have advised him better rules of his miscontrived priesthood!

Would my refuter make himself so ignorant, as not to know, that, notwithstanding the rather greater perfection of morality required under the Gospel, yet that Levitical law placed impurity in many of those creatures and actions wherein the evangelical findeth none? Did not the touch of some vessels or garments make a man legally unclean? Did not the lawful act of conjugal benevolence? Did not the accidents of the holiest childbed carry in them an expiable impurity? If he be not a Jew, he will not say it is still thus under the Gospel.

How justly, therefore, might I infer, that if our holy God, unto whose wisdom it seemed good to stand, of old, upon such points of outward uncleannesses, did, notwithstanding, allow wedlock to his priesthood; much more, at least no less, under the Gospel, doth he allow it, when as all those imputations of impurity are vanished.

SECTION XXI.

I produced the testimony of their pope, their cardinal, their

[o] Refut. p. 102.
[p] Espenc. l. i. de Cont. c. 3. Cajet. Opus. de Castit.
[q] Refut. pp. 102, 103.

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doctor[r]. Basil's rule is a sure one, that the witnesses of enemies are most convictive.

Their cardinal was Panormitan; their pope, Pius the Second; their doctor, Gratian.

For Panormitan, my refuter likes his words so well, that, like a saucy fellow, he dare pull off his red hat, and trample it in the floor: denying his cardinalship, and charging him "with participation of the schism."

But, first, he cannot, I hope, deny him to have been their abbot, then their archbishop. As for his red hat, it never came from Wittenberg nor Geneva: it was of their own dyeing. "Felix, the false pope," he says, "gave it him."

Reader, the famous Council of Basil, consisting of no less than four hundred reverend persons, cardinals, archbishops, bishops, doctors, gathered and allowed, at first, by pope Martin, then by his successor Eugenius the Fourth, afterwards was, upon some politic considerations, called off by Eugenius. The fathers of the council, finding their own strength, stood upon the right of their superiority, and, as they well might, censured the pope. He proceeded to obstinacy. Those brave spirits, upon ripe consideration, justly deposed him. In the room of this Eugenius, otherwise called Gabriel Condelmerius, was, by just number of voices, elected Amadeus, the devout duke of Savoy, and named Felix the Fifth, a man too good for that see, neither had he ever any so great blemish in all his life as the name of a pope. Volaterran can tell us what a kennel of hounds he showed to the ambassadors; namely, whole tables of poor souls daily fed by him. All histories speak of his devotion and piety. This man, called from his intended retiredness, must carry the keys. He makes choice of archbishop Panormitan for one of his cardinals. What offence is here?

"But he was a false pope:"—If the Council of Basil were a true council, then was Felix a true pope. It is in my reader's choice, whether he will believe four hundred divines, representing the whole Church, or a pope's parasite.

"But Panormitan died in the schism against Eugenius:"—The world knows, that the greatest blot Panormitan ever had was his violent plea for Eugenius, against the bishop of Argens, against eloquent Segovius, against the whole stream of that council. This is the thank he now carries away: *Felix scelus virtus vocatur.*

[r] Refut. pp. 103, 104.

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If Eugenius had not dealt underhand with the dauphin of France, and Frederic of Austria, then ambitious of the empire, and tried all his wits both to make new cardinals and to divert the neutrals, Eugenius had not been *felix;* and *Felix* had been still Eugenius, the true and undoubted successor of Peter.

However, if these points should be strictly stood upon, Rome would be at a loss, which many a time hath been to seek for her head.

But what though it were granted that Panormitan was cardinalated by an intruding pope, can this call down the authority of his judgment and writings? especially those which he wrote before he was cardinal or archbishop, being only abbot: and yet may be cited by us under the name of cardinal: as Bellarmine's dictates and composures, elder than his red hat, yet are fathered upon that title.

Once, this I am sure of, that cardinal Bellarmine[s] doubts not to style Panormitan a catholic and learned doctor. This is the man that stands with his hat off to this worshipful clerk of Douay; and tells him, that continency is not of the substance of order, nor by divine law annexed to it; whereto he shuffles out a miserable and desperate answer, as we shall see in the sequel.

But, in the mean time, see the cunning of my catholic caviller. This is not the sentence I stood upon, of Panormitan: it was not this whereto I proclaimed mine *Oyez;* but another, which he slily smothers; not daring so much as to repeat it, lest his Romanizing, popular, ignorant readers should hear and see and smell, that the sacred celibate of priests did stink, an hundred years before Luther's time. I will therefore here supply for him; and hoping he will in his next take notice of the sentence, will represent it here again.

The words are these[t]: *Melius foret, et pro bono et salute animarum salubrius, si et uniuscujusque voluntati relinqueretur; ita, ut non valentes aut non volentes continere, possint contrahere: quia, experientia docente, experimur contrarium effectum*

[s] Bell. de Cleric. lib. i. c. 19. Catholicus alioqui et doctus author. [Ingolst. 1596. t. i. p. 1617.]

[t] Abb. Panorm. de Cleric. Conjugat. cap. *Cum olim.* [Sed credo pro bono et salute animarum—ut volentes continere et magis mereri relinquerentur voluntati eorum, &c.—non valentes autem continere possint contrahere, quia experientia docente contrarius prorsus effectus sequitur ex illa lege continentiæ; cum hodie non vivant spiritualiter nec sint mundi sed maculantur illicito coitu cum eorum gravissimo peccato ubi cumpropriauxore esset castitas.—Lugd. 1578. t. iii. p. 16.]

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sequi ex illa lege continentiæ; cum hodie plerique non vivant spiritualiter, nec sint mundi, sed emaculentur illicito coitu cum ipsorum gravissimo peccato; ubi, cum propria uxore esset castitas. That is, "It were better, and more wholesome for the good and salvation of souls, if it were left to every man's will; so as they, which either cannot or will not contain, might marry: for we find by experience a contrary effect to follow upon that law of continency; since the greatest part" of our priests "at this day live not spiritually, neither are chaste, but are defiled with unlawful copulations, not without their most heinous sin; whereas, with their own wives it should be chastity." Thus he.

A sentence worthy of that epiphonema of mine, "Is this a cardinal, think you, or a Huguenot?"

With this my detector deals, as their inquisition doth with a misnamed heretic: he chokes it up in secret; or if he bring it forth, it is not without a gag in the mouth. All his answer is, "We tie not ourselves to every man's opinion;" and, "This sentence is censured by Bellarmine as erroneous:" as if Panormitan were every body, and Bellarmine an oracle. It is enough for us, that one of their own greatest, learnedest, zealousest prelates justifieth our marriages, and wisheth them in use rather than their continency.

To that other testimony of Panormitan, he answers[u] by a grant, yielding us freely, that "if we take divine law for that which is expressly determined in scripture, it must needs be said, that there is no evident proof set down of continency in ecclesiastical men by the apostles; yet, that it is so insinuated, and the observation of it hath been so ancient, as Bellarmine noteth, that it may be truly termed *apostolical*[x]." Thus he.

And even for this are we beholden to him: all his friends would not have been so liberal: his Joannes Major, his Clictovæus, his Torrensis, and all their rigorous clients would not have said so. As, on the other side, the old gloss was not so wise, that could only say, (which is now expunged,) *Apostoli docuerunt exemplo;* "The apostles taught this by their example."

But what are these so pregnant insinuations? Good wits have found them out.

One was that of Inocentius II,[y] "that these men are the vessels and temples of God: therefore they may not *cubilibus et immunditiis servire,* serve for chambering and wantonness."

[u] Refut. p. 107. [x] Refut. p. 105. [y] Decret. p. 1. Dist. 28.

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Ywis, no layman is such: therefore, he may be allowed to be filthy!

Another was, of Franc. Torrensis: *Take heed, lest your hearts be oppressed with surfeiting and drunkenness, and cares of this life*, Luke xxi. 34: whereof bishop Espencæus is so ashamed, that he answers it with an *absit!* "God forbid," saith he[z], "that we should think, that the Lord, which is the author and sanctifier of marriage, should hold it in the same rank with surfeiting and drunkenness."

Another was of the same author: *teaching us to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts*, Tit. ii. 12: "us, of the clergy:" belike the rest need not[a]! And who knows not the witty and learned insinuations of their good Siricius, *Those that are in the flesh cannot please God!*

These, and such like, are the forcible insinuations of this imposed continency; which even very boys and idiots can hiss out of the schools.

SECTION XXII.

From Panormitan, he descends to my alleged Gratian[b]; who, because he speaks these words, by way of explication, in a continued tenor with a sentence of Austin, is, to my mortal sin, cited by me as speaking from Austin.

The position and the inference of the words is such as might deceive any eye that would trust a Gratian. What might the price be, trow we, of such a crime in the apostolic chamber? In my next shrift he shall hear, *mea culpa*.

The words are Gratian's, that *copula sacerdotalis vel consanguineorum*, "the marriage," or, as this clerkly grammarian translates it, the carnal copulation, "of priests or kinsfolk, is not forbidden by any legal, evangelical, or apostolical authority; but by ecclesiastical law it is forbidden." We could not hire a proctor to say more.

But herein C. E. hath detected two foul faults of the citation: the one, that I trusted his Gratian so far, as to make him speak out of Austin; which I trust a little holy water may wash off: the other, that I concealed the marriage of kinsfolk within the

[z] Espenc. de Cont. l. i. c. 2.

[a] Si quis legitimam commixtionem et filiorum procreationem, corruptelam et coinquinationem vocat, ille habet cohabitatorem dæmonem apostatam.—Ignat. Epist. ad Philadelph. [*ἐάν τις φθορὰν δὲ καὶ μολυσμὸν καλῇ τὴν νόμιμον μίξιν καὶ τὴν τῶν παίδων γένεσιν——ὁ τοιοῦτος ἔνοικον ἔχει τὸν δράκοντα τὸν ἀποστάτην.* Ed. Gen. 1623. p. 99.]

[b] Refut. p. 105.

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prohibited degrees; "which," saith he[c], "although only forbidden by ecclesiastical law, yet dares not M. Hall, I think, transgress it; so as this law hath greater force than he supposeth it to have." So he.

Plainly, my refuter knows not what he saith: else he would never thus palpably plead against himself. For what ever thing was there, in all the constitutions of his church, more subject to variation, than the legal supputation of the forbidden degrees? which was, a long time, confined to the third degree inclusively; another while, extended to the fourth; and, sometime, to the seventh. Let him herein reconcile his pope Nicholas and Gregory with pope Innocent: whereof the one left all free, that were without the pale of the fourth degree; the other restrained all to the seventh. And when he finds an unalterableness in the determination of these degrees, let him plead for an equally-fatal necessity of his ecclesiastical continence. In the mean time, let him take it patiently, to be beaten with his own rod.

No divine law then, he grants, hath enjoined this celibate; but an ecclesiastical. What is this other than I said? "God never imposed this law of continency: who then? the Church[d]." And why may not I go on to ask, Whether "a good wife would gainsay what her husband willeth?" Flourishing will not answer this. All the praises of beauty and fidelity which are given to the true Church argue Rome to be the false.

Whereas, therefore, the priest shuts up thus bravely[e]; "And this minister, who would make the one to gainsay the other, should bring some place or sentence to show the same; which he may chance to do the next morning after the Greek Kalends; or else never avouch so unchristian a paradox:" He shall understand that his Greek Kalends are past.

The Spirit of God saith, *A bishop may be the husband of one wife:* the Church of Rome says, "A bishop may not be the husband of any wife at all." Whether is this a contradiction?

The Spirit of God says, *Marriage is honourable amongst all men:* the Church of Rome says, "Marriage is dishonourable to some."

[c] Refut. p. 106.

[d] Espencæ. ex Test. Abb. [de Contin.] l. i. c. 3. "Faceret igitur Ecclesia, boni medici instar, medicinam, quæ obsit magis quam prosit, tollentis:" "The Church should therefore do like a good physician, in removing the medicine, which he sees to do more harm than good." [Paris. 1619. p. 666.]

[e] Refut. p. 107.

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The Spirit of God says, *To avoid fornication, let every man have his wife:* the Church of Rome, like a quick-hu swife, says "Some order of men shall not have a wife, though to avoid fornication."

Let my mass-priest show these to be no contradictions; which he may chance to do at the Greek Kalends: or else, grant this to be neither paradox nor unchristian.

SECTION XXIII.

From cardinal Panormitan, I ascended to pope Pius the Second; whom I ushered in with this preface: "Let a pope himself speak out of Peter's chair, Pius the Second, as learned as hath sat in that room this thousand years."

Two things my caviller snarls at in the preface; two, in the auhority istelf[f].

My first manifest untruth is, that Pius the Second spake this as out of the chair. A witless misprision. I hope he sat in Peter's chair that spake it: if he spake it not as from the chair, I care for no more. Is not this sufficient to win respect from a catholic priest? Otherwise, whether it were stool or chair, or if a chair, whether the consistorial or the porphyry chair, wherein he sits before his first triumph, *tanquam in stercoraria*[g], it is all one to me. Themselves must first agree what it is to speak as from the chair, ere I can affirm that Pius the Second so spake this. *Id populus curet:* I referred the chair to the man, not to the speech. In the mean time, C.E. is not so good a groom to the chair as Gregory of Valence, who attributes infallibility to a pope's sentence, though it be *sine cura et studio*[h].

My second wrong, is, "the superlative lashing," so he calls it, of other popes' learning, in comparison of this. I cry him mercy; I did not know what sin it was to commend a pope's learning. That is not it, I confess, that carries away the crown and the keys. But the comparison offended. Perhaps C. E. hath known that chair more learnedly furnished. It may be, he thinks of Boniface the Ninth, called before Peter de Thomacellis, a Neapolitan, who could neither write nor sing[i]; hardly understanding the propositions of the advocates in the consistory: insomuch as, in his time, *Inscitia, fere venalis facta fuit in ipsa curia;* "Ignorance

[f] Refut. p. 108.
[g] Lib. Sacr. Cerem.
[h] Vid. Rom. Irrecon.
[i] Theod. Niem. lib. ii. c. 6. [scribendi atque canendi imperitus.]

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was grown valuable." Or it may be he thinks of those ancient ferule-fingered boy-popes; one of the Benedicts, a grave father of ten years old: or John the thirteenth, an aged stripling of nineteen. Or perhaps he alludes to those learned times within my compass, which were acknowledged in the council of Rheims; where, when offer was made of requiring the pope's judgment, it was publicly replied, that besides the exposedness of that city to sale, *Romæ jam nullum fere esse, qui literas didicerit;* "There was scarce a man at Rome that could spell his letters."

Heu, quam perfatuæ sunt tibi, Roma, togæ!

If I should here add, out of Alphonsus de Castro[k], that some popes were such great clerks, *ut grammaticam penitus ignorent*, "that they had no skill in grammar," C. E. would tell me, that my book is not of a corrected edition, though it was printed at Cologne. Such bran hath been cast out in their later sifting and shifting of authors.

Section XXIV.

In the authority itself, his cavils are childish.

Where Pius said, *Sacerdotibus, magna ratione, sublatas nuptias; majore, restituendas videri;* "Marriage, upon good reason, was forbidden to priests; but, upon greater reason, seems fit to be restored:" my first fault, is[l], that I turn *Sacerdotes*, "the clergy," instead of "priests;" which word is of a larger extent, including also bishops. The silly man sees not that I translated it to his advantage, against my own: for every *sacerdos* is *clericus;* not every *clericus, sacerdos.* Very frequently are bishops comprehended under the name of *sacerdotes* as well as of *clerus;* and no less usually, under the name of *clerici* the superior orders are not comprehended. He is not worthy to write himself priest that understands his orders no better.

My second error is, that I turned the last clause of the sentence, "is to be restored:" whereas the words are, *restituendas videri.* Here could be no fraud, while I set the Latin words in the margin. The man thinks of his δοκεῖ μὲν, ἔστι δὲ οὐ: or his *Videtur quod sic, probatur quod non:* but, if his grammar had not been ill learned, he had known that *videri* doth not always signify a doubtful probability, but sometimes a certain evidence;

[k] Alphons. contra Hæres. l. i. cap. 4. edit. Colon. ann. 1543. [l] Refut. p. 109.

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as, *Visum est Spiritui Sancto et nobis;* and, *Qui videbantur columnæ:* or, if his logic had fully taught him the distinctions of *sunt* and *videntur*, this quarrel had been spared: this "seeming" was "being." Or if this lawless lurker had ever had any taste of the civil or canon law, he might have been able to construe that maxim, *Quod quis per alium facit, per se facere videtur;* and that judged case, *Qui nomen debitoris legatum vivens exegerit, legatum ademisse videtur.*

In this style spake this learned pope, which my unlearned adversary cannot reach unto. For if Pius or Sylvius may have leave to comment upon himself, when the question was of suffecting Amadeus, duke of Savoy, a married man, in the room of Eugenius, *Ex quo constat,* saith he, &c. "It is apparent, that, not only he which hath been married, but he that is married, may be assumed to the popedom:" and a little after, *Fortasse, pejus non esset, &c.* "And perhaps it were not worse if more priests had wives; for many would be saved in a married priesthood which now in a single priesthood are damned." He saith directly, *Damnantur,* "They are damned;" not, "They seem to be damned." And therefore, to prevent this real damnation, marriage is really to be restored to them; not that it should only seem to be restored.

To conclude, take *Videri* for bare "seeming," surely it must be construed *Videtur mihi;* "I, pope Pius, think or judge, that it were fit that priests should have the liberty of marriage restored again to them;" which, together with *sublatas,* implieth, that in former times priests were married, and, as the case now standeth, ought again so to be: which is the very state of this question which we avouch. And in his epistle to John Freünd, *Credimus te non insulso uti consilio;* "I think it is no ill counsel for thee, since thou canst not contain, to seek for a wife; although that should have been thought of before thou didst enter into holy orders: but we are not all gods, that we can foresee future things. Since it is come to this, that thou canst not resist the law of thy flesh, it is better for thee to marry than to burn." Thus he.

For which advice, doubtless, he found good cause in his own experience; who, having been employed formerly in this island of ours, left two bastards behind him: the one, begotten of an English woman; the other, of a Scottish: the one whereof he comments to his father Sylvius, a citizen of Syenna; the other, he confesses to his friend P. de Noxeto.

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But this indeed was before his priesthood. Afterwards, it is strange what he confesses of himself, in his 92d epistle: *Mihi, hercle, parum meriti est in castitate;* "I cannot boast of any merit in my chastity: for, to tell the truth, *Magis me Venus fugitat, quam ego illam horreo;* Venus doth rather fly from me, than I abhor it[l]." It was not, therefore, out of speculation but sense; not out of seeming, but certainty; that Sylvius passes his *restituendas videri*[m].

So now, to shut up this point, the blessed apostle St. Paul, and, in his attendance, Panormitan, Gratian, and Pius, in their clear suffrages for us, are fully acquitted from the vain cavils of my detector: and God is on my side; the Church of Rome on his. Let sincerity judge which scale of the balance is heavier.

Section XXV.

From the lawfulness of our marriages, I descended to the antiquity.

Where my refuter takes an ignorant exception[n]. I said, "Some things have nothing to plead for them but time. Age hath been an old refuge for falsehood." Then I lay for my foundation Tertullian's rule, "That which is first is truest[o]."

My detector finds here a flat contradiction; and cries out, "Do these men wake or sleep when they write?"

There are none of his wise friends which will not be ashamed of this gross stupidity. For whether of these two sentences can he dislike? and if both be allowable, how can they be contradictory? Neither am I his adversary herein, but Tertullian.

What surer way could there be than to control the pretences of a secondary antiquity by the first? And what contradiction is in this? The first is true: all under the first is obnoxious to error; the puisne posthumous antiquity hath been a refuge for falsehood: the primigenious antiquity, which proceeded from the Ancient of Days, is certain.

Let this trifler go learn to spell English ere he presume to divinity. This antiquity is the touch whereby we desire all truth to be tried, which easily finds all the gilded coins of Romish innovations shamefully counterfeit.

[l] [Ed. Basil. 1551. p. 579.]

[m] While he was cardinal, he had his concubine; to whom, at last, he gave threescore florins for her dowry. Epist. 361. [Ed. Bas. 1551. Epist. 347.]

[n] Refut. p. 110.

[o] Rectum est, quodcunque primum; adulterinum, quodcunque posterius.—Tert. de Præsc. [c. xxxi. Dominicum et verum quod sit prius traditum, id autem extraneum et falsum quod sit posterius immissum.]

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Not to go back so far as paradise, though I well might, where God made the first wedding in perfect innocence; I began with Moses and his Levitical brotherhood.

To which my refuter replies[p], that, "yet, in eating their paschal lamb, they had their loins girt." Justly concluded! All the Jews did eat the paschal lamb with their loins girt, for the expedition, or moment of their flight: therefore their priests and Levites did not converse with their wives! If his superiors of Douay do not blush at this logic, his wit and their shame are gone together.

But "they abstained," he saith, "from their wives while they did minister in the sanctuary." What if we yield this? Their ministration was by courses, and had intermissions. There is an holy and decent modesty in all those which are worthy to serve at the altar; which teacheth them to give God his due times with respect even of outward purity: which is all that Eusebius[q], by them mistranslated, and misalleged by him, requireth. But what will my refuter say to the high priest himself, which was bound, every day, to a morning and evening sacrifice, who was not yet restrained from a conjugal society? That bone hath troubled, blunted, and broken better teeth than his.

"But," saith he[r], "the figure of the eternal priesthood of Christ," to wit, "Melchisedec, is not read to have had any wife at all." What of this? He whom he prefigured was only a spiritual husband to his Church. If this man be not read to have had a wife, no more is he read to have had father or mother. Nay, he is read to have had neither. Why do they not thence infer, that priests ought to have neither; but to be begotten and born of angels, not of human kind? Which is as good for an inference, as that foppery is for a legendary fable, that Luther was begotten by an incubus. Yet had the literal, not mystical Melchisedec both father and mother: and if Shem were Melchisedec, as wiser men than mine adversary have upon good probabilities thought, he may pass, I hope, for a married man.

As for the perfection of the new law above the old, it only bars those institutions which had in them an imperfection, not those which God thought fit for paradise itself. So as, the practice of the Jewish Church, founded by God himself, is an all-sufficient warrant for the marriage of his evangelical ministers.

[p] Refut. p. 111.

[q] Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. l. i. c. 9. τοῖς ἱερωμένοις, i. *sacra facientibus*: they turn it, *sacratis*, &c.

[r] Refut. p. 112.

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Section XXVI.

From Moses and the prophets I descend to the apostles.

What did they? C. E. answers roundly[s], "They did not marry; and they who were married before did leave their wives."

I urge St. Paul's report of the rest of the apostles, and the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas; that they not only had wives, but carried them along in their travels, 1 Cor. ix. 5. He answers, "They were not wives; but other devout women, which followed them to administer maintenance to them." A likely tale, if they could all agree in it, that the apostles would cast off their own wives, and carry about strange women with them, upon whatever pretence! *Credat Judæus Apella: non ego.* Yet my shameless refuter cries out of my pride and ignorance in not allowing this; which he dares proclaim for the received exposition of all the fathers, and all that ever wrote in the Greek and Latin Church: when he knows that his Clement in his Recognitions[t], and his own pope in their canon law, hath expounded contrarily, of wives, not of strange women; Leo the Ninth[u], against the Epistle of Nicetas the abbot; where he directly affirms, that the apostles did carry about their wives: *Ut de mercede prædicationis sustentarentur ab iis;* "That they might be maintained by the reward of their preaching;" making the force of the word to lie in *circumducendi,* not *amplectendi.* Either therefore his pope errs in a deliberate exposition of scripture, or else I have not erred: and either his popes are no fathers, or C. E. hath no forehead.

Nothing can make the Rhemists' ἀδελφὴν γυναῖκα, *a sister, a woman,* not ridiculous: not that visor of age, which my refuter pleases to fasten upon it[x]. "There wants an article," he saith. Our apostle should have come to cardinal Bellarmine and him to learn when and where to use it.

That our last accurate translation of the English Bible hath *woman* in the margin is a poor advantage. Who seeth not that it is the manner of that exquisite edition to set all the idiotisms of either language and divers readings in the margin? Every schoolboy knows that the word signifies both. But whether of them is fit to be received into the text, our text itself shows.

How wittily is St. Paul's, *A woman, a sister,* paralleled with

[s] Refut. p. 112.

[t] Clem. Recognit. l. vii. [Col. Agr. 1569. p. 101,]

[u] Dist. 31. *Omnino.*

[x] Refut. p. 113.

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St. Peter's, *Viri Fratres; Men and brethren.* "Ye men, which are brethren," is a meet predication; but, "Ye sisters, which are women," is absurd. Neither doth St. Peter say ἀδελφοὶ ἄνδρες, "Brethren, men;" as St. Paul says, ἀδελφὴν γυναῖκα, *A sister, woman.*

As for the authority of Jerome, well may we appeal from his judgment as incompetent, whom his own doctors accuse as partial; and censure as μεμψίγαμον[y], if not μισόγαμον. Yet even he, against Helvidius, translates it, *Uxores circumducendi.*

For the rest, it is worth my reader's note, how the plagiary priest, having stolen this whole passage, as most of the rest, verbatim out of Bellarmine, yet overreaches his master[z]: for where Bellarmine says, *Ita fere omnes Græci et Latini;* "So almost all the Greek and Latin;" this Bayard dares say, "All, saving Clemens, as well Greek as Latin:" and when he hath done, names some, that say nothing of it at all, as Chrysostom: another, that in heresy speaks for him one where, another where against him; as Tertullian, who, being also himself a married priest, could say, in his exhortation, *Licebat et apostolis nubere, et uxores circumducere:* another, that grounds upon an evident misreading; as Ambrose: and, to make up the bulk, puts in St. Bede and St. Thomas parties to the cause; and then sings, *Iö pœan.*

It is well yet that he grants Clemens of Alexandria and St. Ignatius to be on our side for this interpretation: and when he hath done, he must be forced to yield us his pope Clement, pope Leo seconded by his Gratian, and Laurentius Valla, and others cited by Erasmus; insomuch as Espencæus himself grants herein, διαφωνίαν *veterum,* "a difference amongst the ancient[a]."

And if these had never been, the text clears itself. For not to enforce the word περιάγειν, *to lead about,* which implies a power over the party carried, the apostle speaks of a matter of charge to the Church by this circumduction. Now, that rich matrons should follow the apostles, and minister to them of their substance, was a matter of ease to the Church. Neither was this attendance for ministration so much an act of Cephas and the other apostles as a voluntary act of the women themselves.

To conclude, in this, the apostles' practice should have crossed their doctrine. For if St. Paul gave that charge, of being the

[y] A title given to Gregory also, in Apolog. Tumultuaria.
[z] Refut. p. 115. [a] Esp. l. de Cont.

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husband of one wife, on purpose, as Chrysostom saith[b], to stop the mouth of the enemies to marriage; how must this needs open them again, and breed a conceit of that impurity which St. Paul meant to oppose, that the apostles themselves, as ashamed of their wives, forsook them, and chose rather to be attended by strangers!

So as I must take leave to be ever in this heresy, that the apostles had wives, and carried them about.

Section XXVII.

But what boys' play is this, to give and take! Our doughty champion hath granted us Clement of Alexandria; and now he pulls him back again. "Clemens," saith he[c], "grants the apostles to have had wives; but he denies that they used them as wives;" cunningly dissembling that which Clemens said in the beginning of the same period; for "Peter and Philip," saith he, "did beget children," &c. How did Peter beget them, if he were not Peter when he begot them? In the time of their painful evangelical peregrinations they forbore perhaps: doth it therefore follow that they did always forget to be husbands? Whence, in all likelihood, had St. Peter his Petronella, if she were not born after he was Peter? Whence was that inscription on Pelagia's tomb, if we may believe Perionius[d], *Hic sita est sponsa Dionysii, Thomæ Apostoli filia:* "Here lies the wife of bishop Dionysius, daughter to Thomas the apostle?"

There is not, I grant, necessity in this proof: there is probability. It is therefore too boldly affirmed by my detector, that the apostles, after that public calling undertaken, used not their wives.

Is that of St. Ignatius nothing against him? *Opto Deo dignus*, &c. "I desire to be found worthy of God, as Peter and Paul, and the rest of the apostles which were married men; and not for lust's sake[e], but for propagation of posterity, enjoyed their wives." Thus he.

So much against C. E., that C. E. is no less against him. "The testimony of St. Ignatius," saith he, "is a mere forgery; easily answered." If Ignatius had either denied or disliked these

[b] Chrys, Hom. in Tit. præcitat. [in 1 Ep. Tim. c. 3. Hom. x.]

[c] Refut. p. 116.

[d] Cit. ab Espen. loco citato.

[e] Ignat. Ep. ad Philadelph. "non libidinis causa, sed posteritatis subrogandæ gratia, conjuges habuerunt."

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marriages, no man's word had been more authentic: now this clause hath made him falsified. He cannot, I hope, say that the sentence came out of our forge: we take him as we find him. Neither doth B. Espencæus, or any other ingenuous writer, take such exception; but finds the authority weighty. That more unlikely Epistle, which Ignatius wrote to St. John and the blessed Virgin, though palpably rejected by their own, is classical enough, when it may serve a Coccius, or Bellarmine[f], or a Pierre Cotton. But here the Epistle itself is not questioned; only this clause is bored in the ear. And why so? Forsooth, the ancient Greek copies have it not. Doubtless, the man hath vexed the old Greek manuscripts: but when he hath done, his own fellow shall give him the lie; who confesses it to be in all copies both Greek and Latin, old and new, while he saith[g], that those words '*Et alii apostoli, ex textu abradenda;*' "'And the other Apostles are to be razed out of the text." Or, if that will not serve, there is yet to be seen in Balliol College[h] in Oxford, an old copy of the age of seven hundred or eight hundred years, wherein the words are found; only the words "St. Paul and the other apostles" blurred: yet so, as they are still to be well discerned. If the Greek should want the clause, what were this? The first edition of Ignatius in Greek was 1558; as the centurists have noted: and how easy was it to leave out one sentence that seemed prejudicial!

Let him never cast this upon the Grecians: they never so excelled in this faculty of counterfeiting as the Romans. Greece, in this, must yield to Italy, however it pleases pope Gregory and cardinal Bellarmine herein only to give it superiority[i].

Amongst the rest, this very place puts me in mind of a memorable juggling trick of his fellows. The old Platina, printed at Paris by Francis Regnault, an. 1500, which I have seen, and all other old copies, read thus[k] of St. Luke; *Vixit annos* 84; *uxorem habens in Bithynia;* "Luke lived 84 years, having a wife

[f] Bell. tom. i. p. 837. [De Rom. Pont. l. ii. c. 31.]

[g] Margar. de la Bigne. Not. in Epist. ad Philadelph.

[h] [Through the kindness of the Master of Balliol I have examined this MS. and find erasures in the places which the bishop describes as "words blurred." The passage stands thus:

"Petr[s] et reliqui "

Apli, as abbreviated for *Apostoli*, can, I think, be made out, but not *Paulus*.]

[i] "Erat consuetudo Græcorum fere ordinaria corrumpendi libros."—Bell. l. iv. de Pont. c. 11. "Quoniam Romani sicut non acumina, ita nec imposturas habent."—Greg. l. v. Ep. 14. ad Noorsen.

[k] Platin. in Cleto. ad finem.

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in Bithynia." Now comes the Onuphrian edition, set forth at Cologne, an. 1600, from the shop of Maternus Colinus; and reads, *Uxorem non habens in Bithynia*; "Having not a wife in Bithynia:" with which authority, Espencæus himself was deceived; citing Jerome for it as the fountain, whence perhaps Platina might fetch it. But if my reader please to turn to that catalogue of famous writers[l], ascribed, not unjustly, to Jerome, there shall he find the very same cozenage. The words run so indeed in the Latin printed copies, but not acknowledged, not mentioned by Sophronius in the Greek translation: and Erasmus reading it either "having" or "not having," at last shuts up; *Hæc verba videntur adjecta; quandoquidem nec adduntur apud Sophronium, nec in exemplaribus emendatioribus*: "These words," saith Erasmus, "seem patched to the rest; since they neither are added in Sophronius nor in the better copies." Thus he. It was fit my reader should have a taste of the Roman integrity.

I alleged the learned cardinal Cajetan for the likelihood of St. Paul's marriage. Can my refuter deny this? The words are plain[m]: *Locus cogere videtur*; "The place seems to enforce it, not by demonstrative reason, but in all reasonable sense, that Paul had a wife." So he: which is all I contended for. If now he shall think to choke me[n] with a cross testimony of the same author, concerning St. Paul's not conversing with his wife after his apostleship; he may understand, that I well remember Cajetan to have been a Roman cardinal; and therefore, in some points, necessarily unsound: whose ingenuity yet in this business I have formerly showed.

Section XXVIII.

From the practice of the apostles, which is yet clear for us, we descended to their canons.

It troubles my refuter[o], that I say, the Romish Church fathers these upon the apostles; and that their Jesuit, Turrian, sweats to defend it; insinuating my contrary opinion: and yet that I cite them for myself. Whereas his wisdom might have considered, that their force is no whit less strong against them, notwithstanding our doubt or denial. For example: the Trent Canons roar terribly to them; to us, or the French, they are but as the popguns

[l] Hier. Catal. Script. Illustr. [Paris. 1706. tom. iv. pars ii. p. 164.]

[m] Cajet. Com. in Phil. c. iv. "Quia omnes Apostoli, exceptis Joanne et Paulo, uxores habuerunt."—Amb. &c.

[n] Refut. p. 117. [o] Refut. p. 118.

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of boys: we may cite these to them as Gospel; they may cite them to us as Alcoran.

By this it appears, how far, not only school-learning, but even logic, transcends this poor refuter's capacity; who could not distinguish between disputing *ad rem* and *ad hominem*.

What I said in my Epistle to my reverend and worthy friend Master Doctor James, the incomparably industrious and learned bibliothecary of Oxford, (a man, whom their Possevine thought so well of, that he hath handsomely stolen a book of his, and clapped it out for his own; a man, whom so base a tongue as my dectector's cannot disgrace,) I profess still: that I hold those canons of the apostles uncanonical.

And do I hold this alone? Doth not his pope Gelasius so? Doth not Isidore, bishop of Hispalis, so? Doth not Leo the Ninth so? Are not some[p] of them at pleasure rejected by Possevine, Baronius, Bellarmine?

Or, in a word, if they be the true issue of the apostles, are they accordingly respected and observed of the Roman Church? Doth not his Medina grant[q] to their shame, that the Latin Church scarce observes six or eight of them?

These canons then I do not hold apostolical; I do hold ancient, and not unworthy of respect; and such, as I wonder they have escaped the Roman purgations.

As for those other nine or ten noted counterfeits which I joined herewith for company in that Epistle, his shame would serve him to justify, if his leisure would; whereas, there is scarce one of them whom his own authors have not branded.

My refuter must have a fling. In an idle excursion[r], therefore, he unjustly rails on the protestant practice in rejecting those fathers for bastardy one while; whom, otherwhiles, they cite for current; when his own eminent impudency, in the very passage next going before, and in the next following, to go no farther, offends in the same kind.

The truth is, the protestants take liberty to refuse those fathers whom even ingenuous papists have censured as base, the papists take liberty, when they list, to reject the authority of those fathers whose truth they cannot deny. The instances hereof would be endless.

But with what face can any papist tax us for this, when all

[p] Can. 65, 67, &c.

[q] Mic. Med. de Sacr. Hom. Contin. l. v. [c. 105.] "Vix sex aut octo Latina Ecclesia nunc observat."

[r] Refut. pp. 120, 121. usque ad 125.

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the world may see above three hundred and twenty of their authors, whom, after the first allowance, they have either suppressed or censured? To their eternal and open conviction, Doctor James, whom they may revile but shall never answer, hath collected and published the names and pages.

Section XXIX.

Not to follow, therefore, this babbling vagary[s] of my adversary against Zuinglius, Luther, Musculus, Whitakers, (what puppy cannot bark at a dead lion?) we come close to the canon[t]: "That no bishop, presbyter, or deacon shall forsake or cast off his wife in pretence of religion or piety, upon pain of deposition."

Wherewith, how much my refuter is pressed, appears, in that he is fain, with Baronius, to avoid it, with, *Apocryphorum non est tanta authoritas;* "There is no so great authority in apocryphal canons."

Where is the man that, even now, upbraided us with the lawless rejection of ancient records; and, by name, would undertake to justify those whom my Epistle taxed for adulterine, whereof these canons of the apostles were a part? Now he is fain to change his note: *Apocryphorum non est tanta authoritas.* He hath cast off Ignatius already: anon, you shall find him rejecting Socrates, Sozomen, Nicephorus, Gratian, Sigebert, H. Huntingdon, and whom not? upon every occasion shamelessly practising that which he censures.

If I allege the Sixth General Council, that of Constantinople, proclaiming this sense truly apostolical, even the Sixth General Council is rejected, as neither Sixth, nor General, nor Council.

That this Apostolical Canon is bent against the denial of matrimonial conversation, is apparently expressed in those Canons of Constantinople; however the extent of it, in regard of some persons, is restrained. There is no way, therefore, to untie this knot but by cutting it: and my cavilling priest, with his Jesuits, may gnaw long enough upon this bone ere they suck in any thing from hence but the blood of their own jaws.

Any of those words, single, might be avoided; but, so set together, will abide no elusion: "Let him not, upon pretence of religion, eject his wife."

[s] Refut. pp. 126, 127.

[t] Apost. Can. 3. [*μέμνηται δὲ ὁ κανὼν καὶ ἐπισκόπων ἐχόντων γυναῖκας, ὅτι τότε ἀκώλυτον εἶχον —— τὸν πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας νόμιμον συζυγίαν*, &c.]

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The shift that C. E. borrows[u] from Bellarmine is gross, and such as his own heart cannot trust: "προφάσει εὐλαβείας," saith he; that is, "*prætextu cautionis;*" "in pretence of heediness." Look over all the copies; all interpretations of these canons; that of Dionysius Exiguus; that of Gentianus Hervetus; that of Caranza; that which Gratian, whom my either graceless or ignorant adversary dares name against me, citeth from hence: all of them run *prætextu religionis.*

How clear is that of their own law[x]! *Si quis docuerit sacerdotem*, &c. "If any man shall teach that a priest, under pretence of religion, may contemn his own wife, let him be accursed!"

And Zonaras, whom both our Junius and their Espencæus cite out of Quintinus's Exposition, is most clear: *Hoc enim videtur in calumniam fieri nuptiarum*, &c. "For this ejection," saith he, "would seem to be done in reproach of marriage; as if the matrimonial knowledge of man and wife caused any uncleanness." Thus he. Where it is plain that he takes it not of maintenance, but περὶ τῆς μίξεως, "of the conjugal act."

The necessity of which sense also is evicted by their own Espencæus[y], out of St. Chrysostom in his second Homily upon Titus.

And Balsamon no less directly: "Because," saith he[z], "before that law of Justinian, it was lawful for a man, upon any cause, to divorce his wife; therefore, the present canon gives charge, that it shall not be lawful for a bishop, priest, or deacon, upon pretence of piety, to put away his wife." Thus he.

From all which, it is not hard to see, that in those young days of the Church *the mystery of iniquity* began in this point to work: so as marriage, according to the apostle's prediction, began to be in an ill name; though the clear light of that primitive truth would not endure the disgrace.

So as, in all this, I have, both by Moses and the examples of that Levitical priesthood, by the testimony of the apostles, by their practice, by their anciently-reputed canons, and by the testimony of the agedest fathers, so made good the lawfulness and antiquity of the marriages of persons ecclesiastical, that I shall not need to fear a divorce, either from my wife or from the truth, in that my confident and just assertion.

[u] Refut. p. 128.

[x] Dist. 28. "sub obtentu religionis propriam uxorem contemnere."

[y] Espenc. l. i. de Cont. c. 4.

[z] In Canon. Apost. in Phot. in Nomocanon. [Bals. in Synod. vi. in Trullo, Can. lxxxvii.]

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THE SECOND BOOK.

Section I.

And now, since in this point we have happily won the day, less labour needs in the other[a]. It is safe erring with Moses and the prophets, with Christ and his apostles. Soon after, according to St. Paul's prophecy, spirits of errors were abroad; and whether out of the necessary exigence of those persecuted times, or out of an affectation to win favour and admiration in the eyes of Gentilism, virginity began to raise up itself in some private conceits upon the ruins of honest wedlock: neither is it hard to discern by what degrees; yet never with such absolute success, as to proceed to any law of restraint. I do not therefore feign to myself, as mine idle refuter, golden ages of mirth and marrying[b] under those tyrannous persecutions; but in those bloody ages, I do avouch to him and the world, an immunity from the tyrannous yoke of forced continency. This if he could have disproved by any just instances, he had not given us words.

If he be angry[c] that I said, some of the pretended epistles of his ancient popes to this purpose are palpably foisted; let him fasten where he lists; if he have not an answer, let me have the shame. In the mean time, it is enough to snarl where he dares not bite.

That which I cited from Origen, advising the sons of clergymen not to be proud of their parentage, he cannot deny; he can cavil at. "The same persuasion," saith he[d], "might be made to St. Peter's daughter, (as many are of opinion that he had one;) yet will it not follow that he knew his wife after he was an apostle." So he. But what needs this parenthesis, if the man be true to his own authors? Did we devise the story of Petronilla? Did we invent the passage of her suitor, Flaccus? of her fever, the cure whereof her father denied? of her epitaph engraven in marble, by her father's own hand; *Aureæ Petronillæ*,

[a] Refut. p. 130.

[b] Though Amram the Levite, father to Moses, married in the heat of Pharaoh's persecution; and David did the like in Saul's.

[c] Refut. p. 131.

[d] Refut. pp. 131, 132, 133.

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dilectissimæ filiæ; "To my dear and precious Petronilla, my most beloved daughter;" found by Paul the First[e]? Are not these things reported by their own Volaterranus[f], Petr. Natalis[g], Beda, Ussuardus, Sigebertus[h], Platina[i]? Still, where is the man that cries out of rejecting authorities in other cases allowed? Either, then, let him give the lie to his histories, or else let him compute the time when Flaccus, the Roman count, was a suitor to her; and see if he be not forced to grant, that she was begotten of St. Peter after his apostleship. And so, for aught he knows, might those sons be, whom Origen thus dehorteth. This man was not their midwife. The place of Origen[k], which he cites to the contrary, he took up somewhat on trust. Let him go and inquire better of his creditor; by the same token that in the Homily of Origen, whither he sends us, he shall find nothing but Balaam's ass; an object fit for his meditation.

As for that parcel of the testimony which he saith[l] my chincough caused me to suppress, *in ipsa Christianitate,* it is a herb-John in the pot, to the purpose of my allegation. Origen speaks of that text, *Many that are first shall be last,* &c.: which he applies as a cooling-card to the children of Christian parents, especially, *si fuerint ex patribus sacerdotali sede dignificatis,* "if they be the sons of them which are dignified with sacerdotal honour." The change of the preposition is remarkable; *ex patribus,* arguing, that he speaks not of their education but their descent; and therefore implying no less than I affirmed, that their parentage gives them a supposed cause of exaltation.

SECTION II.

Holy Athanasius was brought by me instead of a thousand histories[m]; who tells us, that it was no rare thing to find married bishops in his time.

My wise refuter, after he hath idly gone about the bush a little, comes out with this dry verdict[n]: "What will Master Hall hence infer? that bishops and priests may lawfully marry? St. Athanasius saith it not; but only recounteth the fact, that some married of both sorts; but whether they did well or ill, or whether

[e] Esp. i. c. 8.
[f] Volat. i. 18.
[g] Pet. Nat. [Cat. Sanct.] l. v. c. 69. [Ed. Argent. 1533, p. 118.]
[h] Sigeb. [Chron.] 758.
[i] Plat. Vit. Paul. I.
[k] Orig. Homil. 13, in Numer.
[l] Refut. p. 133.
[m] Athanas. Epist. ad Dracont. "Many Bishops, &c." ["Πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἐπισκόπων οὐδὲ γεγαμήκασι" &c.—Ed. Ben. t. i. p. 268.]
[n] Refut. p. 134.

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himself did approve or condemn the same, there is no word in this sentence." Thus he. We take what he gives, and seek for no more. We cited Athanasius, instead of many histories; not of many arguments: histories *de facto;* not discourses *de jure.* The lawfulness was discussed before: the practice and use is now inquired of. This Athanasius witnesses, and C. E. yields.

Wherein, yet, I may not forget to put my refuter in mind, how brittle his memory is; who in the same leaf contradicts himself: for, when he had before confessed that Athanasius doth neither approve nor condemn the practice, either as good or evil; now he plainly tells us[o], that "the words were not spoken by way of simple narration, but of mislike and reprehension." He would be a good liar, if he could agree with himself. Why of dislike? "For," saith he, "it was never lawful for monks or bishops to beget children." *Ipse dixit:* we must believe him.

Not to tell him that Chrysostom teaches us[p] δυνατὸν μετὰ γάμου τὰ τῶν μοναζόντων ποιεῖν; "It is possible, with marriage, to do the acts of monks:" nor to convince him with counter-testimonies: let him tell me what fault it is, to do or not to do miracles. These, in this sentence of Athanasius, go in the same rank with marriage[q]. But, to clear Athanasius, he brings Jerome against Vigilantius, (impudently called by him, "the father of the protestants," who would have all clergymen to marry; when his very Rhemists have checked him for this slander,) pleading against that necessity, from which we have oft washed our hands; whenas the same author, against Jovinian, affirms *de facto,* the same with Athanasius and us. To say, then, that Athanasius spoke this only of lewd licentious monks or bishops, is but the lewd liberty of a licentious tongue, that hath overrun both truth and itself.

From hence this orator, this parcel of wit, flies out into a pleasant frump, as he thinks; but indeed an ugly, inhuman, loathsome ribaldry; ill beseeming the mouth of any that was born of a woman; I will not say, whether ill or well beseeming the pen of a virgin-priest; forsooth, so pure and angelical, that marriage

[o] Refut. p. 136.

[p] Chrys. ad Hebr. δ. λ. ζ. [Εἰ γὰρ οὐ δυνατὸν μετὰ γάμου τὰ τῶν μοναζόντων ποιεῖν, πάντα ἀπόλωλε καὶ διέφθαρται.—Ed. Ben. t. xii. p. 86.]

[q] Athanas. ibid. "We have known bishops working miracles, and monks working none; many bishops not to have married, &c. As likewise you may find bishops to have been fathers of children, and monks not to have sought for marriage." [Οἴδαμεν καὶ σημεῖα ποιοῦντας ἐπισκόπους &c. ut supra.]

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would unsaint him. His unmanly, unnatural style belcheth thus[r]: "Thus Luther, of Catherine Bore, his sow, had six pigs." Away, nasty C. E. transformed by Circe! Hoy! back to her sties, yea thine, where thou mayest freely

Grunnire in septis cum fœdo hoc agmine clausus.

Then proceeds he, envying the matrimonial fruitfulness of Bucer; who surely, had he, under the veil of maidenly priesthood, been far more fruitful in a whole swarm of bastards, should never have heard of it, unless perhaps he had denied to pay *taxam cameræ.*

As for Ochin's allowing polygamy, and perhaps other worse obliquities in his opinions, what are they to us? For the marriage of P. Martyr, Œcolampadius, Pellican, &c., let him take for an acquittance that which hath been paid them thus, *Nobis nostræ sunt Junones, vobis vestræ Veneres:* and then I ask, *Vivat uter nostrum cruce dignior?* If this will not serve for repayment, I must eke it out with a small, yet current commodity of two poor verses, which I learned of his Mantuan at the grammar-school:

Sanctus ager scurris, venerabilis ara Cinædis,
Servit, honorandæ divum Ganymedibus ædes[s].

Let him take this spoonful of holy-water to digest his hog's-flesh.

SECTION III.

Hitherto my refuter's iron hath been as straw, his brass as rotten wood, his sling-stones as stubble, Job xli. 27, 28: but now he hath found that will kill me dead, and says no less than *Hoc habet*[t].

Cyprian[u] is by me alleged for the history of Numidicus; whom I avouched a married presbyter, by the same token that he saw his wife burning besides him with the flames of martyrdom.

And, Lord, what outcries are here of fraud and corruption! and how could this mass-priest wish himself near me, when I should be urged with this imposture, to see what face I would make thereon? Even such a one, good sir Shorne, as is framed by the confidence of honest innocency. God deal so with my soul, as it means nothing but ingenuous sincerity: neither hath my pen swerved one letter from the text. My margin said,

[r] Refut. p. 137.
[s] [Bapt. Mantuan. Sylv. lib. i.]
[t] Refut. pp. 138, 139.
[u] Cypr. l. iv. Epist. 10. [Ep. xxxv. Paris. 1726.]

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Numidicus presbyter; "Numidicus priest:" so doth Cyprian himself, two or three lines before this, report of his wife: so, besides the text, doth the margin of Erasmus. And what treachery could it be to add the word of Cyprian's own explication?

"But Numidicus was not then priest when his wife was martyred; rather upon that constancy was honoured with holy orders;"—How appears that, when Cyprian only says, *Numidicus presbyter ascribatur presbyterorum Carthaginensium numero, et nobiscum sedeat in Clero,* "Let Numid. the priest be received into the number of the priests of Carthage, &c." He was before a priest, for aught this libeller or any mortal man knows; and now was ascribed into the honoured clergy of Carthage, soon after to be promoted to episcopal dignity. Before the report therefore of his wife's martyrdom he is named a priest. What have I offended in seconding St. Cyprian? Let this peremptory babbler prove this ordination to be after that noble proof of his faith, I shall confess myself mistaken in the time, never false in mine intentions. Till then he shall give me leave to style the man, as I find him, *Numidicus presbyter.*

If Cyprian had said, *Numidicus, presbyterorum numero ascribatur*, the case had been clear; but now, doubling the word[x], he implies him a priest before; and how long before, and whether not before his confession, it will trouble my learned adversary to determine. How fain would this man crow, if he could but get the colour of an advantage! In the meanwhile, this impotent insultation bewrays nothing but malice and ignorance.

Section IV.

My refuter may transpose[y] the history of Paphnutius, but he shall never answer it. After his old guise, therefore, he falls to his hatchet; and when he hath tried to bow it a little, and finds, it stiff, he cuts it up by the roots.

What one word can he control in the relation of Socrates or mine illation? "The bishops went about to bring in a new law of continency, to be imposed upon their clergy," saith Socrates[z], and Sozomen[a]: therefore, before it was not. Paphnutius reclaimed, and called that yoke heavy and unsupportable, the use of the marriage-bed, chastity. The issue was, *Potestas permissa cuique pro arbitratu,* "Every man left to his own liberty."

[x] Numid. Presbyter Presbyterorum Carth. numero ascr. [ibid.]
[y] Refut. p. 142. [z] Socr. l. i. c. 11. [a] Sozom. l. i. c. 22.

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The story is plain; there is no place for cavils. The only comfort that my detector[b] and his tutors find in the history, is, that Paphnutius is not all ours: "He calls for the use of marriage to the wedded clergy, not for wedlock of the unmarried:"—True; therein I must retort the answer of Sotus, that the good martyr gave way to the corruption of the times, wherein the wicked mystery had begun with St. Paul's κωλυόντων.

But in the mean time let him know, that if Paphnutius plead but by halves for us, he pleads against them altogether: yea, this he knows already, else he would never be so audacious as to condemn the authors for unsincere and fabulous, yea heretical, and to bring the clamours of his Bellarmine to discredit Socrates in three gross untruths, and Sozomen with *multa mentitur*[c].

O impudency, without measure, without example! Cassiodorus and Epiphanius, Socrates, Sozomen, Nicephorus, grave and approved authors of our ecclesiastical story, for but reporting one piece of an history in favour of clergymen's marriages, are spit upon and discarded with disgrace.

This is no new song: my refuter hath learned it of Copus, Torrensis, Bellarmine, Baronius, and others.

All whose mouths, together with his, in these particular exceptions, let me stop with that ingenuous answer of B. Espencæus[d]: there needs no other advocate, *Excipit Torrensis, &c.* "But Torrensis excepts against Socrates and Sozomen, as though they had lewdly and shamefully belied this story of Paphnutius; and says, the one was a friend of the Novatians, the other an abettor of Theodorus the heretic; that both their histories are, in this, void of credit, authority, probability. As if they could not at once be bad men and yet good historians; or, if they lie in any other place, they must needs lie in this. For Sozomen, Tritemius commends him for a worthy furtherer of secular learning, and well versed in the scriptures. And for Socrates, he extols him for a learned and eloquent man; for a very excellent and greatly experienced historian."

Thus he, and much more; to which, for brevity, I refer my peremptory refuter, who shall there find satisfaction to his objections[e] of the silence of other authors, and the canon alleged against the subintroduction of *mulieres extraneæ*, "strange women," into the houses of clergymen: his Clictovæus telling him,

[b] Refut. p. 143. [c] Ibid. p. 146. [d] Espenc. l. i. [c. 4.] de Contin.
[e] Refut. pp. 144, 145.

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uxores dici non posse extraneas, "that wives cannot be comprehended under the name of strange women;" and the law, made afterwards by Honorius and Theodosius, plainly commenting upon this constitution.

Section V.

As for his testimony[f] of Leo the Great, living in the time of Socrates, I answer it by the testimony of Socrates, living in the time of Leo the Great. *Multi enim, &c.*: "For many," saith he[g], "in this episcopal dignity, in their episcopal houses, in the time of their being bishops, do beget children of their wives, whom they had before lawfully married." Thus he.

A place that answers for itself, and many others.

Wherein, yet, my refuter finds some of my faulty concealments.

First, That the more, and more famous bishops and priests, did the contrary. True: they did so, but voluntarily; as, with us, some of the heads of our clergy, and others of the body, do contain, not forced: *continent sponte, ac pro arbitrio*, "they contain of their own accord, and at their own choice[h]." This I think is not the Roman fashion.

Secondly, "They conversed with the wives which they married before their ordination; they did not marry after." Let his wisdom show me upon what reason the act of marrying should be unlawful, where the act of marriage is lawful; and we will yield him justly to stick at this difference. And when he hath done, let him bite upon their old gloss[i], though now by them defaced; *Dicunt quod olim, ante Siricium, sacerdotes poterant contrahere.* "They say that of old, before Siricius, priests might contract matrimony." *Et quod Gregorius introduxit continentiam subdiaconis, set presbyteris et diaconis, Siricius*[k].

Section VI.

In the rest[l], he falls not upon me, but the received historians, Socrates and Nicephorus. They have done him a spite, and he will revenge it.

These he will convince of a double lie.

The one, that Heliodorus was the first author of the law of continency in Thessalia; the other, that this continency was arbitrary.

[f] Refut. p. 148.
[g] Socr. l. v. c. 22.
[h] Socr. ubi supr.
[i] Dist. 84. *Cum in præterito.*
[k] Dist. 82.
[l] Refut. p. 150.

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His reason for the former is weighty. "It is not likely," saith he, "that Heliodorus, which would rather lose his bishopric than recall his lascivious book, would be so eager above the rest for the continency of his clergy:" as if ever any man had been more luxurious than the greatest enemies to marriage: as if it were impossible for pope John the Thirteenth, from whom Dunstan received his rigorous commission to be unnaturally incestuous: as if it were impossible for his great prelate of Crema, when he came to oppose the marriage of our English clergy, to be found that night in bed with a harlot[m]! And here my childish adversary will needs make sport for boys. I cited in my margin Heliodorus, the author of the Ethiopic History: "As if," saith he, "Heliodorus had written some history of Ethiopia, whereas he only intituled his work, Ethiopia." Ridiculous head! What schoolboy, what apprentice, knows not Heliodorus? *Nosque manum ferulæ, &c.* If this learned critic had but ever opened the book, he had found Αἰθιοπικῶν: neither doth any Englishman know it by any other name, than as it is translated ere I was born, "The Ethiopic History;" yea, if a man were not resolute to shut his eyes, in the very place of Socrates, which he cites, the book is called Ethiopica: whereto, what construction can be given but this of mine? Such folly is for the rod or ferule. This is, I confess, a trifle; yet such as may give my reader a taste of the bold blindness of my impudent detector.

SECTION VII.

The other[n] stings yet more, that this episcopal and priestly continency was upon no other terms than[o] *Modo ipsi voluerint*, "If themselves will;" and, *Nulla lege coacti*, "Forced by no law:" and *Consuetudo invaluit*, "The custom hath been."

And now, all in a rage, my refuter will prove, against Socrates, that there was a law for this; and to this purpose he brings in two canons of the Constantinopolitan Council in Trullo. Mark, reader, with what judgment! the Trullan Council was above two hundred years after: Socrates ended his history in the year 443[p]. The Trullan Council was held, as their Binius computes it, in the year 692; and yet the canon of the Trullan Council, in a matter of fact, disproves Socrates! The other Councils of Ancyra, Cæsarea, and Nice, are either provincial or against him. As for the plea

[m] Vid. Pos. l. iii. [Roger de Hoveden, anno 1126.]

[n] Refut. p. 151.

[o] Socrat. l. 5. c. 22.

[p] Histor. Socr. ad finem.

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of Synesius, that he might not be a bishop, because he would not leave his wife; it is answered by the fact of Synesius, that he was made a bishop, and left not his wife. But what an idle and insolent boldness is this, for an obscure libeller to go about now, almost 1200 years after, to control a grave approved historian of the Church, in a matter of ordinary practice, which his own eyes and the world's did daily witness! As if he durst have published such a report of the common use of his time, wherein all the age he lived in could have convinced him.

The witlessly-malicious prosopopey, wherein my refuter brings in[q] the reverend and peerless bishop of London, pleading for his wife to his metropolitan, becomes well the mouth of a scurril mass-priest, and is worthy nothing but a scorn. Those two incomparable prelates are the chief objects of these evil eyes: whom God hath raised happily above the reach of their envy. It galls this Romish rabble, that these two ringleaders of the English clergy (besides their busy employments in their careful, prudent, and zealous government) preach more sermons in a year, than, perhaps, all the bishops under the papacy. *Rumpantur et ilia.*

Section VIII.

It pleaseth his discretion to marshal my Epistle as he lists[r]; and then to complain of disorder, and my leaping over hundreds of years from the Nicene Council to Gratian the canonist.

My reader's eyes can confute him; which cannot but witness, that I name divers, in all ages, recorded for married bishops and presbyters.

"This beadroll," he saith, "is idle;" because I show not that they then used their wives when they were bishops. An hard condition: that I must bring witnesses from their bedsides! It is not enough, that we show they had wives, that they had children? No, saith my refuter, "It must be proved that they had these children by these wives after ordination." We were neither their midwives nor their gossips, to keep so strict an account.

But what means, *Cum uxoribus dormiunt:* "They sleep with their wives?" and, *tempore episcopatus filios gignunt ex propriis uxoribus;* "in the time of being bishops, beget children of their own wives?" This we have showed out of Socrates[s].

What was that which Dionysius, the ancient bishop of Corinth,

[q] Refut. p. 153. [r] Refut. p. 154. [s] Socr. ubi supr.

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before ever Paphnutius was, wrote to Pinytus[t], charging him *Ne grave servandæ castitatis onus necessario fratribus imponat;* "That he do not necessarily impose the heavy burden of continency upon his brethren?"

What was that, for which Eustathius, B. of Sebastia, the unworthy son of Eulanius, B. of Cæsarea, was censured? Was not this one of the articles[u], *Benedictionem, &c.* "that he taught men to decline the blessing and communion of married priests?"

Away, then, with this either ignorant or impudent facing of so evident a falsehood.

The testimony of Jerome[v], the example of Urbicus, B. of Claramont, and of Genebaldus, B. of Laudune, show what was the conceit and practice of those particular places wherein they lived.

And yet Jerome, in the same book, can say[x], *Quasi non hodie quoque plurimi sacerdotes habeant matrimonia;* "As if nowadays many priests also were not married."

In the story of Urbicus, related by Gregor. Turonensis[y], I can but wonder how far men may be transported by superstition; so as to make the apostle's charge give way to an human opinion. The wife of Urbicus comes to his door, and alleges St. Paul's charge; *Meet together again, lest Satan tempt you, &c. Cur conjugem spernis, &c.?* He yields to the duty of a husband; and now, in remorse, enjoins himself a perpetual penance. What penance do we think St. Paul was worthy of, for giving this charge which she alleged? Let my reader judge whether of the two was the better divine. How insolent is tradition, thus to trample upon scripture!

But since it pleased my refuter to lend me this one example of Gregor. Turonensis, I am ready to give him use for it. In the second book[z] of Turonensis he shall find Sidonius a married bishop; and his wife, a noble matron; in all likelihood living with

t Euseb. Hist. l. iv. c. 22. [23.]

u Socrat. l. ii. c. 43.

v Refut. p. 155.

x Hier. l. i. advers. Jovin.

y Greg. Tur. [Hist. Franc.] l. i. c. 44. [c. 39.] Cur conjugem spernis? cur, obturatis auribus, Pauli præcepta non audis? Scripsit enim, 'Revertimini ad alterutrum,' &c. Ecce ego ad te revertor; nec ad extraneum, sed ad proprium vas recurro, &c. "Why despisest thou thy wife? why dost thou shut thine ears against the precept of St. Paul? For he hath written, *Meet together again, lest*, &c."

z Gregor. Turon. l. ii. c. 21. Nat. Theodos. Jun. et Valent. iii. Imperat. uxor Papianilla, cum qua concorditer vixit, liberosque ex ea suscepit utriusque sexus.—Ad Apollin. Epist. 16. l. v.

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him; for, *nesciente conjuge*, "without his wife's knowledge," he gave silver plate to the poor. In the fourth book[a] he shall find Anastasius, a married presbyter, feoffed in some temporalties, which he would rather die than not leave to his issue. In the eighth book[b] he shall find Badegisilus, the cruel bishop of the Cenomans, matched with an ill wife, who yet lived with him, as it seems, all his time: and had altercations with Bertram, archdeacon of Paris, for his goods, deceased. In these there is strength of legal presumption, though no necessity of inference.

But what do I instance in these, or any other, when Balsamon tells us[c] clearly, that before the sixth synod it was lawful for bishops to have wives, *etiam post dignitatem episcopalem*, "after their episcopal dignity?" And his own canon law can tell him[d], that in the east church their priests *matrimonio copulantur*; "are joined in marriage:" which his wariest masters expounding would interpret by *copulato utuntur*, "use marriage contracted."

Judge then, reader, what to think of the metal of this man's forehead, who would bear us down, that "no one bishop or priest was allowed, after orders, to have any wife."

Yea, even for the very contraction of marriage itself, after orders, honest Espencæus[e] can cite one Joannes Marius[f], a Dutchman by birth, but a French historian, to whom he allows the title of *non indiligens*, who writes, that he knows, that, in the times of pope Formosus and Ludovicus Balbus, priests were married, *et iis licuisse sponsam legitimam ducere, modo virginem, non vero viduam*; "and that it was lawful for them to marry a wife, so she were a virgin, not a widow."

As for that base slander wherewith this venomous pen besprinkles[g] the now-glorious face of our renowned archbishop and martyr, doctor Cranmer, whom he most lewdly charges with lasciviousness and incontinent living, with I know not what Dutch fraw, it is worthy of no answer, than, *Increpet te Dominus*. It is true, that the holy man, wisely declining the danger and malignity of the times, made not, at the first, any public profession of his marriage; as, what needed to invite mischief? But that he

[a] Turon. l. iv. c. 12.
[b] Tur. l. viii. c. 39.
[c] Balsam. in Can. Apost. 5. [Paris. 1620. p. 235.]
[d] Vid. supra.
[e] Espenc. [de Cont.] l. i. c. 11.
[f] Jo. Major. [Dist. 27. Qu. 2.] et Comptuar. Concil.
[g] Refut. p. 159.

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ever had any dishonest conversation with her or any other, it is no other than the accent of the mouth of blasphemy.

And if any one of our clergy, after a legal and just divorce long since, have taken to himself that liberty, which other reformed churches publicly allow; as granting in some case a full release, both *a thoro* and *a vinculo;* what ground is this for an impure wretch to cast dirt in the eyes of our clergy and in the teeth of our Church? Malicious mass-priest, cast back those emissitious eyes to your own infamous chair of Rome; and if even in that thou canst discern no spectacles of abominable uncleanness, spend thy spiteful censures upon ours.

I reckoned divers examples of married bishops and priests out of Eusebius, Ruffinus, others; amongst the rest, Domnus, bishop of Antioch, which succeeded Samosatenus, for which my margin cited Eusebius, in his seventh book and nine and twentieth chapter. My detector taxes me[h] for citing authors at random; as Eusebius, lib. vii. cap. 29, when as there are, he saith, but six and twenty chapters; and for things which are not found in him: as if the man had desperately sworn to write nothing but false. Trust not me, reader; trust thine own eyes. Thou shalt find that book of Eusebius[i] to have one and thirty chapters; and in the cited place thou shalt duly find the history of Domnus. Whose patience would not this impudency move?

If I reckoned not examples enow, or such as he likes not, (as unjustly seeming litigious,) there is choice enough of more: Tertullian, Prosper, Hilary, Eupsychus, Polycrates, and his seven ancestors: to which let him add 24 dioceses at once in Germany, France, Spain, anno 1057, of married clergymen, recorded by their own Gebuilerius[k]; and make up his mouth with that honest confession of Aventine[l], *sacerdotes, illa tempestate, publice uxores, sicut cæteri Christiani, habebant, filios procreabant:* "priests, in those days, publicly had wives, as other Christians had, and begat children." Which the old verse, if he had rather, expresses in almost the same terms:

Quondam presbyteri poterant uxoribus uti:

which his Mantuan hath yet spun in a finer thread, as we shall show in this section.

[h] Refut. p. 16e.
[i] Vid. Euseb. edit. Basil. anno 1587.
[k] Fox Act. et Mon. in hac. quæst.
[l] Avent. Hist. Boior. l. v. Their wives called, *presbyterissæ*, ibid. &c. *honesto vocabulo*, as he there speaks. [See a Rescript of Leo VII. Avent. l. iv. towards the end, ed. Basil. 1580. p. 382.]

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What danger[m] is there now, therefore, either of the breach of my promise to my worthy friend Master Doctor Whiting, or of my divorce, or of his victory? If the man and his modesty had not been long since parted, these idle cracks had never been.

But whereas this mighty champion challenges me, with great insultation, in many passages of his braving discourse, to name but one bishop or priest of note, which, after holy orders, conversed conjugally with his wife, without the scandal of the Church, branding such, if any were, for infamous, and daring to pawn his cause upon this trial; I do here accept his offer, and am ready to produce him such an example, as, if all the Jesuits' heads in the world stood upon his shoulders, they could not tell how to wrangle against.

I do not urge to him that Prosper of Aquitain, a bishop and a saint, whose verses to his wife are famous, and imply their inseparable conversation:

> Age, jam precor, mearum
> Comes irremota rerum, &c.[n]

Nor yet the forenamed Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, who in his old age, if that epistle be worthy of any credit, writing to his daughter, confesses her years so few, that, through the incapacity of her age, she might perhaps not understand the hymn or epistle[o]: of whom the honest Carmelite, Mantuanus, could ingenuously confess:

> Non nocuit tibi progenies; non obstitit uxor,
> Legitimo conjuncta thoro. Non horruit, illa
> Tempestate, Deus thalamos, cunabula, tædas[p].

Nor bishop Simplicius, of whom Sidonius gives this praise[q], that his parents were eminent, either in *cathedris* or *tribunalibus;* and that his pedigree was famous, either *episcopis* or *præfectis:* and for his wife, that she was of the stock of the Palladii; *qui, aut literarum, aut altarium cathedras, cum sui ordinis laude, tenuerunt;* of whom also Sidonius can say, she did *respondere*

[m] Hodie, apud Græcos, Sacerdotes, post susceptum ordinem, ducere uxorem; sed unicam, ac virginem; a Græcis didici. — Proposit. Erasmicorum. Censur. cum Declaratione. c. de Cælibatu.

[n] [Prosp. Op. Duaci, 1577. p. 210. In a note it is said "Videtur esse carmen Paulini, postea Nolani Episcopi ad Uxorem."]

[o] Tu, vero, si quid minus, per ætatem, in hymno et epistola intelligis. [Tu vero, si minus per ætatem hymnum et epistolam intelligis, interroga matrem tuam.— Op. Ed. Ben. p. 1212.]

[p] "His children hurt him not; nor his wife, lawfully conjoined in wedlock. In those days, God misliked not the marriage-bed nor the cradle," &c.

[q] Sidon. Apol. Conc. adjunct. Ep. 9. l. vii.

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sacerdotiis utriusque familiæ, "answer the priesthoods of either family."

Nor Alcimus Avitus, the French archbishop, who writing to his sister of her parentage, hath thus[r],

> ——————Stemma parentum,
> Quos licet antiquo mundus donarit honore[s],
> Et titulis a primævo insigniverit ortu[t],
> Plus tamen ornantur sacris insignibus illi, &c[u].
> Nec jam atavos soror alma tibi proavosque retexam[x],
> Vita Sacerdotum[y] quos reddidit inclyta claros[z].

Nor Paulinus, bishop of Nola in Campania; to whom Ausonius writes, *Tanaquil tua nesciat istud;* and, *Formidatamque jugatam objicis, &c.*

These, and such like, might suffice reasonable men; but since we have to do with those adversaries whom St. Paul calls *ἀτόπους,* who, if we urge hundreds of such evident examples, turn us off with bold shifts, and will needs put us to prove those acts which seek secrecy; let him and all his complices whet their wits upon that clear and irrefragable place of Gregory Nazianzen, a man beyond all exception; who brings in his father, Gregory, whom the world knows to have been bishop of the same see, speaking thus of him[a]:

> *οὔπω τοσοῦτον ἐκμεμέτρηκας βιὸν,*
> *ὅσος διῆλθε θυσιῶν ἐμοὶ χρόνος.*
> *Δὸς τὴν χάριν, δὸς, &c.*

Nondum tot anni sunt tui, quot jam in sacris mihi sunt peracti victimis, &c.; that is, "The years of thy age are not so many as of my priesthood:" words that will convince the most importunate gainsayer, that Gregory Nazianzen was born to his worthy father after the time of his holy orders. And lest any man should suspect that this *οὔπω, nondum,* may reach only to the birth, not to the begetting of Gregory Nazianzen; so as perhaps he might be born after his father's orders, begotten before them; let him know, to make all sure and plain, that Gorgonia and Cæsarius, the sister and brother of this Gregory, were by the same father

[r] Alcim. Avit. Vien. Gal. Arch. l. ad sororem, circa an. 492.

[s] [donasset.]

[t] [monstrat generoso semper ab ortu.]

[u] [ornavit divinum insigne gerentes.]

[x] [non atavos jam nunc.]

[y] [Sacerdotis.]

[z] "I will not, dear sister, make report of the pedigree of thy great grandfathers, &c. whom the renowned life of priests made famous to the world."

[a] Greg. Naz. Car. de Vita sua. edit. Morel. Paris. [1630] tom. ii. p. 9.

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begotten afterwards; as is evident both by that verse of Nazianzen, who, speaking of his mother as then childless when she begged him of God, says[b].

Cupiebat illa masculum fœtum domi
Spectare, magna ut pars cupit mortalium;

and the clear testimony of Elias Cretensis, *Quamvis enim si nativitatem spectes, &c.* "Although," saith he[c], "if you regard his birth, he was not the only child of his parents, forasmuch as after him, both Gorgonia and Cæsarius were born." Thus he.

O infamous Gregories, the scum of the clergy! O irregular father, that durst defile his sacred function with so carnal an act! O shameless son, that blushes not to proclaim his own sinful generation! Go now, petulant refuter, and see whether you can either yield or answer.

As for that glorious show of antiquity, wherewith C. E. hopes to blear his reader's eyes, gracing himself herein with the astipulation of our reverend Jewel; I need not return any other answer than of his Beatus Rhenanus[d]; *Quamquam veteres omnes, &c.* "Although all the ancient, and Jerome himself, were no whit equal or indifferent to marriage; esteeming virginity and chastity very high, both because they thought the last day was near at hand, as remembering that sentence of St. Paul, *Tempus in collecto est,* 'The time is short;' and because they saw many impediments grow from marriage, which marred the purity of Christianity in those days, especially when Christians lived amongst heathens, and matched in marriage with them; surely it is evident, that for this cause, Jerome was in an ill name at Rome," &c. Thus he. We durst not have said so much for ourselves. The highest antiquity is ours; the later had been ours, if it had not been upon these grounds, which were then their own; proper to the time, place, occasion.

Section IX.

I descend to the testimony of Gratian.

Champion E. calls this picking of straws. If picking of straws be boys' play, and argue that they which use it are foiled, and have lost all, as our refuter merrily pipeth; let him acknowledge how

[b] Greg. Naz. Car. de Vita sua, &c. Iamb. [p. 2.]

[c] Elias Cretens. In Orat. Greg. Naz. 19. [tom. ii. p. 761.]

[d] Arg. lib. Tert. Exhort. Cast. [Basil. Froben, 1521. p. 502.] Matrimonio parum æqui fuerint, &c.

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beggarly the proofs are grown of the martyrdom of their saintly Jesuits and priests amongst us, did they not stoop to pick straws; to thresh out a miracle, when it was, for translating father Garnet from a traitor to a martyr; yea, and that chaff, the gullery whereof themselves smile at here, is devoutly transported beyond the seas, and enshrined for a sacred relic, and proclaimed by their Kornmannus for one of the great wonders of the dead. *Ridet aruspex, ubi aruspicem viderit.*

It is well that the great compiler of the canon law of Rome is grown so base with catholic priests. He witnesses plainly that some bishops of Rome were the sons of priests, not spurious, but begot in lawful wedlock; which was, according to Gratian[e], every where lawful to the clergy before the prohibition.

C. E. bites the lip at this authority. And first he tells us[f], it is the *Palea*, not Gratian. But if this be the chaff, there is no corn. Reader, try by this, the egregious impudence of this fellow. Turn to the place, thou shalt find the words to be none but Gratian's; and the notes, allowed by public authority, openly to confirm it; *Hic aperte ostendit Gratianus, se in ea fuisse opinione, &c.* "Here Gratian openly shows, that he was in that opinion, that heretofore the priests of the Latin Church might be married."

Secondly, my parenthesis displeases[g] him "as nowadays." But what needs this quarrel? He must grant, if the Romish priests have sons, they can be no other than spurious. It is his best not to press this point too far. This idle jealousy of his can argue no good. I touched not the continency of his Paulus Quintus, so much as in my thought: I only wish that his holiness would bestow some of the offals of his nephews' great benefices upon this mass-priest, for the reward of his superfluous *oleum peccatorum.*

My third untruth[h], and that a gross one, is, that I say "many bishops of Rome followed their fathers in the pontifical chair;" whereas in this chaff of Gratian he finds but one; Sylverius, pope, son of Sylverius, bishop of Rome. And what if, in his chaff, he find but one; while I, in my corn heap, can find more? Did I tie myself, in this clause, only to Gratian? Was not pope John the Eleventh, or, in some accounts, the Tenth, son to pope Sergius? And is there no chair pontifical but the Roman? Was not Theo-

[e] Dist. 56. Cenomanens. [electum &c. Gratian. Paris. 1521. f. lxxxv.]

[f] Refut. p. 161.

[g] Ibid. p. 162.

[h] Ibid. pp. 163, 164. 165.

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dorus, pope, son to Theodorus, bishop of Jerusalem? Felix the Third, son to bishop Valerius? Pope Adrian the Second, son to bishop Taralus? His Platina can supply his Gratian in these.

What have I to do with his quarrels[i] about Hosius, Felix, Agapetus, Stephen? They are their own. Let him wring Gratian by the ear till I feel.

And surely the poor canonist bleeds on all hands. Bellarmine, Baronius, Possevine, and this stout beagle, have every one a snatch at him, and he must be content to go away with this gash, "We are not bound to follow him as an infallible writer; but may, with free liberty, reject him." Yea, how merry doth my refuter make himself with his despised Gratian! Like a Philistine, he hath pulled out the eyes of this Samson, and now makes sport with him. If Douay like it well, it shall not be displeasing to us.

The man, as ill as he loves marriage, will needs make a match betwixt his Gratian's pope Stephen and his pope Joan. *Iö Hymen!* Was ever man so mad, to make himself pastime with his own shame? Was the history of that their monstrous Papess of our making? Do not the whole stream[k] of their writers of Chronicles, their own bishops, monks, recluses, registrars, record it openly to all posterity without the contradiction of the next ages, yea, of any, till this last? Let them take to themselves, therefore, this fruitful successor in the infallible chair: she is their own: they may dispose of her where they list: and since my refuter will find out a match for her out of the chair of exploration, why should not we dance at the wedding? Why do not we help him to a piece of an epithalamium?

Papa, pater patrum, Papissæ pandito partum:

a flower[l] that never came out of Luther's poesy.

Section X.

I see that, while I follow this wrangler by the foot, I am become insensibly tedious.

The residue of his longsome treatise is spent upon the Council of Constantinople, Gregory's Charge, Isidore's Rule, Hulderick, Hildebrand, Dunstan, and Anselm, and the estate of our forefathers in the English clergy.

The discussion of all which, as not being essential to our busi-

[i] Refut. p. 166.

[k] Sigebert. Martin. Polon. Platin. Mart. Minorit. Oth. Fris. Flores Temp. Petrarcha, &c.

[l] Flor. Temp. Impr. ult. 1486.

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ness, except only the last, will admit more brevity of despatch. The vital parts of our cause being secured, there will be less danger in the remoter limbs; which yet, if our target guard not, our sword shall. In all these, it shall be best to reduce his cavils unto heads, that we may crop them with more speed and ease. Only I must crave leave to dwell somewhile in the last.

Concerning the Council of Constantinople[m], after some idle mistaken discourse of the occasion thereof, he insists upon these four points[n]: first, that it was not general; secondly, not the sixth; thirdly, not peremptorily ours; fourthly, not by them defaced, or torn out.

First, it is no trusting what a Roman priest says, in choler, of a Grecian Council. The Greek Church is equally in their books with ours; and this council, with the synod of Dort. It is an eternal quarrel, which all the vassals of Rome have against this council, that it equalled the bishop of Constantinople, with the Roman; a crime that cannot be forgiven.

The invectives of our popish divines, especially Pighius, Bellarmine[o], Baronius, have made good that note of Balsamon: *Occidentales episcopi, &c.*: "The western bishops," saith he[p], that is, the Italian or Latin, "*ab hujus synodi canonibus opportune icti*, finding themselves galled with the canons of this synod, have given it out not to be general." Thus he.

And why was it not general? "It had no form of a council," saith my refuter[q]; "no legates of the pope; no invitation of the Latin bishops: neither were any of the other patriarchs present or consenting." Every word a shameless untruth! Basilius, bishop of Gortyna, the metropolis of Crete, which was then under the archbishop of Rome, and the bishop of Ravenna, saith Balsamon[r], were there to represent the Roman church. The bishops of Thessalonica, Sardinia, Heraclea, Corinth, were there, and then the pope's legates. And for the patriarchs, Basilius, saith the same Balsamon, bishop of Gortyna, which was present in the name of the Roman church, is found to have subscribed after the four patriarchs, and certain other metropolitans. What can be more plain?

"But St. Beda," saith C. E.[s], "tells us, that Justinian the

[m] Concil. vi. Constantin. in Trullo.
[n] Refut. p. 168, usque ad 174.
[o] Vid. Bell. de Rom. Pont. l. ii. cap. 18. [Ingolst. 1596. t. i. p. 800.]
[p] Balsam. in Phot. Nomoc. [Paris. 1620. p. 359.]
[q] Refut. p. 174.
[r] Balsam. ibid. [p. 369.]
[s] Refut. p. 171.

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younger commanded Sergius, bishop of Rome, to be carried to Constantinople, because he would not subscribe *huic erraticæ synodo.*" Still, mistaking and ignorance! His Surius and Turrian could have taught him, out of Theophanes, this was another, a pseudo-synod, which the same Justinian had, in his first government, called, in favour of the Monothelites; which was some years after the true synod, under Constantine the Bearded[t]. This man's wit wanders with his erratical synod.

Section XI.

For the number of sixth, we need not be scrupulous: whether it were the fifth, or sixth, or both, (as Balsamon calls it, πενθέκτην[u],) or neither. It is enough for me, that Gratian, Caranza, Espencæus, and other his own great masters, call it familiarly both sixth, and general; in this I cannot but be safe enough.

I grant that, to speak precisely, the sixth synod under Constantine published no canons; but afterwards, many of the same Fathers, which had formerly met in the sixth synod, and others, to the number of 227, being called together by the then penitent and restored Justinian (ῥινότμητος[x]), gathered up, and set forth with universal consent, the canons formerly made, and by them reinforced.

But what need I trouble myself with any other answer to all these windy cavils of my adversary, than that which Tharasius himself, the patriarch of Constantinople, hath most fully given? *Quæ est hæc, ignorantia, &c.* "What ignorance," saith he[y] "is this, wherewith many men are tainted about these canons! For it is a scandal to doubt, whether they were the canons of the sixth synod. Let these men therefore know, that the sixth synod was gathered in the time of Constantine against those which ascribe one only action and will to Christ: the Fathers then condemning those heretics, and confirming the orthodox faith, about the fourteenth year of Constantine, returned home. After four or five years, the same Fathers, being met under Justinian the son of Constantine, set forth the foresaid canons. Neither let any man doubt of this: for those very same Fathers, which, in

[t] Constantinus Pogonatus.

[u] Quini-sextam.

[x] "Slit-nose." [Justinian II. deposed, deprived of his nose, and banished, after the successful revolt of Leontius, but restored after a counter-revolution by Apsimar against Leontius had been suppressed. See Gibbon, c. 48.]

[y] Gratian. Dist. 16. *Habeo libr*um. [Paris. 1521. f. xviii.]

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the time of Constantine, subscribed, did also, under Justinian, subsign this present paper: which thing is evident enough, by the unchangeable likeness of their own hands." So he.

Whether therefore the computation of Tharasius or Theophanes be followed, we have what we desired. The same acts are set forth, if not by altogether the same persons, and Gratian's judgment[z] is herein ours.

SECTION XII.

For the third point: to prove that this synod is not peremptorily for us, he urgeth[a] divers other canons of it; which, in other things, sound against us: then he shows the instanced thirteenth Canon not to be so absolutely and fully ours as is pretended.

First, where finds he this law, that no man may allege one testimony of a Father or a Council, but he must be tied to justify all the rest? Himself would be the first that would shrink at this condition.

This challenge is unreasonable, and might turn off all allegation. For example: if a man should allege the Nicene Council, canon 1, against any superstitious fool that hath made himself a corporal eunuch, might he straight, for his justification, fly upon the last Canon of that Council, unnecessarily enjoining us to stand at our Sunday's prayers? Or, if a man should cite the Synod of Laodicea against a deacon, though a cardinal, sitting before a priest[b], or against the worshipping of angels[c], were it meet to choke him with a return of the last canon of that Council[d], forbidding the Apocryphal books; or the 37th canon, forbidding his holiness to take so much as a Bible in his solemnity from the hands of Jews? If a man shall allege a testimony of Cyprian, were it fit to upbraid him with the error of rebaptization? Or, if of Augustin, with the error of the necessity of infants communicating? This is *clavum clavo*.

For me, I have undertaken no such task, to warant them, that once said true, from ever erring. I do, therefore, herein scorn my silly refuter's "compassion[e]," who is so far from crushing me in this, that he hurts none but his own fists, in beating them about his own hard head. For if the pressing us with the authority of some of these canons be to justify the rest, then the

[z] Dist. 16. ubi supr.
[a] Refut. p. 175. usque ad 182.
[b] Synod. Laodic. Can. 20. [Bin. Col. Ag. 1606. t. 1. p. 290.]
[c] Can. 35. [ibid.]
[d] Can. 60. [p. 292.]
[e] Refut. p. 181.

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36th canon of that Council bears him and his Rome down before it, while it sets Constantinople cheek by jowl with it, maugre: a point, which rather than they will yield, they will be glad to abate us all the rest.

This we are sure of, that the alleged canon is peremptorily, fully, cautelously ours. For this, my credit is at the stake, which my refuter pleases himself with the hope to impair; insulting in the idle fancy of a just advantage, while he shows[f] the canon to come short, in some points, of our requisition and practice: for there bishops are excepted, and the freedom of marriage after ordination.

Reader, compare the canon with the words of my engagement: I undertook thou shouldest find no decree could be made more peremptory, more cautelous, more full and absolute for the lawfulness of the marriage of ecclesiastical persons.

For, first, the Fathers profess herein to cross the practice and decree of the Roman Church. Secondly, they profess the conjugal cohabitations of sacred persons to stand by the apostolic canons; and to be a sincere, exquisite, and orderly constitution: what could be said more! They, thirdly, ratify this liberty for ever. They, fourthly, give charge, that no man, by the cohabitation with his lawful wife, be hindered from ascending to the highest degree of holy orders. Fifthly, that in the time of their ordination it be not so much as required of them to abstain from the lawful companying with their wives; "which were," say they, "to offer injury to marriage, ordained by God, and blessed by his presence; and to cross him that said, *Those whom God hath joined together, let no man separate;* and, *Marriage is honourable amongst all,*" *&c.* Sixthly, that if any man shall presume so far as to offer to debar any priest, deacon, or subdeacon, from the conjunction and society with his lawful wife, he shall be deposed; or if any priest or deacon shall voluntarily cast off his wife, upon pretence of religion, that he shall be suspended; and, if he go on, deposed.

Judge now, whether herein my protestation have erred. Not that there can be no circumstance devised, as of the extent of the persons, or time, or manner, wherein curiosity might enlarge the scope of this liberty (so I never meant): but if this one point, "That the marriage of persons ecclesiastical is lawful," can be more fully and warily set down, let me lie open to censure; if

[f] Refut. p. 182, usque ad 192.

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not, hate the vanity of this idle mountebank; and confess, with Aristophanes,

Adversus ictum sycophantæ non inesse pharmacum[g].

The parliamental law[h], in the time of king Edward, was, I grant, more full in extending the liberty, could not be more full in avouching the lawfulness of our marriages.

Where I must take leave to tell my refuter, that the comparison he presumes to make of king Edward's parliament with the proceedings of Jack Straw, Wat Tyler, &c., is, like himself, seditious and traitorous. And what marvel if such repiners blow out the foggy vaporous blast of seditious words against our highest court of parliament, which some of their companions have attempted to blow up with a blast of fire? This constitution was not civil only, but synodical: and may not a lawful Synod or Convocation, with the concurrence of the three states, and the sway of royal authority, make or reestablish a law agreeable to the word of God, and the received practice of their progenitors, but every Jack-Sauce of Rome shall thus odiously dare to control and disgrace it?

One of his capitoline gods of Rome called England his ass[i]. So it was, while it might bear nothing but his trumpery, and go but where his grooms would either lead or drive it: now, that it hath taken heart, and with cardinal Campegius's sumpter cast off this base load, and hath happily overrun this servitude; they are ready, with the keeper of metamorphosed Apuleius, to seek a desperate remedy from the next tree.

SECTION XIII.

Such, then, is the Canon of Constantinople: which, therefore, I said, because they cannot blemish enough, they have indignly torn out of the Councils.

And here is much vehement and braving rhetoric spent upon me[k], as a shameless writer; and this passage as the grossest lie that ever was published by protestant. And now I am conjured, "How blemished? How torn? What? Where? How? When?

Because innocence is bold, the man will be bold, that he may seem innocent; but we shall well find, that facing will not serve

[g] "There is no salve for the sting of a sycophant." Plut. Act. iv. sc. 3. l. 886. Αλλ' *οὐκ ἔνεστι συκοφάντου δήγματος.*]

[h] Refut. pp. 192, 193, 194.

[i] Etiam Asinus meus recalcitrat?

[k] Refut. p. 195. usque ad 198.

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his turn. Is he so ignorant, as not to know, that all his great masters[l] discard this whole Council as "spurious?" Doth he not know, that it is, if not torn, yet left out in divers of their editions of the Councils? Let him learn, if he know not, that their ancient collection of Canons, which was called *Codex*, or *Corpus Canonum*, which was in use in Leo the Fourth's time, mentioned by Gratian, Dist. 20. c. de Libellis, and printed anno 1526 at Mentz, and reprinted at Paris in octavo, anno 1609, omits it. The other collection of Councils by Isidorus Mercator, which began to be received about Charles the Great's time, wherein, besides the forged Decretal Epistles of divers popes, are the Canons of many provincial Councils of Africa, France, Spain, &c., set forth by Jac. Merlin at Cologne, 1530, and which hath been usually received in the western Church in the times of the schoolmen, who usually, as do also Ivo and Burchardus, allege them, likewise omits it. The two editions of the Councils by P. Crabbe likewise omit it: and if it had not been for stark shame, so would the rest also. Doth he not know what his Anastasius and Numbertus protest[m] of some particular Canons, and this for one? *Hæc capitula omnino refutamus;* "These chapters we do altogether reject:" and, *Nullatenus recipiantur;* "Let them by no means be received."

And for this very particular Canon, if he know not, there is first an attempt of a double blemish to be cast upon it: the one, in that they read it so, as if the Roman clergy professed *quod copulentur uxoribus non suis,* "that they are joined with wives not their own;" as by way of scorn; whereas the words run, *se deinceps cum uxoribus suis non congressuros:* the other, in that some of their authors would refer *sacrorum virorum* to *constitutiones,* not to *nuptias,* marring quite the sense of the Canon. This for the blemish.

For the wiping out of this very canon, and denying it place with the rest, let him hear his own Espencæus[n], telling him, that even they which allowed this synod, rejected by Pighius and others, yet *hunc canonem duriter tractant, &c.,* "use this canon somewhat hardly, as altogether profane; full of error, insolence, immodesty, manifest falsehood; apocryphal, and most corrupted:" and his ingenuity is feign to plead, in conclusion, *Canonem hunc*

[l] Baron. An. 58. n. 18. et Bell. l. i. de Verbo Dei, c. 20 et 2. de Rom. Pont. c. 17. [et 18] l. i. de Conc. c. 7. l. i. de Cleric. c. 21. Bin. tom. i. p. 14. &c.

[m] Dist. 16. In Notis.

[n] Esp. l. i. [c. 4.] de Contin. Ut totum scilicet profanum; erroris, insolentiæ, impudicitiæ plenum, manifestæ falsitatis; apocryphum, et corruptissimum.

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legitimum esse non gratis, sed necessario donemus; "That they must, not upon courtesy but of necessity, yield this canon for legitimate, not supposititious." And what is this, in my detector's construction, but a cashiering of this canon out of the Councils, against the authority of Gratian and the Greek copies? Lastly, the eyes of learned Chemnitius[o] are undoubted witnesses to us, what credit soever they find with this Italianate generation: *In tomis Conciliorum, prorsus expunxerunt et omiserunt hunc canonem*: "In the tomes of the Councils they have altogether wiped out and omitted this canon:" so as, if we had those blurred copies, which he saw bleeding from the hand of the inquisitors, there could be no fence for this charge; but that which serves for all—impudent denials.

Neither needed my refuter to take it so highly[p], that I objected to them the tearing, blemishing, and defacing of this and other records against them. Ere long, the world shall see, to the foul shame of these self-condemned impostors, that, in the writings both of ancient and later authors[q], they have blotted out more than an hundred places, some of them containing above two sheets apiece, concerning this very point which we have in hand.

This is no news, therefore: neither needed my detector to make it so dainty.

SECTION XIV.

I cited from Gratian the free confession of pope Stephen the Second, acknowledging the open liberty of marriage to the clergy of the eastern Church: *Matrimonio copulantur*; "They are joined in marriage." A place truly irrefragable.

My refuter first excepts[r] against the number; telling us, that Stephen the Second lived but three or four days at the most; and therefore he could not be the man. What spirit of cavillation posseses this mass-priest? He cannot but know that his own Sigebertus ascribes five years to this Stephen; and Hermannus, six: but five is the least. And his Binius tells him[s], that the Stephen he speaks of, sitting but two days exclusively, "is by the most omitted in the catalogue of the Roman bishops:"

o Chemnit. Hist. de Cælib. Sacerd. p. 65. [Franc. 1574. pars iii. p. 67.]

p Refut. p. 196.

q Erasm. Lang. in Niceph. Io. Nevizan. D. Venatorius. P. Crinitus. I. de solas. Polyd. Verg. Rolewinch Thuanus. Ignat. Sigebert. &c.

r Refut. p. 198, usque ad 203.

s Bin. Steph. ii. A pluribus e serie Rom. Pontificum dimittitur. So also Funccius in his Chronol. [alii vero Gregorium II. v. Chron. Viteberg. 1578. p. 126.

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whence it is, that the chronicle names not two Stephens, betwixt the First and the Fourth

"But this man," he saith, "called no Council:"—What is that to me? Gratian affirms it: I do not. Let him fall out for this with his friends.

And now, according to the old wont, after he had tried to shift off *matrimonio copulantur*, with the sleeveless evasion of a false gloss (i. e. *utuntur*), which Cajetan[t] hath sufficiently confuted for us, he falls to a flat rejection of Gratian; and tells us[u], out of Bellarmine, "That Canon to be perhaps of no authority, but an error of the collectors." Good God! what face have these men! that none of their received authors can be produced against them but they are straight counterfeit; and yet the very same, where they speak for them, canonical! Their clients, if they might but know these tricks, would be ashamed of their patrons.

That the clergy[x], not only of the east, might *matrimonio copulari*, but of the west also, might *matrimonium contrahere*, which are the words they are unwilling to know in their own Canon law, show sufficiently that they not only were married of old, but might marry. But for the eastern clergy, it is freely granted by all ingenuous spirits: insomuch as Espencæus tells us, that never author, either old or new, imputed this for a fault unto the Greek Church, that their clergy was married.

What shall we say, then, to this bold Bayard, that compares[y] this toleration of marriage in the Greek Church with Moses's permission of the bill of divorce unto the Jews? As if marriage had been only tolerated, not allowed; as if unjust divorce were a fit match for lawful wedlock. While he here talks of *duritia cordis*, well may we talk of his *duritia frontis*. It is true, every church, every country, hath their customs and fashions; which Joannes Major pleads against Beda's censure of the English and Scottish and British observation of Easter: and may be as justly in this case pleaded for us. This was of old no less ours than the Greeks'. And if any Church will be prescribing against God, *we have no such custom, nor the Church of God.*

But what a ridiculous insinuation is it[z], that the Greek priests are dispensed with by supreme authority ecclesiastical! forsooth, by the pope of Rome! Fain would I learn, when, upon what

[t] Cajet. Opus. Castit. [u] Refut. p. 203. [x] Ibid. p. 204.
[y] Ibid. pp. 206, 207. [z] Ibid. pp. 207, 208.

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terms, at what rate, the Grecians purchased in the court of Rome dispensation for their marriages. I would my refuter had the office appointed him, to shuffle over all the records of the apostolic chamber, till he find such a grant made *propter duritiem cordis;* then should a great deal of good paper escape the misery of being besmeared by his pen.

What strange fantastic dreams are put upon the world! Where the papacy cannot prevail, there forsooth his holiness dispenseth! The Greek Church admitteth married priests; the pope dispenseth with them. They deny and defy the pope's supremacy: I trow he dispenseth with them for that too. And why not with the Church of England? We pay no Peter-pence: we run not to Rome's market to buy trash: I hope his holiness dispenseth with us for these peccadillos. We take liberty here to marry rather than to burn: why should we not hope to receive that dispensation whereof we heard the news of late from a poor bankrupt carrier? *Ad populum phaleras.*

SECTION XV.

As for the contradiction which his sagacity finds[a], not without much scorn, in the two parliamental laws of the father and the son, king Henry the Eighth and king Edward the Sixth; whereof the one forbids, the other allows the marriage of ecclesiastics; it needed not have been any wonder to a learned priest, which might have known Councils enow, diametrically opposite to each other. What fault was it in the recovered blind man, that he first saw men walk like trees; and, after, like men? Even the best man may correct himself.

Neither was there here any contradiction. King Henry spake with the Romish Church; whose one half of him then was: king Edward spake with the Scriptures, and purer antiquity. King Henry never said, God disallowed these marriages; king Edward never said, they were allowed by the Romish Church.

And why may not we draw out the like absurdity out of queen Mary's parliaments; wherein she reversed many things established by king Edward; as in this very case concerning marriage of priests? May not we hereupon ask, "What will you say to such parliaments, wherein the brother is thwarted by the sister; and that, with the consent of the most of the same parliament-men, enacting, in a few years, contrarily."

[a] Refut. p. 209, usque ad 214.

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Or, as if it were any news with popes *rescindere acta prædecessorum,* even of those which immediately preceded them! Who knows not the story of pope Formosus and Stephanus; and the many and strong contradictions of decrees in the frequent, long, and desperate schisms of the Romish Church?

This lash is indifferently fit for all backs. Let him that hath no cause to smart complain.

What needed this foul mouth then to break forth[b] into so palpable slanders of that holy archbishop and martyr, doctor Cranmer; charging him with deep dissimulation, in soothing up both these kings in their contrary decrees? when it is most manifest, that this worthy metropolitan was the only man which durst for three days together, openly in parliament, oppose those wickedly projected articles of king Henry; and this in special. Insomuch, as he was willed out of the house till the act might pass; which, notwithstanding he well knew king Henry, he stoutly refused. Would this man, think we, care to belie all the saints in heaven for an advantage? What will not he dare to say, that will object inconstancy to him who sealed God's truth with his blood?

The contradictions and weaknesses that he finds[c] in this synod of Constantinople do no whit move us. If he can allow, and commend, and cite against us, the seven and thirtieth canon of the Council for the worship of the Cross; or the fourscore and fifteenth for the Holy Chrism; and yet disallow the thirteenth: why may not we, by the same law, cite and approve the thirteenth canon against them, and yet disavow those other?

Section XVI.

Neither was it for want[d] that I mentioned only this Council of Constantinople. The more ancient constitutions of Ancyra and Gangra, and the first and fourth of Toledo, besides the Apostolical and Nicene, might have been urged by me. It was not mine intent, with this babbler, to say more than all; but only to take an handful out of the sack's mouth for a taste to the buyer. That fair flourish, therefore, of Councils, which he musters up against me herein, will be but *arma armis contraria.*

Wherein, since my refuter will needs make himself so busy[e], let me entreat him, by the way, to compare the Council of Gangra[f] with the Decree of his pope Hildebrand. The Council

[b] Refut. p. 212. [c] Ibid. pp. 216, 218. [d] Ibid. p. 220.
[e] Ibid. p. 225. [f] About anno 324.

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says flatly, *Si quis discernit presbyterum conjugatum*, &c. "if any man make difference of a married priest, so as that by occasion of his marriage he ought not to offer, and doth therefore abstain from his oblation, let him be accursed." But his Hildebrand *uxoratos sacerdotes a divino removit officio, et laicis missam eorum audire interdixit, novo exemplo*, &c., that is, "removed married priests from their divine office, and forbad laymen to hear their masses," saith Sigebert[g]. Therefore, by the sentence of the Council, pope Hildebrand is accursed; and accursed for that very point which made him a Romish saint. When my refuter hath gnawed a while upon this bone, he may hope to be rewarded with a crust.

And now for his Councils, to make up the number he names[h] for the foreman of the quest, the Council of Ancyra, somewhat before the Nicene; one, who hath passed a direct verdict against him, allowing deacons, upon their profession, to marry. The miserable evasions of his Binius[i] and Baronius in this point argue both a mind and a cause desperate; while, without all colour of warrant, they imperiously turn down these married deacons to a lay-communion; and feign this liberty only in a forced ordination, not in a voluntary.

As for that first canon, which he citeth[k], of the Council of Arles, that a man cannot be made priest in the band of wedlock, unless he promise conversion, it is a gross counterfeit. And that the world may see we use not to pass these censures without evident reason, it mentions the Arians, which were not yet hatched; it mentions Bonosus, which lived long after in the time of Innocent I; it mentions the *Concilium Vasense*, which was yet later, in the time of Leo the First. When his authors can agree of the time, and make good the synod, he shall receive an answer to it. In the mean time, it was either before the Council of Nice or after it: if before, it was corrected by the Nicene; a provincial must yield to a general: if after, it was presumptuous, in decreeing that peremptorily which the general determinately left free.

The Council of Arusica is cited by him[l] in direct terms opposite to the Ancyran. He must make them friends, ere he can bring it forth against an enemy.

As for the main stay of this cause of his, which is the two

[g] Sigeb. de Gregor. Pap. an. 1074. Idem et Matth. Paris.
[h] Refut. p. 225, usque ad 234.
[i] Vid. Bin. ibid. [t. i. p. 272.]
[k] Refut. p. 226.
[l] Refut. p. 227.

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Councils of Africa[m], lent him by his Bellarmine, it is grounded, as our learned Junius hath probably answered, upon mere corruption and mistaking; the Latin copies taking *propria* for *priora*[n]. The charge of the Council being only, that deacons, priests, bishops, κατὰ τοὺς ἰδιους ὁρους, "according to their turns of ministration, should abstain from their wives:" which no modest divine will not willingly subscribe unto. However, I am sure, if the one word be not corrupted, the other is ambiguous, and may as well signify Balsamon's ἐφημέριας. And if these Canons were first Latin, and after translated into the Greek; yet the Greek shows what was the first Latin, and may well correct the mistaken original.

But to discuss the several Councils, which he only thinks fit to name, and utter by wholesale against us, were a work for a volume apart. The old word is, *Dolosus versatur in generalibus;* "There is deceit in generalities." It were easy to show that some of these are impertinent; others, plainly against them; others, corrupted to speak against us, as that of Mentz and Wormes, whereof in the sequel; others, partial to the faction of Rome. So then, here, *obruimur numero;* he thinks to carry it by number, not by weight; where, with us, one piece of gold is worth a whole bag of counters. But if, after the tyrannical impositions of his Siricius and Innocentius took place in the Church, he could name for every one of his provincial synods an hundred, it were all one to us: we are not the worse; his cause no whit the better. This tradition, after that, in an emulation of the Montanistical vaunt of virginity, it had gotten head in the Church, ran like fire in a train. Those provinces, that held correspondence at Rome, according to the charge of Gregory[o], spake as she did prompt them. What should they do, but follow their mistress? the Greek Church, and those that either had dependance upon it, or which had continued in the succession of this custom of marriage, still maintaining the lawfulness and use of it inviolable.

So then, in sum, this he hath gained, which I am ready ever to avow; the ancientest Councils are against him; the later are against us; and God, with us, against them: of which we have

[m] Carthaginien. VI. Can. 3. African. sub Cœlest. Can. 37.

[n] Secundum proprios terminos, vel propria statuta. Where they read it, *Secundum priora statuta.*

[o] Ad similitudinem sedis apostolicæ, eos cuncta observare constituat.—Greg. [Magn.] Epist. l. iii. 34. [Rom. 1591. t. iv. p. 109.]

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learned to say[p], *Væ vobis, filii desertores, ut faceretis Concilium, et non ex me;* "Woe to you, rebellious children, that you should hold your Council, and not of me."

And if his mistress of Rome have elsewhere found vassals, it follows not that we may not be free.

Yea, it is more than manifest, by those evidences we have already produced from their own records, that, notwithstanding this cogged number of his provincial synods, and private decrees, (as Volusian terms them[q],) all the time of the first 700 years, the freedom of this practice continued in many parts of the Christian world. Insomuch as, amongst the rest, the Church of Armenia, for the time of the years mentioned, upheld a tradition, not to admit of any clergyman, but those which descended *ex genere sacerdotali* "descended from priests[r]." Witness the Fathers of Constantinople, in their three and thirtieth canon: where my detector should do well to inquire what Balsamon's *Clerici Chrysobullati* means. Sure I am, that this example sufficiently proves the practical liberty of those Churches, in the questioned limits of the seven first centuries. To which we may add the Church of Bulgaria, out of his Gratian[s]—the Church of Germany, out of Aventine[t]—the Church of Ireland, out of Bernard[u]: (who confesses the episcopal see of Armagh to have been furnished with a lineal descent of bishops for eight generations before the time of his Malachias, which were still both *uxorati* and *literati:* how those men were bishops, and yet *sine ordinibus,* is a riddle, which, I confess, I cannot aread: perhaps they were without Roman orders; but if they were not clerks after the then Irish fashion, what needed they be *literati,* that they might be bishops?)—the Church of our Britain, as we shall see in the process, and others.

These are more than enough to let the world see this restraint, for all this pretence of provincial and partial councils, never universally obtained.

[p] Gnapheus Orat. in defens. Io. Pistorii.

[q] Privata decreta.

[r] Concil. Constant. vi. can. 33. Quoniam cognovimus in Armeniorum regione eos solum in Cleri Ordinem referri, qui sunt ex genere sacerdotali. [Conc. quinisexti. Bin. t. iii. pars i. p. 148.]

[s] Dist. 28.

[t] Annal. Boiorum: supra.

[u] Vita S. Malach. [c. x.] Lib. Synod. Wigorn. Eccles. Canon. Concil. Hibern. sub Patricio, Auxilio Isernino. Quicunque Clericus, ab ostiario usque ad Sacerdotem, sine tunica visus fuerit, &c. et uxor ejus sine velato capite ambulaverit, pariter a laicis contemnantur, &c.—Matth. Park. Def. of Pr. Mar.

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Section XVII.

Yet the man having unmercifully crushed me in pieces with this empty bladder of windy and worthless authority, crows over me, thus, in conclusion[x]: "And, truly, to me he seemeth not to be more mad than blind; for, otherwise, he would never have proclaimed this freedom of seven hundred years, seeing the very form of words used by his own sacred council doth so strongly withstand his fond collection; for there it is decreed, *Qui sunt in sacris, &c.* 'We will, that the marriages of such as be in holy orders, from this time forward, be firm and valid;' for, in case this freedom had been common before, why did they say, *deinceps*, 'from this time forward?'" Thus he.

Wherein I would his superiors did but see how kindly he buffets himself. For if this be the force of *deinceps*, or *a modo*[y], I thus argue against him: he hath pleaded before, that neither this nor any other Church ever allowed or ever practised the celebration of marriage after ordination: now, if he turn to the sixth canon of this Council of Constantinople, he shall find *Decernimus, ut nulli deinceps hypodiacono, &c.*: "We decree, that from henceforward no sub-deacon, deacon, or priest may marry after his ordination:" therefore, by the force of his inference, before this time, for almost seven hundred years, this was commonly practised.

And now, to answer my refuter's *deinceps;* if his wit had been any way matchable with his malice, he might have seen that this *deinceps* had relation to the Roman Church, not to the Greek; for, if he know not, this synod meant to prescribe laws to his mistress, and to correct that their injurious tradition of restraint, and to enlarge this liberty through all the territories of the universal Church. For this purpose is the *deinceps* of the Constantinopolitan Fathers; who well knew, how much it needed in the Western Church, which had enthralled their clergy in the bondage of that unlawful prohibition. So as the refuter, while he plays upon my want of logic, in not descrying the dangerous necessity of this inference upon me, plainly bewrays his own want of brains in not descrying the folly of his objection; and where he tells me[z], like a dull jester, that "all the walls and windows, from the hall to the kitchen, may mourn to see an university-man have so little wit;" I must tell him, that all the doors of Douay may leap off their hinges to see their champion so childishly absurd.

[x] Refut. p. 235. [y] "From this time forward." [z] Refut. p. 236.

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Now, then, to answer his idle epilogue[a]; if it appear that his own pope and canonist, and the received histories of the Church, and the examples of several nations and persons, acknowledge this ancient liberty, both in the Eastern and (some) Western churches, *de facto;* and Moses and the prophets, Christ and his apostles, the ancient councils, with this sixth of Constantinople, approve it *de jure;* it follows, that the necessary imposition of professed continency is but a part of that sour milk wherewith the She-Wolf of the Seven-Hills feeds the faction of her Romulists and Rhemists, and none of that wholesome sustenance which God and his purer Church have provided for their children.

THE THIRD BOOK.

SECTION I.

THE marriage of ecclesiastics, which had the common allowance of the first times, had, in some parts, but the connivance of the subsequent, and the prohibition of the last.

Those Churches that were not parties to the faction of Rome could not but be much moved with so peremptory a decree of a famous Council; reducing them, in this point, to the exactness of apostolic institution, and professing to rectify that Roman deviation. No marvel, therefore, if, not long after, there ensued a collision of opposite parts, and much scuffling betwixt the abettors of antichristian servitude and evangelical liberty; whom this hedgecreeper dare term[b] "incontinent Grecians," "schismatics," "heretics." His pen is no slander. The multitude of his synods, wherein was such reiteration of the same law, shows the opposition which it still found in the Church, and the prevailing use of the contrary practice.

The Epistle of pope Gregory the Third to the clergy of Bavaria, which gives that disjunct charge, "of either living chastely, or marrying a wife whom they may not divorce," is no where,

[a] Refut. p. 237. [b] Ibid. p. 241.

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forsooth, extant, because he finds it not in his Binius, or Baronius[c]! As if no water had gone beside their mill.

And here I am threatened with the Cornelian law for forgery; no less crime. To avoid the peril whereof, let my far-seen detector turn to the Bavarian Annals of Aventine[d], in the third book, there he shall find it: an Epistle, sent to Vivilus and the other clergy of Bavaria by the hands of Martinian, George, Dorotheus, a bishop, priest, deacon, with this express disjunction—*Aut caste vivat, aut uxorem ducat*, &c.

That which he brings[e] from the successor of this Gregory, Zacharias, shows what his pope wished when he had gotten better footing in Germany: but the success makes for us; for B. Boniface either never durst, or at least never did urge these rules to his Germans.

So I hope his mouth is stopt for my forged testimony of his Gregory; which could not in his conceit be other, because he never saw it peep forth "before this in other men's books." Ywis nothing ever looked forth of the press that escaped that bookish eye!

Witness the next passage, which if his superiors could have had the leisure to have viewed, they had blushed at their champion. This charge of Gregory, I said, was "according to that rule of clerks, cited from Isidore, and renewed in the Council of Mentz;" but by our juggling adversaries clipped in the recital. Here the man cries out, as before of forgery, so now of ignorance[f], telling his readers, that I have only taken this upon trust from another's note-book. Reader, by this judge of the spirit of my detractor. It is true, Isidore wrote no book of this title; but, in the second book of his Ecclesiastical Offices, he makes the title of his second chapter, *De Regulis Clericorum;* "Of the Rules of Clerks[g]." From this chapter, I cite a confessed passage, and am thus censured; whereas, the Council of Mentz cites it by this very style, *sicut in Regula Clericorum dictum est:* "as it is said in the Rule of Clerks." Is it simplicity, that he knows not this title of Isidore? or maliciousness, that he conceals it? One of them is unavoidable. It is clear then, to his shame, if he have any, that the testimony is aright cited.

And is it less clear, that it is maimed, and out off by the hams,

[c] Refut. p. 243.
[d] Avent. Boiorum Annot. l. iii. [Ed. Basil. 1580. p. 214.]
[e] Refut. p. 244.
[f] Ibid. p. 245.
[g] [Isid. Hisp. Op. Paris. 1601. p. 596.]

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in their Moguntine Council[h]? Compare the places, the fraud shall be manifest. That Council, in the tenth chapter, professes to transcribe verbatim the words of Isidore in the forecited tract; and where Isidore saith, *Castimoniam inviolati corporis perpetuo conservare studeant, aut certe unius matrimonii vinculo fœderentur;* "Let them live chaste, or marry but one;" their good clerks have utterly left out the latter clause, and make Isidore charge his clerks with perpetual continency; "Let them live chaste." He that denies this, let him deny that there is a sun in the heaven, or light in that sun. What need I say more? Let the books speak.

Here my refuter doth so shuffle and cut, that any man may see he speaks against his own heart. For to omit his strained misinterpretation of Isidore, since we now contend not of the sense but of the citation, how poorly doth he salve up the credit of his Moguntine Fathers, while he saith[i], "Isidore spake in general, the Fathers in that Council more strictly:" when he, that hath but one half of an eye, may see, that both speak in one latitude of the same persons! Those Fathers, giving the same title to that chapter, and professing to follow the letters and syllables of Isidore, both name only *clericos* in that rule, without distinction.

Away then with this graceless facing of wilful frauds in your faithless secretaries, which have also fetched two canons out of Carthage to Worms; and learn to be ashamed of your gross falsifications and injurious expurgations; else, doubtless, the world will be ashamed of you.

SECTION II.

I did but name Huldericus's Epistle in mine as a witness, not as the foundation of my cause. My refuter spends but one and thirty whole pages upon him[k]: how else should he have made a volume?

In all this, what says he? Little, in many words; and the same words thrice over, for failing.

And, first, he wonders at my extreme prodigality of credit, and searedness of conscience, in citing an Epistle so convicted by Bellarmine, Baronius, Eckius, Faber, Fitz-Simons the Jesuit, and others.

Why doth he not wonder that the moon will keep her pace in the sky while so many dogs bark at her below? When these

[h] Conc. Mogunt. i. [Bin. t. iii. pars i. p. 464.]

[i] Refut. pp. 246 and 249.

[k] Ibid. pp. 252, to 282.

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proctors of Rome have said their worst, there is more true authority in the very face of this letter, and better arguments in the body of it, than in an hundred Decretal Epistles which he adoreth. Let the world wonder rather at his shamelessness, who, relating the occasion of this fable, as he terms it, feigns it to be only a Lutheran fiction, to cover their incestuous marriages: whereas, their own cardinal, Æneas Sylvius, almost two hundred years ago, mentions it, and reports the argument of it: whereas, it is yet extant (as Illyricus) in the libraries of Germany: whereas, Hedio found an ancient copy of it in Holland: and our John Bale, archbishop Parker, B. Jewel, Jo. Fox, had a copy of it, remarkable for reverend antiquity, in aged parchment, here in England; which I hope to have the means to produce: whereas, lastly, the very style importeth age. As well may he question all the records of their Vatican, all report of histories, all histories of times. He that would doubt whether such an Epistle were written, may as well doubt whether pope Zachary wrote to B. Boniface in Germany a direction when to eat bacon; may doubt, whether Paul the Fifth wrote to his English catholics, to persuade them not to swear they would be good subjects; may doubt, whether spider-catcher, corner-creeper C. E., pseudo-catholic priest, wrote a scurrilous letter of above two quire of paper, in a twelve-years'-answer to three leaves of J. H. It is not more sure, that there is a Rome, or that Gregory and Nicholas sat there, than that such an Epistle was written thither above seven hundred years ago. It was extant of old, before ever those Lutheran quarrels were hatched. Let him therefore go fish for frogs in the pond of his Gregory while he derives thence the vain pleas of improbability.

If there were differences in relating the circumstances of that story, (as I know none,) must it needs thereupon be false? Which of their histories is not liable to variety of report? To begin with the first: the succession of Linus and Cletus and Clemens is diversely reported; is there no truth in it? To end with the last: the title of Paul the Fifth to the chair of Peter in the lawfulness of his election is diversely reported: hath he therefore no true claim to his seat? But who ever placed Gregory's pond in Sicily? This is one of the fittens of his Fitz-Simons. If other authors have mentioned this narration, then all the strength of this history lieth not on Hulderick: if none besides him, his words vary not. These are but tricks to outface truth.

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The Epistle, in spite of contradiction, is so ancient: and what care we then for names? whether it were St. Udalrick, or Hulderick, or Volusianus, we labour not much. Let it be the task of idle critics to dispute who was Hecuba's mother, and what was her age. No less vain is my refuter, that spends many waste words about his St. Udalrick, in showing the difference of time betwixt him and pope Nicholas: the one dying anno 869; the other being born 890: and proving, out of his obscure Sorbonist, Monchiacenus, that there were five bishops of Auspurge betwixt the times of the one and the other: whereby a simple reader might easily be deluded, and drawn to think there is nothing but impossibility and untruth in our report: whereas there is nothing in all this peremptory and colourable flourish of his but mere cogging or misprision: for both Illyricus apart, and the Centurists, and Chemnitius, (all Germans, that should be best acquainted with the state of their own,) have long since told him, that his St. Udalrick was not the man whom they held the author of this Epistle, but Hulderick, another; not much different in name, but differing in time above seventy years. *Ne nominis æquivocatio lectorem turbet;* and "lest the equivocation of the name," saith Chemnitius[l], "should trouble the reader, there is another Udalrick of Augusta, whom Aventine writes to have died, anno 973: but this Hulderick, Æneas Sylvius writes to have died, anno 900, and in the year of his age, 83." Thus he; from the authority of two, their famousest historians; from whose account Onuphrius differs not much.

But that my refuter may hereafter save the labour of scanning their discordant computations, whether it were either or neither of them, it is not worth to us one hair of his crown; since, with our faithful and learned Fox[m], we rather, from the authority of ancient English copies, ascribe it to Volusianus, whose second Epistle also, in the same style, to the same purpose, is extant from the same records, not inferior to the former.

What matters it for the name, when it appears that the Epistle itself is truly ancient, ponderous, reverend, theological, convictive; and such, as the best Romans' heads cannot, after seven hundred years, shape a just answer unto? Even in some canonical books, though there be difference in the names of the penmen, there is

[l] Chem. Hist. de Cælibatu. [See Ed. Witeb. 1615. p. 210. as to Ulric.]

[m] Act. et Mon. p. 1055. [Lond. 1583. p. 1154.]

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full assent to their divine authority; and why is it not so in human?

Thus, then, we have easily blown away these light bubbles of discourse which our adversary hath raised out of the nutshell of his computation; from the age, person, writings of his St. Udalrick, and return his *impuram nescio cujus nebulonis epistolam*, with his *ferrei oris* and *plumbei cordis*, back whence it came; to the writer, cited by my adversary, not named; but, by better due to the next hand, whereto I am no whit beholding for leaving it unenglished in that, C. E. spared not me, but himself. Who is *nescio quis*, but he that leapeth into the press without a name? Who *nebulo*, rather than he that masketh and marcheth *sub nebula*, hoping to pass in the conflict for a doughty knight or champion sconosciuto, not daring to lift up his beaver? Who writes *impuram epistolam*, but he that hath scribbled a voluminous epistle to cry down pure and honourable marriage, for the enhancing of impure celibate? not that, *in thesi*, celibate is impure, but *in hypothesi*, theirs, forced and hypocritical.

Section III.

As for the difference that he finds in our number of pope Nicholas, whether first, or second, or third, we may thank his Gratian, whose fashion it is, as likewise Sigebert's, to name the popes without the note of their number. We are sure it was not Nicholas *Nemo* which wrote to Odo, bishop of Vienna, reproving him for giving leave to Alvericus, a deacon, to marry; thereupon sending his contrary decree to the German Churches, which it seems, or the like imposition, gave occasion to this noble Epistle.

But can there be any game amongst our English popish pamphleteers where the fox is not in chase? Where is the shame of this Roman priest, while he so manifestly belies our holy, reverend, worthy master Fox; whom this Scoganly pen dare say plays the goose in the inconstancy of his relation of this Nicholas; first reporting him the First, then the Second: when it is most manifest in the during monuments of that industrious and excellent author, that he still insists upon Nicholas the Second; rejecting, by many arguments, the opinion of them which have referred it to the First? Such truth there is in shorn crowns. John Huss was a goose by name, and now John Fox is a goose by reproach. Two such geese are more worth than all the fawning curs of the Roman Capitol.

And how much more wit than fidelity is there in my detector,

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while he would prove that pope Gregory had then no pond, because there are now no ponds at Rome? As if Rome were now, in any thing, as it was; as if twelve hundred years had made no alteration; as if the streets of Troy were not now champaign[n]; as if his Lipsius could now find Rome in Rome; as if, lastly, that man were uncapable of a large pond whose sea is universal.

As for the number of children's heads, I can say no more for it than he can against it. This history shall be more worth to us than his denial. But this I dare say, that I know persons, both of credit and honour, that saw betwixt fifty and threescore cast up out of the little mote of an abbey where I now live[o]. Let who list cast up the proportion.

After the refusal of this worthy Epistle, according to his fashion, he tries to disgrace it with us, telling us, that therein the bishop of Rome is styled *supreme head and governor of the whole Church.* If it were thus, so much more powerful is the testimony against them, by how much more the witness was theirs. There must needs be much cause, when he, that so humbly over-titles the person, resists the doctrine so vehemently. But the truth is, that the Epistle styles pope Nicholas no otherwise in the superscription, than *Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Provisorem,* "Overseer of the Holy Roman Church." And in the body of the letter, *Summæ Sedis Pontificem;* "Bishop of the Chief See; to whom the examination of the common affairs of the Church doth appertain;" which is far other, than in the now Roman sense, the Supreme Head of the Church.

Secondly, he tells us, that this Epistle both grants and allows a vow of continency; *nullum excipit, nisi professorem continentiæ;* "he excepts none but a professor of continence;" wherein we are no other than friends; we yield no less, where there is good evidence of the gift and calling of God. But while our Volusian grants the professor of continency bound, and pleads the clergy to be free, how plainly doth he show us that there was no such vow then required of, no such made by the clergy?

But what needs the man to be so furiously angry[p] with the good old epistler for saying, that the apostle's charge, *Let every one have his own wife,* is general to all, reaching to the clergy as well as the laity, excepting none but those which have the gift of continency? What logic, the want whereof he sometimes causelessly objecteth to me, ever taught him, that ἕκαστος, *unusquisque,*

[n] Nunc seges est ubi Troia fuit. Radulphi Bourn, &c.
[o] Vid. quæ supra, l. i. sect. 12. Histor.
[p] Refut. p. 272.

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every one, was any other than universal? Or what other sense can be put upon the words of the apostle? Could I as truly upbraid Sir Refuter with reading the logic lesson, as he doth me with the rhetoric, surely I should not now be put to pains to teach this novice, that ἕκαστος, *unusquisque*, is a term of collective universality, and must be extended to all; where kind is excepted tacitly, *ex natura rei*, as this case must needs be acknowledged to be, foreprizing none but such as have the gift of continency, which St. Paul toucheth upon in that chapter.

Judge then, reader, whether the catholic bishop that wrote this, or the mis-catholic mass-priest that reproves it, be more worthy of bedlam.

Section IV.

Lastly, yet, as if in the loose he would shake hands and be friends with him whom he had so long defied, he thus closes up[q]: "Then, if priests have this gift, and have prefixed this course to themselves in the Lord, they shall not need to marry; and this is the case of all clergymen who vow chastity." Thus he.

Believe him, readers, if ye can. All the Romish clergy, all votaries have the gift of continency. Witness our foresaid Volusianus in the same period; *Multos ejusdem consilii assentatores, hominibus non Deo pro falsa specie continentiæ placere volentes, graviora vides committere; patrum, scilicet, uxores subagitare, masculorum ac pecudum amplexus non abhorrere.* I will not English it for shame. Would God the world did not too well find still these proofs of Romish chastity!

Nunc etiam Romæ quidlibet audet Amor[r].

But as one that thinks no man can be his friend except also he be our enemy; like a true makebate, he will tell us a tale in our ear that shall set a perpetual jar betwixt us and our Hulderick.

"I wis," says my refuter[s], "your Udalrick is not the man you take him for; for thus he there writes to the pope; 'Wherefore, O reverend Father, it shall be your part to cause and oversee that whosoever, either with hand or mouth, hath made a vow of continency, (as all clergymen in holy orders have,) and afterwards would forsake the same, should be either compelled to keep his vow, or else by lawful authority should be deposed from his order.'" So he.

But we are not so light of belief to lose a friend thus easily.

[q] Refut. p. 273.
[r] Propert. [l. ii. El. 7.—Per te nunc Romæ quidlibet audet Amor.]
[s] Refut. p. 274.

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Know then, reader, that the parenthesis[t], which is the harshest piece of this clause, is foisted into the text and forged by this caviller; the quite contrary whereof is affirmed in the former period of our Udalrick, where thus he writes; *Non parum quippe, &c.* "From this holy discretion thou hast not a little swerved, when as thou wouldest have those clergymen whom thou oughtest only to advise to abstinence from marriage, compelled unto it by a certain imperious violence. For is not this justly, in the judgment of all wise men, to be accounted violence, when as against the Evangelical Institution and the charge of the Holy Ghost, any man is constrained to the execution of private decrees? The Lord, in the old Law, appointed marriage to his priest, which he is never read afterwards to have forbidden." So he.

Let my refuter then reconcile this false parenthesis with the true text, which he can never do, since it directly crosseth the whole scope of Hulderick's Epistle; and then he shall see us easily reconcile Hulderick's proposition with ours.

But, not so long to delay my reader's satisfaction, the truth is, the author pleads for an indifferent immunity of clergymen from the necessity of this vow; else the Epistle were contradictory to itself; for if he suppose that all the clergy had vowed, and all that had vowed should be compelled to keep their vow, how could he plead that the clergy should not be compelled to continence? The drift of Hulderick or Volusian, then, is, that it may be equally lawful, equally free for priests, either to vow or not to vow continency; which granted, if any one having liberty not to have vowed or observed it, shall notwithstanding "prefix this course to himself in the Lord[u]," out of a long settled experience and assurance of this calling and gift of God; and now, when he hath thus engaged himself to the expectation of the Church, *voluerit apostatare*, "shall be froward wantonly to abandon this vow," willingly neglecting all good means for the continued observation thereof; such a one shall be liable either to compulsion or deposition: as now, if any one of ours should, in the midst of freedom, bind himself by a voluntary vow, it were pity and shame that he should play fast and loose at pleasure with impunity.

What wool then is here worthy of this cry? or, wherein hath our author offended us? while we neither make this vow, nor

[t] ("As all clergymen in holy orders have.") [Foxe's Acts and Mon. Lond. 1583. p. 1154.]

[u] Præfixit hoc sibi in Domino. [qui de continuanda in Domino virginitate præfixit.] Ibid.

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can therefore ever break it; nor ever allowed the breakers of so-made vows, guiltless?

One quarrel yet he cannot remit[x] to master Fox and me, that for this forenamed Hulderick we cite Æneas Sylvius in his Germania, a book that never was.

This great *helluo librorum* hath wearied all libraries; and consulted with his Tritemius and Possevine: neither of them mention any such work of Æneas Sylvius: whereas, if he had but taken the book next the door, Gesner's Bibliotheca, he had found, if at least he could have seen the wood for trees, Sylvius's Germania; which, for failing, he might have heard of in a double edition: the one, larger; the other, more contracted. The first, Gesner expresses thus: *Extat ejusdem 'Germania,' qua continentur Gravamina Nationis Germanicæ, et Confutatio eorundem, cum Replica:* "There is extant the same author's 'Germania,' wherein are contained the grievances of the German nation, and a confutation of the same, with a reply." The latter is, *Æneæ Sylvii 'Germania' excerpta, &c.* "The 'Germania' of Æneas Sylvius, gathered out of that book, wherein the grievances of the German nation objected to the see of Rome, by Martin Mere, a lawyer of Mentz, are refelled."

See now, reader, whether my refuter can blush. In the one of these, which, after denial, he confesseth to have seen, he finds somewhat that likes him not. Sylvius, speaking of Auspurge, *Sanctus Udalricus huic præsidet*, saith he[y], *qui papam arguit de concubinis:* "Udalrick is the saint of that city who reproved the pope concerning concubines." The bone lies before him: let him pick out the marrow as he can: which because he finds hard to break, he casts it from him in a chafe; and tells us, for the last refuge, he hath seen a printed copy, and two manuscripts, without these words, *in verbo sacerdotis.* And so just have we found him of his word all this while, that he were hardhearted that would not believe him.

Section V.

But still, I am taken tardy in my time; or rather, do overtake. I reckon this liberty to have continued in Germany after Hulderick for some two hundred years; "whereas, betwixt St. Udalrick and Gregory the Seventh were but an hundred and twelve years[z].

[x] Refut. p. 276.

[y] In sua Germ. Illyr. Catal. Test. l. xix. Æneas. [De Magn. Imp. Germ. c. xii. Goldast. Pol. Imp. Francof. 1614.]

[z] Refut. p. 280.

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But, still his saint deceives him; and if I should have erred, his own chronologers should have deceived me. For his Onuphrius, in his Ecclesiastical Chronicle, makes our Hulderick bishop of Auspurge, in the beginning of pope Nicholas, anno 859. And his Sigebert, and other chroniclers, cast Gregory the Seventh's opposition to priests' marriage upon the year 1074. Where now is my error? where is my overreaching? Count it, reader; and see whether I cannot make my word good, and give him fifteen years into the bargain: and now judge whether of us may say, *Non sat commode divisa sunt temporibus tibi, Dave, hæc;* and whether of us it is from whom nothing cometh savouring of any learning or truth; and if thou thinkest it fit, blush for him.

The like, I fear, willing error[a] upon the same ground, is the miscalculation of the times of Leo the Ninth and Nicholas the Second; betwixt whose times and Udalrick he makes but fifty years: abating one other half of the hundred, to expose me to the laughter of his credulous clients; which may now say, "Lo the man, which, in a reckoning of 200 years, did outlash but 150:" whenas both their Sigebert and Hermannus Contractus (and who not?) make Leo the Ninth, pope an. 1049; and Nicholas the Second, some ten years after him. The very elder whereof, if we reckon to Hulderick, an. 859, will be in no less than 190 years' distance. The man wanted either counters or wit or honesty. Truth, I am sure, he wants.

Section VI.

Antichrist, which was conceived in the primitive times, saw the light in Boniface the Third; and was grown to his stature and ἀκμὴ in Gregory the Seventh. So as I might well say, that the body of antichristianism, together with the prohibition of marriage, began to be complete in that Hildebrand. The times accord better than our papists would have them. After a thousand years, Satan was loosed: at that very time did this Hildebrand, otherwise Gregory, by the instigation of the devil, as himself confessed at his death, (witness cardinal Benno, and Sigebert,) trouble the Church: belike, with the violent obtrusion of this *doctrine of devils* (prohibition of marriage) and insolent detrusion of imperial authority.

It is then but a Sardonian laughter, that my refuter takes up[b]

[a] Refut. p. 281. [b] Ibid, p. 283.

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at our complete Antichrist; whose supparasitation may one day cost him tears and gnashing.

But, good God! what saints hath the Roman Church! Hildebrand is one of their calendar: the legend of whose holiness shall anon make any man, save C. E., ashamed.

Since it will be no better, *perge mentiri.* I am now charged[c] with a fair contradiction; while I am accused to say, that the liberty of priests' marriages was universal for a thousand years; and yet had before granted, that in Stephen the Second's time, which was two hundred and forty years before, the western clergy was restrained. In all which he persuades his friends that I would fain lie grossly, if my memory would let me. Reader, do but review my words. These they are: "After him," that is, Hulderick, "so strongly did he plead and so happily," that "for two hundred years more this freedom still blessed those parts." I speak of Germany; he, of Italy: I speak of those parts; he of all. Is not this a logical and faithful refutation?

Yet more: this bold and false hand dares write[d], that Leo the Ninth and Nicholas the Second "never meddled with the prohibition of these marriages: only, the one made a decree against harlots; the other, against concubines:" neither of which, he hopes, we will apply to ourselves. We are so used to these impudent assertions, that now we cease to wonder at them.

Let him tell me, what was that epistle which Leo the Ninth wrote to Peter the Hermit? whose very title is[e], *Incontinentiam clericorum detestatur, et puniendam describit:* "He detests the incontinency of clerks, and writes to have it punished." The epistle is bitter, like my libeller's. And, lest he should say we guiltily take to ourselves the imputation of incontinency, it is bent against *quadrimodam carnalis contagionis pollutionem,* "a fourfold pollution of clergymen;" whereof one he will not sure deny to be marriage.

Let him tell me, what was done under Leo, in the Council of Mentz, about the year 1049, of which, Adam Bremensis, who was there present, writes[f], *Simoniaca hæresis et nefanda sacerdotum conjugia holographa synodi manu perpetuo damnata est:*

[c] Refut. p. 284.
[d] Ibid. p. 285.
[e] Append. Epist. Leon. ix. Binius. [Col. Agr. 1606. t. iii. pars 2. p. 1107.]
[f] Adam. Brem. l. iii. c. 31. [Script. Rer. Germ. Lindenb. Franc. 1609. p. 47.] Bin. Not. in Synod. Mogunt. [t. iii. pars ii. p. 1122.]

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that is, "The heresy of simony, and the wicked marriages of priests, by the consent of the synod was condemned." Is this nothing done by his Leo, the *Leo rugiens* of that time?

As for his Nicholas the Second[g], good man, he did nothing, neither! Only he stained women, as honest as himself, with the name of concubines: and men, more holy than himself, with the name of Nicolaitans; whom he must needs love for the name's sake: and an estate of life, as holy as his own, with the name of "filthy copulation." Let his pope's shameful decrees and his shameless lies go both together, for company, whence they came.

SECTION VII.

Yet, still the farther we go, the worse. My refuter surpasses himself in the prizes that he plays for his pope Gregory the Seventh; who first, he saith[h], did not ruin this liberty of marriages.

Let Vincentius, and Radulphus de Diceto, and Sigebert[i], speak for us both: *Uxoratos sacerdotes à divino*, &c.: "He removed married priests from their function, and forbade the people to hear their masses: a new example, and, as many thought, inconsiderately prejudicial against the judgment of the holy fathers, &c." But he fully prevailed not, saith my refuter. What thank is that to him? he did his best; and kindled those coals that could never yet be quenched. He led the way to his Urban the Second and Paschal the Second. They followed him, and prevailed. The broils were his, if not the victory.

Gratum opus scortatoribus, saith Aventine; "Aventine," saith my refuter[k], "a late gospelling brother." For us, we are glad of the fraternity of so worthy an author, whom Beatus Rhenanus gratulates to his Germany, and calls *eruditissimum Aventinum*; "most learned Aventine;" and *variarum cognitione disciplinarum præstantem*, "excelling in the knowledge of all variety of learning:" and Erasmus, *hominem studio indefatigabili, ac reconditæ lectionis*, "a man of unwearable pains and deep reading." Lastly, whom his just epitaph styles, *rerum antiquarum indagatorem sagacissimum*, "a most diligent and accurate searcher of antiquities."

[g] Refut. p. 286. [h] Ibid. p. 287. [i] Chron. Sigebert. ann. 1074. Polydor. Verg. Exemplo, post homines natos, importunissimo. Ex qua re tam grave oritur scandalum, ut, nullius hæresis tempore, sancta Ecclesia graviore schismate scissa sit.—Sigeb. ibid.

[k] Refut. p. 288.

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But the truth is, no man, by his history, can tell his religion. The Canons of Augusta praise him for the light he gives to the institutions of their monasteries. And when he speaks of the shrines of Berg, Valentia, and Halle, I am sure he mentions them with too popish devotion; and when of Jo. Huss and Jerome of Prague, he taxes them with *crimen irreligiositatis*. Yet this man, born anno 1466, when he but speaks a famous truth of Hildebrand and the German clergy, he is become "a late gospelling brother." Still let us have brethren that care more for their honesty than their faction.

Neither yet, to give the devil his due[l], do we think so ill of those enemies of married chastity, that they did purposely enact laws of unmarried looseness; but that all abominable filthiness did follow upon the restraint of lawful remedies, who sees not? Sigebert himself, their own monk, freely acknowledges it[m]. John Haywood, our old epigrammatist, told queen Mary, her clergy was saucy; if they had not wives, they would have lemans. Where there is not the gift of holy continency, how could it be otherwise? Where the water is dammed up, and yet the stream runs full, how can it choose but rise over the banks? There is purity, therefore, out of wedlock, but not out of continence.

And what needed my detector to travel so far as England[n] for an example of incontinency in a king Henry, or any wife of his, whether falsely or truly objected, when he might have looked nearer the centre of their Church, and have found his own pope John, in the very time now questioned for this prohibition, killed by the devil in the act of adultery with another man's wife[o]? This end of the wallet hangs behind him.

Section VIII.

Hildebrand, as I learned of Aventine, is as much as *titio amoris*, "the brand of love." But how little he differed in name or nature from Hellebrand, *titio infernalis*, "brand of hell," as Chemnitius calls him, his history shows too well.

[l] Refut. p. 289.

[m] Porro continentiam paucis tenentibus, aliquibus eam modo causa quæstus ac jactantiæ simulantibus, multis incontinentiam perjurio aut multiplici[ori] adulterio cumulantibus, &c.—Sigeb. an. 1074.

[n] Refut. p. 291.

[o] Io. autem Papa se cum uxore cujusdam oblectans, a Diabolo in tempore percutitur.—Sigeb. an. 963.

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And is it possible that any man should rise upp, after so many hundred years, to canonize St. Hildebrand, even in that for which he condemned himself?

My reader must know the man a little from the witness of his own conclave, his cardinal Benno, arch-priest of the Roman Church, then living. Others, besides, tell of his beginnings in wicked necromancy, and murderous underminings, and tyrannical swaying of the keys, ere he had them. Benno tells how he got them; how he used them; how he used them, gotten; he got them by fraud, money, violence; he used them with tyranny.

There was a knot and a succession of necromancers in those days. Gerbertus, which was Silvester the Second, was the master of the school. His chief scholars in the black art were Theophylactus, afterwards changed into pope Benedict, and Laurentius, and Gratianus. These were the tutors of Hildebrand's younger times, of whom he learned both magic and policy.

It is a world to see what work these magicians made, like the ill spirits they raised, in church and commonwealth; opposing emperors, setting up what popes they pleased, poisoning whom they disliked.

At last, it came to Hildebrand's turn to take the chair. To which purpose[q] he separated first the bishops from the cardinals averse from him. When he had done, he compelled them, by terror and force, to swear unto his part: which done, he was elected, in spite of the canons, only by lay persons, by soldiers. He expelled the cardinals; rashly excommunicated the emperor, of his own head, without any canonical accusation, without subscription of any cardinal; hired a bloody villain to murder the emperor; consulted with the oracle of his breaden God, which, because it answered not, he cast it into the fire. He exercised most horrible cruelties upon many, hanging up men, at his pleasure, unconvicted. In a word, *quantis hæresibus mundum corruperit*, &c.! saith Benno, in his conclusion, "his heresies, his perjuries, can scarce be described by many pens." *Clamat tamen altius*, &c. "But the Christian blood, shed by his instigation and command," saith he, "cries yet louder to God: yea, the blood of the Church, which the sword of his tongue, in a miserable prodition, hath shed, cries out against him; for which

p Refut. p. 293. q Benno Cardin. Vita Hildebr.

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things the Church did most justly depart from all communion with him." Thus Benno: who yet, to make amends, tells us[r], that Hildebrand, upon his deathbed, repented of these lewd courses; and sent to the emperor and the Church to cry them mercy; confessing, as Sigebert reports, that he had by the suasion of the devil raised these wicked tumults.

Yet this is the man whom Bellarmine will justify by seven and twenty authors, and C. E. can add[s] two more to the heap; yea, in those very things for which he condemned himself.

Reader, if one of his evil spirits should have stept into Peter's chair, do ye think he could have wanted proctors? But how good an account we were like to have of seven and twenty authors, if it would requite the cost to examine them, appears, in that Lambertus Schafnaburgensis, which is cited for the man that magnifies the miracles of this Gregory, says only this one word of him, that he wrought many prodigies, but speaks, indeed, the like of one Anno, archbishop of Cologne, who lived and died in the time of Gregory[t].

As for Gregory's miracles, Benno the cardinal tells us what they were; that he raised devils familiarly; that he shaked sparks of fire out of his sleeve by his magic—a trick that well beseemed an Hellebrand, who set all the world on fire by his wicked impetuosity. We will not envy Rome this saint; let them enjoy him; let them celebrate him, and cry down Henry the emperor, and all that opposed him. Still may such as these be the tutelar gods of that holy city! For us, it is comfort enough to us, that our marriages had such a persecutor.

That the churches did hereupon ring of him for antichrist, Aventine is my author[u]. *Pro concione, &c.:* "In their sermons," saith he, "they did curse Hildebrand; they cried out on him as a man transported with hatred and ambition." *Antichristum esse prædicant:* "They declared him to be antichrist. They said, that under the colourable title of Christ, he did the service of antichrist[x]; that he sits in Babylon, in the temple of God, and is advanced above all that is called God." So he.

And little better is that which his Schafnaburgensis, so much

[r] So our Rogerus Cestrens. l. vii. [c. 3.] Papa Hildebrandus, laborans in extremis, vocavit ad se Cardinalem, quem plus dilexerat; et confessus est, se suscitasse odium et schisma inter Imperatorem et alios Christianos, unde dissoluit vincula bannorum et obiit.

[s] Refut. p. 295, usque ad 306.

[t] Lamb. Schafnab. Hist. Rerum German.

[u] Refut. p. 306, usque ad 309.

[x] Antichristi negotium agitat.

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extolled by C. E., recordeth[y]; *Adversus hoc decretum infremuit tota factio clericorum, &c.* "Against this decree," saith he, "all the whole faction of clergymen fretted and mutinied; accusing him as an heretic, and a man of perverse opinion; who, forgetting the word of Christ, which said, *All men cannot receive this*, did, by a violent exaction, compel men to live in the fashion of angels."

To which if I should add the sentence of the Synod of Worms, and that of Brixia, my reader would easily see that it is not the applause of some devoted pen that can free him from these foul imputations of deserved infamy.

That untruth then cleared, another belike hangs upon the score. My refuter charges me[z] with falsehood in saying that Gregory the Seventh was deposed by the French and German bishops. "Only the Germans," he saith, "were actors in that tragedy." But if not at Worms, yet let him tell me what was done at Brixia, and by whom; *Quamobrem Italiæ, Germanæ, Galliæ Pontifices, &c.* "Wherefore," saith Aventinus, "the bishops of Italy, Germany, and France, the seventh of the calends of July, met at Brixia in Bavaria, and sentenced Hildebrand to have spoken and done against Christian piety, &c., and condemned him of heresy, impiety, sacrilege, &c.

And that my refuter may find himself answered at once to the last of his cavils, wherein he pleads[a] that this deposition was not so much as pretended for the inhibition of these marriages, but for other causes, let him see the copy of the judgment passed against him in the said council; wherein, after the accusation of his simoniacal[b] climbing into the chair, the vice which he pretended most to persecute in others; his forcible possession; his heresy; his machinations against the emperor; his perverting of the laws both of God and men; his false doctrines, sacrileges, perjuries, lies, murders, by him suborned and commended; his tyranny; his setting of discord betwixt brethren, friends, cousins—it follows, *Inter conjuges divortia facit: suavis homo sacerdotes, qui uxores habent legitimas, sacrificos esse pernegat: interim, tamen, scortatores, adulteros, incestuosos aris admovet, &c.* "He causes divorces betwixt man and wife: the fine man denies those priests which have lawful wives to be priests at all: in the mean time he admits to the altar whoremongers, adulterers, incestuous persons,

[y] Lamb. Schafnaburg. l. de Rebus German. [Francof. 1566. p. 201.]

[z] Refut. p. 307.

[a] Refut. p. 310, 311.

[b] The virtues of C. E.'s saint.

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&c." *Nos ergo:* "We therefore, by the authority of Almighty God, pronounce him deposed from his popedom."

Thus Aventine specifies the decree; which alone, without commentary, without enforcement, answers all the frivolous exceptions of my wordy adversary.

So as now, to return his epilogue, he hath sent back my ten pretended lies[c] with the unreasonable and inverted usury of well near a hundred. *Pauperis est numerare.*

Section IX.

From foreign parts I return at last to our own. So, I fear, hath C. E. done long since, lurking somewhere in England for no good. These fugitives love not home more than their home hath cause to hate them.

His cavils of the wonderous contradiction betwixt my margin and my text[d] are too childish to be honoured with an answer. My text was, "The bickerings of our English clergy with their Dunstans, about this time, are memorable."

My margin cites Henry of Huntingdon, affirming Anselm to be the first that forbade marriage.

"Betwixt these two," saith my refuter, "was an hundred years' difference." I grant it: but had my words been thus, if my detector were not disposed to seek a knot in a rush, he had easily noted, that in a general survey of all ages the phrase "about that time" admits much latitude, and will easily stretch, without any strain, to one whole century of years. Had the quotation been as he pleadeth, this answer were sufficient; but my words need no such reconciliation. I stand to the censure, and disclaim the mercy of any reader; for that citation of Anselm hath plain reference to the following words; "Our histories testify, how late, how repiningly our clergy stooped under this yoke." It is for this that my margin points to Henry Huntingdon and Fabian reporting Anselm the first man that prohibited these marriages.

What contradiction now can his acuteness detect in these two? The English clergy had bickerings with their Dunstans, and stooped late and repiningly to this yoke under Anselm. See, reader, and admire the equal truth and logic of a catholic priest, and judge how well he bestoweth his pages!

Section X.

It is true[e], Dunstan was the man, who first, with his other two

[c] Refut. p. 316. [d] Ibid. p. 317. [e] Ibid. p. 318.

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cousins and partners in canonization[f], opposed any appendance of the married clergy. He wrought it with good king Edgar by dreams, and visions, and miracles. He, who when the devil came to tempt him to lust caught him by the nose with a hot pair of tongues, and made him roar out for mercy[g], supposed that every clergyman had the same irons in the fire, and therefore blew the coals to that good king of the dislike of these clerical marriages; and with the same breath enkindled the zeal of monkery. The Church, wherein I am now interested, and wherein I do, by the providence of God and the bounty of my gracious master, succeed their St. Oswald's priors, yields me sufficient records hereof: which because they are both worthy of public light, and give no small light to the business in hand, I have thought good here to insert.

Nomina fundatorum ecclesiæ Wigorniensis. Tempore Ethelredi regis, &c.—constituta est sedes episcopalis Wigorn. Bosel episcopus primus.—Septimus decimus, Sanctus Oswaldus, tempore cujus Edgarus rex dedit &c.—Mediante vero beato Oswaldo, a clericis in monachos translata est sedes pontificalis honoris: "The names of the founders of the church of Worcester. In the time of king Ethelred, &c.—was Worcester made an episcopal see. Bosel was the first bishop.—The 17th was St. Oswald, in whose time king Edgar gave, &c.—And by the mediation of St. Oswald was this cathedral church translated from married clerks unto monks."

Then follows the charter of king Edgar founding the monks, with this title, *Carta Regis Eadgari, de Oswaldeslaw.*

Altitonantis Dei largiflua clementia, qui est Rex Regum et Dominus Dominantium, Ego, Eadgarus Anglorum Basileus; omnium regum insularum oceani, quæ Britanniam circumjacent, cunctarumque nationum quæ infra eam includuntur, Imperator et Dominus; gratias ago ipsi Deo Omnipotenti Regi meo, qui meum imperium sic ampliavit, et exaltavit, super regnum patrum meorum.—

Quapropter et ego, Christi gloriam et laudem in regno meo exaltare, et ejus servitium amplificare devotus disposui; et per meos fideles fautores, Dunstanum videlicet Archiepiscopum, et Athelwoldum ac Oswaldum Episcopos, quos mihi patres spiri-

[f] Oswald and Ethelwold.
[g] Gul. Malmesb. It. Legend. &c. [De Gestis Pont. Angl. ed. Savil. Francof. 1601. p. 202.]

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tuales et consiliarios, elegi, magna ex parte secundum quod disposui perfeci.—

Et ipsis supradictis meis cooperatoribus strenue annitentibus, jam XL. et VII. Monasteria cum Monachis et Sanctimonialibus constitui: et si Christus vitam mihi tam diu concesserit, usque ad quinquagesimum remissionis numerum meæ devotæ Deo munificentiæ oblationem protendere decrevi. Unde, nunc in præsenti, Monasterium, quod prædictus reverendus Episcopus Oswaldus in Sede Episcopali Wereceastre, in honorem Sanctæ Dei Genitricis Mariæ amplificavit; et eliminatis Clericorum neniis et spurcis lasciviis, religiosis Dei servis, Monachis, meo consensu et favore, suffultus locavit; Ego ipsis Monasticæ Religionis viris, regali authoritate confirmo, et consilio et astipulatione principum et optimatum meorum corroboro et consigno: ita ut, jam amplius, non sit fas neque jus Clericis, reclamandi quicquam inde: quippe qui magis elegerunt, cum sui Ordinis periculo et Ecclesiastici Beneficii dispendio suis uxoribus adhærere, quam Deo caste et canonice servire. Et, ideo, cuncta, quæ illi de Ecclesia possederant, cum ipsa Ecclesia, sive ecclesiastica sive secularia, tam mobilia quam immobilia, ipsis Dei servis Monachis, ab hac die perpetualiter, regiæ munificentiæ jure, deinceps possidenda trado et consigno; ita firmiter, ut nulli Principum nec etiam ulli Episcopo succedenti fas sit, aut licitum quicquam inde subtrahere aut pervadere, aut ab eorum potestate surripere, et in Clericorum jus iterum traducere, quamdiu Fides Christiana in Anglia perduraverit. Sed et dimidium centuriatum, &c.—

In the end dated thus: *Facta sunt hæc Anno Dominicæ Nativitatis, D.CCCCLXIV: Indictione VIII: regni Eadgari, Anglorum Regis, VI: in regia urbe, quæ, ab incolis, Glouceastre nominatur: in Natale Domini.* In English thus.

"By the bountiful mercy of Almighty God, which is King of kings and Lord of lords, I, Edgar king of England, and of all the kings of the islands of the ocean lying about Britain, and of all the nations that are included within it, emperor and lord; do give thanks to Almighty God my King, which hath enlarged my empire, and exalted it above the kingdom of my fathers.—

"Wherefore I also, having devoted myself to exalt the glory and praise of Christ in my kingdom, and to enlarge his service, have intended; and by my faithful well-willers, Dunstan Archbishop, Athelwold and Oswald Bishops, whom I have chosen for

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my spiritual fathers and counsellors, I have for the greatest part already performed what I intended, &c.—

"And, by the diligent endeavours of my foresaid helpers, I have now constituted and made seven and forty monasteries with monks and nuns: and if Christ shall give me to live so long, I have decreed to draw forth the oblation of this my devout munificence unto God to the full number of fifty, which is the number of my remission[h]. Whereupon, now for the present, I do, by my royal authority, confirm to persons of monastical religion, and by the consent and astipulation of my princes and peers do establish and consign to them, that monastery, which the foresaid reverend bishop Oswald, to the honour of the blessed Mother of God, hath amplified in the episcopal see of Wereceastre; and expelling the wanton and filthy lasciviousness of clerks, hath, by my consent and favour, bestowed it upon the religious servants of God, the monks: so as from henceforth, it shall not be lawful for the said clerks to challenge any thing therein; as those, which have rather chosen, with the danger of their order and the loss of their ecclesiastical benefice[i], to stick unto their wives, than chastely and canonically to serve God. And therefore, all that ever they possessed of the said church, whether ecclesiastical or secular, movable or unmovable, together with the church itself, I do, from this day forward for ever, give and consign to the said monks, to be possessed of them, in the right of my royal munificence; so firmly, that it shall not be lawful for any prince or any bishop succeeding to subtract aught from them, or to withdraw any of the premises from their power, and to deliver it back again to the right and possession of clerks, so long as the Christian faith shall remain in England, &c.—

Facta sunt hæc, &c. "These things were done in the year of Christ's Nativity, D.CCCCLXIV: Indiction VIII: in the sixth year of the reign of Edgar, king of England, in the royal city, which by the inhabitants is named Glouceastre: in the feast of the Nativity of our Lord," &c.

That Dunstan did this, none ever doubted.

But, withal, it is considerable who himself was—an abbot, and therefore partial to the cloisters. And who put him into this commission? Pope John the Thirteenth; a monster of men, yea, of popes; one, who, as was articled against him in a general council, had committed incest with two of his own sisters; who

[h] So as it appears, this number was set to king Edgar, by Dunstan, for his penance.

[i] That is, their prebend.

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called to the devil for his help at dice; who defloured virgins; who lay with Stephana, his father's concubine; who drank to the devil; besides many other horrible criminations—a man fit to set a saint on work against lawful marriages!

And thirdly, what the state of the times were; wherein liberty was degenerate into strange licentiousness. Even change of wives, if we may believe histories, was then no wonder: for the correcting whereof, the reformers, according to the philosophers' advice, laboured towards the other extreme; as those, which to straighten a stick bow it as much the contrary way.

And lastly, how far this act and endeavour extended. For Dunstan sought not to thrust married men out of the clergy, but to thrust married clergymen out of cathedral churches[k], which required a quotidian attendance. Which is evident, both by the sentence of Dunstan—*Aut canonice vivendum, aut ab ecclesia exeundum*, "Either that they must live canonically, or get out of the Church," that is, *ex ecclesiis majoribus*, "from the greater churches," as historians relate it—and by the sentence of the rood for Dunstan; *mutaretis non bene*. How much difference there was in these two, appears in the decree of bishop Lanfranc, Anselm's predecessor; which, tolerating married seculars, drives directly against married canons.

Little needed my refuter then, but that he must have something to say, to fall upon[l] our right reverend and learned bishop of Hereford, whose worthy labours have justly endeared him to all posterity, for that true comparison he makes betwixt these three saints of theirs and Anselm. They, by action; he, by synodical decree, persecuted the clergy. They bent their endeavours against cathedral clerks; he, against priests. Their project was particular; his, universal.

That a peremptory sentence passed generally against the marriage of ecclesiastics in a public synod under Dunstan he refers us[m] to Binius; which, at random, talks of *concilium Anglicanum*, without all particulars of place or persons; and refers us to Surius, as if he had bidden us ask his fellow if he lie. Why did he not send us to Father Parsons, or his Gabriel Gifford? Sure, it was in some obscure hole of the Peak, or some blind dormitory of a convent: neither can we say of it, with the apostle, *These things were not done in a corner*. The canons, whereto the fore-

[k] Expulit malos presbyteros: introduxit pejores monachos.—Polyd.
[l] Refut. p. 321. [m] Ibid. p. 193.

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alleged charter and the sentence of Dunstan have reference, were no other than Romish; which these monkish prelates had persuaded King Edgar to receive, and in part to urge upon his married prebendaries. The success of his synod at Reading or Winchester he knows well enough.

And is he ashamed of the miraculous sentence of his Holy-Rood (which Jornalensis reports) who there openly spake for the monks against the clergy, (*Absit ut hoc fiat!*) that he passes over[n] to that of Calne, where the falling of an overcharged floor crushed the marriage of clergymen? Idle monks! who for their own turn set such a superstitious gloss upon that accident! which, as Henry Huntingdon more probably interprets it[o], was *signum Excelsi Dei, quod, proditione et interfectione regis sui, ab amore Dei casuri essent, et a diversis gentibus digna contritione conterendi:* "a sign from the High God, that by their treason and murder of their king," who was slain the year after, "they should fall from the favour of God, and be worthily crushed by other nations." Thus he.

Such was the event. For the construction of it, the reader may choose whether he will believe an archdeacon of Huntingdon or a monk of Malmesbury[p] Ywis these rotten joists are foundation enough whereon to build the prohibition of our marriages.

SECTION XI.

Under these late Romish saints, Dunstan and Anselm, I might safely say our English clergy found the first machinations against their marriage; and at last stooped perforce to this yoke of constrained continency.

Neither doth my wit or my logic fail me in this collection[q]. If these were the men that made the first opposition to the marriage of clergymen in England, then it formerly obtained here without contradiction. The bare word of my refuter is a hot shot, to batter this necessary illation; and to assure the reader, that the forced celibate of the English clergy is of greater antiquity than these his saints.

To which he adds, in an ignorant begging of the question, "A thing so filthy, after a solemn vow to God, to take a wife, as it never appeared without the brand of infamy:" as if our predecessors in the English clergy had been ever charged with a vow:

[n] Refut. p. 321.
[o] H. Hunt. l. v. [De Gest. Pont. Angl. Francof. 1601. p. 357.
[p] Gul. Malmes.
[q] Refut. p. 332.

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as if the solemnity of this vow had never had beginning! Chimerical fancies, fit for a shorn head[r]! Whenas his Master Harding could not produce so much as a probability of any vow, anciently required or undertaken; whether by beck, or Dieugard: whenas the ancient Saxon Pontifical makes not the least mention of any such profession: yea, when Girardus, who was the second bishop of York after the Conquest, writes flatly to Anselm concerning his own canons, *Professiones vero mihi penitus abnegant canonici, &c.* "My canons," saith he[s] "utterly deny to give me profession of continency, which, without this profession, have been disorderly advanced to holy orders." *Cum vero ad ordines aliquos invito, dura cervice renituntur, ne in ordinando castitatem profiteantur;* "And when I do invite any to take orders, they do resist me very stubbornly, that they will make no profession of chastity in their ordination. Thus he, showing us plainly that the clergy in those times challenged no other than the liberty of their predecessors. But well may he face us down in this more obscure, though certain truth; when he dares to say, that Greece itself never tolerated this estate in their clergy, till by bad life it fell to schism, and from schism to open heresy: while their own canon law, besides all histories, gives him the lie; and what Espencæus[t] hath ingenuously spoken concerning this point, we have formerly showed. If he did not presume upon readers that never saw books, he durst not be thus impudent.

This argument, therefore, shall ever stand good, and shall scornfully trample upon all his vain cavils: Ethelwold was the first which by the command of king Edgar expelled married priests out of the old erection of Winchester[u], anno 963. Dunstan and Oswald, together with him, were the men, who, two years after, first expelled married clergymen out of the greater houses of Merceland. As, 1177, in the days of king Henry the Second, the secular prebendaries of Waltham were first turned out, to give way to their irregulars. Therefore, until these times, these places were uninterruptedly possessed by married clergymen.

[r] D. Martin's arg. is, priests' crowns signify their vow. No other proof can be brought worth talking of, but from the barber's shop.

[s] Ant. Brit. Def. of Pr. Marr. p. 282.

[t] "Latinorum nemo, vel veterum vel recentiorum, inter Græcorum errores, aut hæreses, aut schismata, hanc conjugalis usus retentionem supputavit; non Hugo Eterianus; non Tho. Aquinas; non Guido Carmelita, ad 26 [usque] hic licet numeraverit; non alius, qui vel obiter vel peculiariter de iis egerit." Espenc. [De Contin.] lib. i. cap. 4.

[u] Apud Winton. et Monachos, loco Clericorum, primus instituit.—De Edgaro. Rogerus Cestrens. lib. vi. [Rog. de Hoved. ed. Savil. p. 425.]

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If now he shall except, that this possession of theirs was not of long continuance, but upon usurpation, whereby the married incumbents had injuriously encroached upon the right of monks, our monks of Worcester shall herein fully convince him; who write, under their Oswaldus Archiepiscopus[v], *Per me fundatus fuit ex clericis monachatus;* that is, "By me were monks first founded out of clerks:" which was also the fashion of all other erections of this nature; so as it is manifest, that, originally, these churches were founded in married clergymen; afterwards, wrongfully translated from them to monks. And if the first possessors had been monks[x], how could monks have been there first founded by Oswald; whenas Ethelred had long before both founded and furnished it? and how out of clerks, if monks had been there before? Let my refuter show me but a verse of equal antiquity in a contrary rhyme,

Per me fundatus fuit ex monachis clericatus,

and I yield him my argument: otherwise, let the world judge if he be not shamelessly obstinate in not yielding.

SECTION XII.

But, to strike it dead, my adversary will prove the English clergy ever to have been continent[y]. Reader, look now for demonstrations.

His first proof is, "that in all the pursuit of this business we never read of any that did stand upon the former custom of the Church[z]." A proper argument, *ab authoritate negative.* And what other arguments doth my detector find used by the then-persecuted clergy? Histories record them not: therefore, doubtless, they said nothing for themselves; and if they urged other proofs, which are not now descended to us by any relation, why not this for one? Who can but hiss out so silly sophistry? But, to stop that clamorous mouth in this poor cavil, doth not his own monk of Malmsbury[a] tell him that the clergy urged this plea for themselves, *ingens esse et miserabile dedecus, ut novus advena veteres colonos migrare compelleret,* &c.? "that it was a great and miserable shame that these upstarts, the monks, should thrust out the ancient possessors of those places: that this was neither pleasing to God, which had given them that long continued

[v] Oswald, archbishop of York.

[x] A Clericis in Monachos translata est sedes Pontif. hon. *vid. supr.*

[y] Refut. p. 324.

[z] Non est scriptum, ergo non est factum, &c.

[a] Gul. Malmes. de Gest. Angl. l. ii. c. 9. [Franc. 1601. p. 61.]

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habitation, nor yet to any good man, who might justly fear the same hard measure which was offered to them." Thus they: whose plea and complaint seemed so just, that Ælfgiva the queen, prince Ælfere, and others of the nobility, overthrew many of those new-founded monasteries, and reinstalled the priests in their former right.

His next proof is from the letters of pope Gregory[b], which he wrote to Austin the monk here in England. *Risum teneatis?* Did ever any man doubt but that pope Gregory was desirous to establish Romish laws and orders amongst the English, where yet his legate found many, as good Christians as himself, under another rule, conform to the Greek Church? But how follows this? This pope was willing to in-romanize the English: therefore the staff stands in the corner. And yet even pope Gregory allowed marriage to those of the English clergy[c] which were not within the higher orders, appointing them to receive their stipends apart: a favour which he saw necessarily to be yielded to our nation, while he abridged others.

From Gregory he descends[d] to Beda: a man doubtless venerable for his learning and virtue; but as it is in his epitaph, *monachorum nobile sidus;* "the noble star of monks." Whether a neighbour at least to Italy, by birth, as they contend, I am sure a disciple of Abbot Benedict; and so great a fautor of the Roman faction, that he censures St. Aidanus and Golmannus for adhering to those Greek forms which the churches of this island had anciently followed; whose part Joannes Major justly takes against him. This Beda, in a general speculation, speaks his conceit of the voluntary continency which he holds requisite in the priesthood; says nothing of the particular custom of the English clergy; rather, in divers passages, insinuating the contrary. Amongst the rest, he tells us[e], that in the synod holden by archbishop Theodorus and the other bishops at Hereford, in the third year of king Egfrid, which was about anno 673, their tenth and last canon was *pro conjugiis; ut nulli liceat, nisi legitimum habere connubium,* "for marriages; that no man should marry unlawfully; no man should commit incest; no man should leave his own wife, unless, as the Gospel teacheth, for fornication only," &c. I know my refuter will plead the universality of this canon; and will contend, that a law generally made for all

[b] Refut. p. 325.
[c] Greg. Resp. ad Quæst. 2. Aug.
[d] Refut. p. 326.
[e] Bed. Eccles. Hist. Ang. l. iv. [c. 5.]

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Christians, is not without injury restrained to ecclesiastics. But let my reader well consider both the prologue and epilogue of that synod, he shall see, that they who are required to keep these laws are *consacerdotes omnes;* and that whosoever shall violate them, *noverit se ab omni officio sacerdotali et nostra societate separatum,* "must know himself separate from all sacerdotal office and society:" so as it will necessarily follow, that this law did at least concern the clergy with others, though not apart. Neither is there any other of those canons which concerns not the clergy only; except the first, concerning the observation of Easter, which principally also belonged to them. Whereto it makes not a little, that in the book of Saxon canons, set out for the governing of the secular priests, the rule is[f], "Let them also do their endeavour, that they hold with perpetual diligence their chastity in an unspotted body; or else let them be coupled with the bond of one matrimony:" words wherein our clergy meant to regulate themselves, as it seems, by the holy prescript of Isidore, whereof we have spoken. Lastly, my adversary cannot deny that this synod gives order for many accidental matters concerning the clergy; for their fixed station, for their maintenance, &c.; but, except in this canon, there is no one word of their state of life: neither is there, in all those canons, one syllable of this pretended celibate, as that which the contrary received custom of our Church would never have endured. My refuter dares not say that these marriages were so quite out of use that it was needless to ordain aught against them: he knows that his Dunstan found here this course so inveterate, that the very age and deep rooting of it hindered his designs.

SECTION XIII.

From Bede he comes down[g] to his three premised saints, Dunstan, Oswald, and Ethelwold: and, to make sure work, cites an obscure scholar of Ethelwold[h], for an authentic witness against eight honest priests, and the lawfulness of all priests' marriages.

And lastly, he makes up the mouth of his discourse[i] with the full decree of archbishop Anselm Richard, in the synods of London; and why not king Henry's Six Articles? and why not the Council of Trent? *Sic conclusum est contra hæreticos.*

[f] I forbear the Saxon words for lack of their characters. The reader shall find them cited in Saxon by Mat. Parker. Def. of Pr. Mar. [p. 346.]

[g] Refut. p. 328.

[h] Vulstan. in Vita Ethelwoldi.

[i] Refut. pp. 329, 330, 331.

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Now, because his heart told him how light these proofs were, he lays in the scales with them certain grave ponderations; which, all put together, will prove almost as weighty as the feather he wrote withal.

The first is, that "there cannot be a greater national proof, than to have the bishops and the king and his nobility to define and deliver this point with joint consent[k]."

Take this, reader, of king Edward the Sixth, and his parliament and convocation, and all is well. King Edward's utopical decree was hatched in a monk's cowl. And to his two king Henrys he might have added Philip and Mary. And why might not we oppose king Edmund to Edgar? and Osulphus, his bishop, to Dunstan? and the clergy before Anselm to the clergy after him? This match were made with some indifferency.

But how idly hath my refuter mislaid the comparison betwixt Henry of Huntingdon and Fabian, on our part, and all the clergy and laity of theirs! Since those two authors, if we had no more, report only, *de facto*, that priests' marriages were not before forbidden; and the cited clergy and laity do now, thus late-ward, discuss *de jure*. Neither have the clergy and laity, by him alleged, ever contradicted that which Huntingdon and Fabian have, out of the course of all story, affirmed.

Unto which let me add Polydore Vergil[l], seconding this their assertion; who plainly tells us, that for 970 years the restraint of marriage was never in use amongst the English clergy. Search not for this, reader, in the later editions, lest thou complain of lost labour. Poor Polydore may cry out of his grave, with that other Polydore in Virgil,

Fas omne abrumpit: Polydorum obtruncat—

Let him, then, (to answer this vain challenge) produce but any one author of equal authority to any of these, which doth avouch the contrary to that which these three have thus confidently delivered, and I shall confess myself herein sufficiently answered.

In the mean time, let him and the world know, that all the ancient clergy and laity of this island was for this liberty, altogether ours. Whereto if he yield not, let him name the man, before his Dunstan, that ever in this isle opened his mouth against it.

Till then, the reader cannot but see, that whereas our proof is *ex ore duorum aut trium*, his side is mute; that for our some-

[k] Refut. p. 332. [l] Polyd. Hist. Ang. l. vi. anno 970. De Inventorib. l. v.

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thing he can show nothing at all; and that our Huntingdon, Fabian, and Polydore are better than C. E. and his man in the moon.

SECTION XIV.

His second ponderation of "the sanctity of the persons[m]" is no truer *avoir-du-pois*.

That B. Dunstan was an holy man we may easily grant, but taken from the convent of Glastonbury. Neither would the nobility of his time be so liberal as to yield this, who accused him to the king[n] *de libidinibus et præstigiis*; "for" (two remarkable qualities in his saintship) "lechery and sorcery;" whereupon he was cast out from the court: and that he was received again, he might thank the king's horse, whose sudden stop on the verge of a steep downfall restored Dunstan to the good opinion of the superstitious prince, who yet was so far from being guilty of this deliverance that he did not so much as know of the danger; an acquittal, at least as causeless as the accusation.

That bishop Anselm was devout and learned, we willingly grant; but withal an Italian, and taken from a Norman convent. He was holy: but how impetuously addicted to his own will, and how refractory to authority, I had rather histories should speak than myself[o].

Neither is it any wonder if both these prelates, how holy soever, savoured somewhat too strong of the cloisters and of Rome. Something must be yielded to times and places: we will not think but a well-meant zeal carried them into these resolutions, but a zeal misguided with the sway of the times. The name of saints, the truth of their sanctity, did not privilege them from errors. We know how to sever their chaff from their wheat; and to send one of them to the winds, the other to the granary.

As for the married clergy, that "they were ever accounted the scum and refuse of their order[p]," it is but the scurrilous scummy blur of an intemperate pen. What was Spiridion? what was Hilary? what were both Gregorys? what was Sidonius? what was Tertullian, Prosper, Simplicius, Eupsychius? In a word, what were all those whom his Damasus recounteth? what was

[m] Refut. p. 335.

[n] To king Athelstan, who first brought him from his cell.

[o] The clergy of England did so well approve these monkish archbishops, that, after Anselm and Rodulph, the bishops of the land became suitors to the king, that they might never have any archbishop of Canterbury chosen from the monkish profession.—Sax. Chron. ann. 1123.

[p] Refut. p. 338.

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the father of the archdeacon of Huntingdon, whom, within two leaves, he recordeth from his epitaph[q] for the star of the clergy? This scum is better than their broth; which, though it send forth a fume, seemingly delicious, yet many times, being nearer tasted, proveth but cock-crown pottage.

These saints he ignorantly balanceth again with our Huntingdon and Fabian; as if their present decree did contradict the history of things passed; as if we had no more histories on our side, because my margin cited them not.

In the mean time he finds this testimony of Huntingdon so too much that he would fain strip us of it; denying peremptorily that Huntingdon affirms Anselm to be the first that forbad marriage to the clergy.

Reader, instead of all other ponderations weigh the words, *Eodem anno, ad festum S. Michaelis, tenuit Anselmus archiepiscopus concilium, apud Londoniam; in quo prohibuit uxores sacerdotibus Anglorum, ante non prohibitas*[r]: i. e. "The same year, on the feast of S. Michael, archbishop Anselm held a synod at London, wherein he forbad wives to the priests of England, before not forbidden;" and tell me whether my detector be true.

The words are too plain: he will wrangle yet with the sense, and tells us, that the word "before" may signify perhaps "immediately before," in the reign of the Williams, and not all succession of times. It were well if he could escape so. But this starting hole will not hide him; for not to send him to school to learn the difference betwixt *antea*, and *dudum* or *pridem*, the same author, in the following words, shows us the censures and conceits that passed upon this act, as an absolute and unheard-of novelty; like as in Germany the historians brand this same act in Hildebrand with a *novo exemplo*, and *inconsiderato præjudicio*. And, for the times preceding, Polydore Vergil gives the very same witness. Neither let him fly for succour to his Dunstan, who never can be proved to have prohibited the marriage of priests, though he disliked that monasteries and cathedral churches should be possessed by married clerks.

Lastly, where the testimony is displeasing, the witness himself must be disgraced. Curiosity led my detector to search[s] who this H. Huntingdon might be. With one inquiry he might find him

[q] Stella cadit Cleri: splendor marcet Nicolai.
Stella cadens Cleri: splendeat arce Dei.—
Huntingd. l. vii. [Ed. Savil. p. 380.]

[r] Henr. Huntingd. edit. Savil. p. 378. [s] Refut. p. 343.

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to be a canon regular of Austin's order, and, for dignity, an archdeacon; a person past exception. But, for his parentage, he went no further than to the next leaf to find that he was the son of a noted, and in those days eminent, clergyman. His epitaph at Lincoln[t] shows him to have been the star of the clergy; no whit dimmed in his acknowledged light, or hindered in his influence, by his conjunction in lawful wedlock. What better instance could my refuter have given against himself? If he think to insinuate that his birth made him partial, the reader will easily consider, that if such parentage had been then accounted shameful, the historian would have had the wit to have suppressed it: and withal, that he durst not, writing in the times when this thing was so familiarly and universally known, have offered such a proposition to the light, out of a vain partiality to incur the controlment of all eyes.

SECTION XV.

As for our Fabian, if C. E. find him a merchant[u], I find him to have been sheriff of the honourable city of London: a man whose credit would scorn to be poised with an hundred nameless fugitives, parasitical petty-chapmen of the late small wares of Rome. Neither can the name of a citizen disparage him to any wise judge. How many have our times yielded of that rank, whom both academical education and experience and travel and study have wrought to an eminent perfection in all arts, especially in mathematics and history! Such was Fabian; whose fidelity, besides his other worths, was never, that I find, taxed but by this insolent pen, that hath learned to forbear no man. He was too old for us to bribe, and too credible for C. E. to disgrace. If he would have lent Rome but this one lie, no man had been more authentical; now, his truth makes him fabulous Fabian.

That one fault hath marred our archdeacon of Huntingdon also.

The story which he tells[x] of the cardinal of Crema, the pope's legate, taken in bed, after his busy endeavours against the married clergy, the same day with an harlot, hath undone his reputation. Why will C. E. stir this sink? No man provoked him. If he did not long to blazon the shame of his friends, he had rather have smothered this foul occurrence: but since he will be meddling, *Res apertissima negari non potuit, celari non debuit*[y], saith

[t] Vid. supra. [u] Refut. p. 333. [x] Ibid. p. 348.
[y] [Hist. l. vii. ed. Savil. p. 382.]

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Huntingdon; "The thing was most openly known, it could not be denied, it might not be concealed." Yet now comes an upstart novice, and dares tell us, from Baronius, that this was a mere fable, how public and notorious soever Huntingdon makes it. With these men this rule is universal: "Whatsoever may tend to the dishonour of the Church of Rome is false and fabulous."

Indeed, I remember what their gloss said of old[z]: *Clericus, amplectens mulierem, præsumitur bene agere; si, ergo, Clericus amplectitur mulierem, interpretabitur quod, causa benedicendi eam, hoc faciat:* that is, "A clergyman, embracing a woman, must be presumed to do well; if therefore a clerk take a woman by the middle, it must be interpreted that he doth it to give her his blessing[a]."

Perhaps the good legate was but bestowing his ghostly blessing on so needful a subject: but that he was found in bed with her, if C. E. were not as shameless as that cardinal or his bedfellow, he durst not deny. For what impudency is this, to cast this relation only upon H. Huntingdon, when so many uncontrollable pens have recorded it to the world! men of their own stamp for religion, for devotion; Matthew Paris, Ranulfus Cestrensis, Roger Hoveden, Polydore Vergil[b], Fabian: Matthæus Westmonasteriensis, otherwise called Florilegus, *Dictus Joannes, qui in concilio, &c.* saith he, "The said John, which in the open council had grievously condemned all the concubinary[c] priests, was taken himself in the same crime." Now let my reader judge whether this priest's truth or that cardinal's honesty were greater.

Section XVI.

His third ponderation is the same with the first. Every thing ekes. His St. Dunstan and Anselm, Gregory and Beda, are again laid in our dish: we cannot feed on these over-oftsod coleworts.

I am challenged here to produce any priest or deacon that lived in wedlock before the times of Dunstan.

[z] Dist. 96.—In Script.

[a] So the Chronicle tells us of Adelme, abbot of Malmesbury; who, when he was stirred to the vice of the flesh, had wont to despite the devil and torment himself, with holding a fair young virgin in his bed, so long as he might say over the whole Psalter.—Vid. Park. Def. [p. 200.]

[b] Polydore, suppressing the name, telleth the history.

[c] Viz. the married: so did the enemies of marriage disgracefully term the married clergy; and so are the words of the legate to be understood, *de latere meretricis.* He, then, railing against marriage (not whoredom properly) was deprehended in whoredom.

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The man presumes upon the suppression of records. For one, I name him hundreds.

Who were they that Dunstan and his fellow-saints found seated in the cathedral churches of this land? Whom did they eject? Were they not married priests? What did the ejected clergy plead but ancient possession?

After that, in the synod which archbishop Lanfranc held at Winchester[d] (which I wonder my detector would oversee; this neglect is not for nothing) was it not decreed that the canons should not have wives; but that the priests which dwelt in towns and villages should not be compelled to put away their wives, though caution is put in for the future? What doth this imply, but that in those ancient times the English clergy were inoffensively married?

To which add that old record from an ancient Martyrologue of the church of Canterbury[e]: *Lanfrancus, archiepiscopus, reddidit Ecclesiæ Sancti Andreæ, &c.* "Lanfranc, archbishop, hath restored to St. Andrew's Church the monastery of St. Mary, with the lands and houses which Livingus, priest, and his wife had in London, &c."

And before him[f], or Dunstan either, in king Edmund's time, bishop Osulphus with Athelm and Ulrick, laics, thrust out the monks of Evesham, and placed canons (married priests) in their room.

Lastly, Jornalensis records it as king Ina's law, long before these times; *Si episcopi filiolus sit, sit dimidium hoc, &c.;* "If he be the son of a bishop, &c.;" as supposing this no other than ordinary in those times.

Now let my refuter comfort himself and his catholics with the weak defence of heresy, and the strong bulwarks of Roman truth; who in the mean time must be put in mind, that he puts on me the burden which should lie upon his own shoulders. I have produced histories which affirm peremptorily, that the English clergy were never forbidden to marry until Anselm's time: it is now his task to disprove this assertion of theirs by equal authority to the contrary, which till he have done the day is ours.

SECTION XVII.

His fourth ponderation is, "the difficulty of this grant in king Edward's parliaments."

[d] Ex Act. Concil. Wint. sub Lanfr.
[e] Martyrol. Cant.
[f] Fox, Act. et Mon. [Lond. 1583. p. 150.]
[g] Refut. p. 347.

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And is it possible the man should not see the greater difficulty that was found in the enforcement of this glorious celibate? How Alfere and the nobles dispossessed the monks of Dunstan, justly restoring the married priests to their ancient right; how Lanfranc durst not speak it out, Anselm did, but prevailed little; let Girardus, then archbishop of York, witness[h]. After whom, Roger, archbishop of that see, as Neubrigensis records[i], thrust out Anselm's monks[k], and stood for the liberty of marriage: insomuch as, in the succession of times, even by royal leave also, marriage of spiritual persons yet continued. Neither could Anselm's successors, Radulphus, Gulielmus de Turbine, and the rest, notwithstanding all their canons and practices, prevail against it. How plain is that of the Saxon Chronicle[l]! "Thus did the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops which were in England: and yet all these decrees and biddings stood not; all held their wives by the king's leave, even as they did. Insomuch as archbishop William referred it to the king. The king decreed that the priests should continue with their wives still."

Neither were any thing more easy than to give store of instances in this kind.

What need I give more than that of Galfride bishop of Ely[m], who was avouched before the pope himself to have married a wife? which "evangelical excuse," *uxorem duxit*, was made for his not appearing at Rome with the rest[n]: of Richard bishop of Chichester, Robert bishop of Lincoln; married men after these decrees?

Yea, good evidence of ancient charts are ready in our hands, to show the use and legal allowance of these marriages, for no less than two hundred years after.

As for those idle words which his sauciness throws after our reverend martyr, archbishop Cranmer, (whom he falsely affirms to have been the first married archbishop of this kingdom, when as archbishop Boniface sat married in that see, three hundred years before him[o],) and king Edward's parliament, we answer them with silence and scorn. Let losers have leave to talk.

[h] Vid. supra, Epist. ad Ansel.

[i] Neubr. l. iii. c. 5.

[k] Pope Paschalis, writing to Anselm, saith, that there was at this time so great a number of priests' sons in England, that the greater part of the clergy consisted of them.

[l] Chron. Saxon. anno 1129.

[m] Chron. Jornal.

[n] "Habet excusationem evangelicam" resp. est ab Epis. Arelat. Alexandro Papæ.

[o] Anno 1250.

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The approbation and better experience of single life in capable subjects, we do willingly subscribe unto. The lawfulness, yea, necessity of marriage, where the gift of continence is denied, our Saviour and his Chosen Vessel justify with us. So as I still conclude, "He that made marriage saith it is *honourable*: what care we for the dishonour of those that corrupt it?"

SECTION XVIII.

His last ponderation[p] is leaden indeed: "That from the bickerings of our English clergy with their Dunstans it will not follow that continency was not ancient, but was repiningly, lately, unjustly imposed. By this reason he will prove there was never thief nor malefactor in our country before the time of king James, since all judges have yearly bickerings with such people." Thus he. But did ever such loose[q] besom sweep the press before?

Reader, vouchsafe yet once more to cast thine eye upon the close of my epistle. Doth my argument run thus wildly as he makes it? The English clergy had bickerings with their Dunstans, therefore continency was repiningly and unjustly imposed! Canst thou think I have met with a sober adversary?

My words are, that our histories "teach us how late, how repiningly, how unjustly" our English clergy "stooped under this yoke." And what can his sophistry make of this?

Are ye not ashamed, ye superiors of Doway, are ye not ashamed of such a champion, fitter for a troop of pigmies to trail a reed in their bickerings with cranes, than to be committed with any reasonable or scholar-like antagonist? In the bickerings with his Dunstans the patients pleaded prescription, as we have showed out of Malmesbury, and taxed his saints with novelty. In my bickerings with him I plead antiquity, scripture, reason; and tax him most justly with impudence and absurdity. How well is that man that is matched but with an honest adversary!

THE CONCLUSION.

The conclusion follows[r]: a fit cover for such a dish. The reader was not weary enough, but he must be tired out with a tedious recapitulation.

Wherein my refuter recollects all his dispersed folly, that it may show the fairer; telling his protestant friend what I have

[p] Refut. p 351.

[q] C. E. writes in the margin, "Master Hall's loose manner of disputing."

[r] Refut. p. 353, &c.

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bragged, what I have undertaken, what I have not performed; how I have falsified, how I have mistaken; what himself hath in all passages performed against me; how he hath answered, how he hath conquered.

The best is, the conclusion can show no more than the premises. By them let me be judged.

Those have made good to my reader that C. E. hath accused much, and proved nothing; vaunted much, and done nothing; railed much, and hurt nothing; laboured much, and gained nothing; talked much, and said nothing.

It is a large and bold word; but if any one clause of mine be unproved, if any one clause of mine be disproved, any one exception against my defence proved just, any one charge of his proved true, any one falsehood of mine detected, any one argument of mine refelled, any one argument or proposition of his not refelled, let me go away convicted with shame. But if I have answered every challenge, vindicated every authority[s], justified every proof, wiped away every cavil, affirmed no proposition untruly, censured nothing unjustly, satisfied all his malicious objections, and warranted every sentence of my poor epistle, let my apology live and pass, and let my refuter go as he is, *C. E. Cavillator Egregius.*

Let my cause be no more victorious than just, and let honest marriages ever hold up their heads in despite of Rome and hell.

With this farewell I leave my refuter, either to the acting of his unbloody executions of the Son of God, or the plotting of the bloody executions of the deputies of God, or (as it were his best) to the knocking of his beads. But if he will needs be meddling with his pen, and will have me, after some jubilees, to expect an answer to my six weeks' labour, I shall, in the mean time, pray that God would give him the grace to give way to the known truth, and sometimes to say true.

Yet to gratify my reader at the parting, I may not conceal from him an ancient and worthy monument which I had the favour and happiness to see in the inner library of Corpus Christi College in Cambridge: an excellent treatise, written, amongst seventeen other, in a fair set hand, by an author of great learning and antiquity. He would needs suppress his name, but describes himself to be *Rotomagensis*[t]. The time wherein it was written ap-

[s] I only except that one slip of my pen, that I said Gratian cited a sentence out of Austin, which was indeed his own. [t] Of Rouen, in France.

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pears to be amidst the heat of contention[u] which was betwixt the archbishop of Canterbury and York for precedency: which quarrel fell betwixt Rodulph of Canterbury and Thurstin of York in the year 1114, at which time pope Paschalis wrote to king Henry concerning it[x], and was renewed after, about the year 1175. The discourse shall speak enough for itself.

ROTOMAGENSIS ANONYMUS.

AN LICEAT

SACERDOTIBUS INIRE MATRIMONIA.

Scire volui, quis primus instituit, ne Sacerdotes Christiani inire deberent matrimonia, Deus an homo.

Si, enim, Deus, ejus certe sententia et tenenda et observanda est, cum omni veneratione et reverentia.

Si, vero, homo et non Deus, de corde hominis et non ex ore Dei talis egressa est traditio: ideoque, nec per eam salus acquiritur, si observetur; nec amittitur, si non observetur: non, enim, est hominis, salvare vel perdere aliquem pro meritis; sed Dei proprium unius est.

Scilicet, quod Deus hoc instituerit, nec in Veteri Testamento, nec in Evangelio, nec in Apostolorum Epistolis scriptum reperitur: in quibus, quicquid Deus hominibus præcepit, insertum describitur.

Traditio ergo hominis est; et non Dei, non Apostolorum institutio. Quemadmodum et Apostolus instituit, ut oportet Episcopum esse unius uxoris virum: quod minime instituisset, si adulterium esset quod Episcopus haberet, simul, et uxorem et Ecclesiam; quasi duas uxores, ut quidam asserunt.

Quodque de Scripturis Sanctis non habet authoritatem, eadem

[u] As also the contention betwixt the Church of Rouen and Vienna.

[x] Rog. Hoved. [Rer. Ang. Script. ed. Savil. Francof. 1601. p. 473 et 544.]

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facilitate contemnitur, qua dicitur. Sancta enim Ecclesia non Sacerdotis uxor, non sponsa; sed Christi est: sicut Johannes dicit, *Qui habet sponsam, sponsus est.*

Hujus, inquam, Sponsi Ecclesia sponsa est; et tamen huic sponsæ licet in parte inire matrimonia, ex Apostolica traditione: dicit enim Apostolus ad Cor.—*Propter fornicationes,* inquit, *unusquisque uxorem suam habeat,* et cætera usque, *Volo omnes homines esse sicut meipsum; sed unusquisque proprium donum habet a Deo, alius quidem sic, alius vero sic.*

Non, enim, omnes habent unum donum, virginitatis scilicet, et continentiæ: sed quidam virgines sunt, et continentes; quidam vero incontinentes: quibus concedit nuptias, ne tentet eos Sathanas, propter incontinentiam suam; et in ruinam turpitudinis corruant.

Sed et Sacerdotes quoque, alii quidem continentes sunt, alii vero incontinentes: et qui continentes sunt, continentiæ suæ donum a Deo consecuti sunt; sine ejus dono et gratia, continentes esse non possunt; incontinentes vero hoc donum gratiæ minime percipiunt; qui, cum intemperantia suæ conspersionis tum etiam animi infirmitate, per carnis desideria diffluunt; quod nullo modo facerent, si continentiæ gratiam et virtutem a Deo percepissent.

Sentiunt enim et ipsi, aliam legem in membris suis repugnantem legi mentis suæ, et captivantem eos in lege peccati, et quod nolunt agere cogentem, qui de corpore mortis hujus liberantur gratia Dei. Hac itaque eos lege captivante, et carnis concupiscentia stimulante, aut fornicari coguntur aut nubere: quorum quid melius sit, Apostolica docemur authoritate; qua dicitur, *Melius nubere quam uri.*

Quod melius est, id certe eligendum et tenendum est: melius est, inquam, nubere, quia pejus est uri: quia melius est nubere quam uri, conveniens est incontinentibus, ut nubant, non ut urantur.

Bonæ etenim sunt nuptiæ, sicut Augustinus ait in libro *super Genesin ad Literam.* In ipsis commendatur bonum naturæ, quo incontinentiæ regitur pravitas, et naturæ decoratur fœcunditas: nam, utriusque sexus infirmitas propendens in ruinam turpitudinis, recte excipitur honestate nuptiarum; ut quod sanis possit esse officium, sit ægrotis remedium.

Neque, enim, quia incontinentia malum est, ideo connubium (vel quo incontinentes copulantur) non est bonum. Imo, vero, non propter illud malum culpabile est bonum; sed, propter hoc bonum

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veniale est illud malum: quoniam id quod bonum habent nuptiæ, et quod bonæ sunt nuptiæ, peccatum esse nunquam potest.

Hoc, autem, tripartitum est, Fides, Proles, Sacramentum. In Fide attenditur, ne, præter vinculum conjugale, cum altera vel cum altero concubatur. In Prole, ut amanter suscipiatur, benigne suscipiatur, religiose educetur. In Sacramento, ut conjugium non separetur; et demissus aut demissa ne, causa prolis, alteri conjugatur.

Hæc est tanquam Regula Nuptiarum; qua vel naturæ decoratur fœcunditas, vel incontinentiæ regitur pravitas.

Hanc autem regulam nuptiarum, et hoc tripartitum bonum, instituit Æterna Veritas, ordine decenti, et lege æterna, contra quam quicquid fit, vel dicitur, vel concupiscitur, peccatum est: quod, in libro contra Faustum Manichæum, Augustinus testatur; dicens, "Peccatum est factum, vel dictum, vel concupitum contra Æternam Legem."

Æterna Lex est Divina Voluntas sive Ratio, ordinem naturalem perturbari vetans, conservari jubens. Quicquid, igitur, ordinem naturalem perturbari jubet; conservari vetat: exercere nuptias, et earum tripartitum bonum, Fidem, scilicet, Prolem, et Sacramentum eos habere prohibet; et Regulam illam Æternæ Veritatis, qua naturæ decoratur fœcunditas, vel incontinentiæ regitur pravitas; eos solvere præcipit, &c. quibus naturalis ordo peragitur, abominari jubet.

Hoc, inquam, mandatum naturalem ordinem conservari vetat, perturbari jubet; et, ideo, contra Æternam Legem fit, et peccatum est: peccant, enim, qui mandatum tale instituunt, quo naturalis ordo destruitur.

Nam etiam, ut videtur, minime credunt, quod, de Sacerdotum filiis, assumat Deus ad ædificandam supernam civitatem, et ad restaurandum angelorum numerum. Si, enim, crederent, nunquam tale mandatum instituerent; quia scienter et nimia temeritate id efficere conarentur, ut superna civitas nunquam proficiatur, et angelorum numerus nunquam repararetur.

Si, enim, superna civitas de filiis etiam Sacerdotum perficienda est, et si angelorum numerus de ipsis etiam reparandus est, qui hoc efficere conatur ut nulli sint, quantum in ipso est, et supernam civitatem destruit, et angelorum numerus ne perficiatur efficit: quo, quod perversius potest fieri? Hoc, enim, fit contra voluntatem et prædestinationem illius, qui quæ futura sint fecit: fecit, enim, prædestinatione, quæ futura sunt in opere.

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Quicunque, ergo, id efficere conatur, ut non faciat Deus in opere quæ fecit in prædestinatione, ipsam prædestinationem Dei conatur evacuare.

Si, ergo, Deus fecit in prædestinatione, ut filii Sacerdotum futuri sint in opere; qui hoc efficere conatur ut non futuri sint in opere, destruere molitur facta Dei, quod fecit prædestinatione; et ita prædestinationem Dei nititur evertere, et voluntatem Dei contraire quæ æterna est.

Voluit, enim, Deus, ab æterno et ante sæculum, omnes homines creare in sæculo, certo quidem ordine, quo præcogitavit et prædestinavit eos se creaturum. Nihil, enim, inordinate facit, Nihil in sæculo creat, quod non ante, in prædestinatione suæ mentis præcedente omnia sæcula, disponendo præordinaverit. Quæcunque, ergo, in hoc sæculo ab ipso creantur, prædestinationem mentis prædisponentem ac præordinantem omnia necessario sequuntur; quod impossibile est, non fieri quod Deus ab æterno voluit et præordinavit fieri.

Necesse est, igitur, omnes homines eo ordine creari, quo voluit ab æterno et præordinavit: alioquin, non sicut voluit Deus, neque sicut præordinavit, omnes homines sunt creati. Sed, quod hoc inconveniens est, necesse est illos creari, sicut voluit ab æterno, et præcogitavit, atque præordinavit: quod omnia, quæ voluit, fecit; et nihil unquam fecit, quod non voluit ab æterno, et præcogitavit decreto certo et incommutabili: quia, nec ejus voluntas irrita potest fieri, nec præcogitatio falli, nec præordinationes commutari.

Quæ cum ita sint, necesse est, ut, sicut Laici, ita etiam Sacerdotes, de quibus homines creantur, ad ipsos creandos ministerium exhibeant divinæ voluntati et præordinationi. Parentes non sunt authores creationis filiorum, sed ministri, qui, si ministerium non exhiberent, voluntatem Dei et præcogitationem, si possibile esset, irritam facerent, ordinationique resisterent: quod si scienter facerent gravius utique delinquerent; si nescienter, minus; non solum in Deum Patrem, sed et in cœlestem Jerusalem, sanctorum omnium matrem; quod, quantum in ipsis esset, illos creari non permitterent, ex quibus ea ædificanda, et cœlestis patriæ dantia sunt præparanda.

Sed, ab hoc delicto defendit eos impotentia; quod non possunt voluntati Dei resistere, et præordinationi contraire. Voluntas, enim, Dei et prædestinatio Lex Æterna est, in qua omnium rerum cursus decretus est; et paradigma est, in quo omnium sæculorum forma depicta est, quod nulla ratione aboleri potest.

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Huic igitur ministerium non exhibere, malum est; quod, exhibere, bonum est, et maxime cum bona fit voluntate: quod tum fit, cum parentes conveniunt causa gignendæ prolis, non appetitu exercendæ libidinis.

Gignendæ prolis, dico: quia et præsens Ecclesia multiplicetur, et cœlestis civitas fabricetur, et electorum numerus compleatur; quorum nihil potest fieri, sine conventione tali. Si, enim, primi parentes Sanctorum omnes aut continentes permansissent aut virgines; nullus Sanctorum ex eis esset natus in sæculo; nullus gloria et honore coronatus in cœlo; nullus adscitus in angelorum numero. Sed, quia inestimabile bonum est, quod Sancti nati sunt in sæculo, quod gloria et honore coronantur in cœlo, et quod adsciti sunt in angelorum numero; ex eo, parentum fœcunditas beatior prædicatur, et conventus sanctior.

Sic, ergo, melius fuit eis tales filios genuisse, quam non genuisse; talemque fructum nuptiarum protulisse, quam, sine fructu, continentes aut virgines extitisse.

Quamvis bonum sit quibusdam continentes esse vel virgines, illis viz. quos Deus voluit ab æterno et præordinavit ita creandos esse in sæculo, ut continentia vel virginitate permaneant: sicut, enim, voluit ab æterno et præordinavit quosdam ita creandos esse in sæculo, ut fructum nuptiarum faciant et filios generent; ita etiam voluit et præordinavit ab æterno quosdam ita creandos esse, ut in continentia vel virginitate permaneant.

Et, sicut illi, ad creandos filios, voluntati Dei et præordinationi ministerium exhibent; ita et isti, ad conservandam et continentiam et virginitatem, voluntati Dei et præordinationi ministrant. Ac, per hoc, et illorum fœcunditas et istorum virginitas bona est atque laudabilis; quæ, si non ministerium exhiberet voluntati Dei et præordinationi, nec bona esset nec laudabilis: omne, enim, quod voluntati Dei et præordinationi contrarium est, nec bonum est nec laudabile.

Si, ergo, voluit Deus et prædestinavit alios futuros virgines, alios nuptiarum fructum facientes (si, enim, omnes essent virgines, nullus Sanctorum, qui vel nascitur vel nasciturus sit, in hoc sæculo natus esset vel nasciturus: nec ipsi etiam virgines essent, quia nati non essent; ex fœcunditate, enim, illorum orta est istorum virginitas,) magnum, igitur, bonum est fœcunditas, de qua sancta præcessit virginitas.

Quia, autem, virgines esse debeant, et qui nuptiarum fructus facientes, docet eos verbum, quod Deus seminat in cordibus illo-

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rum: in aliorum, enim, cordibus, seminat verbum bonæ fœcunditatis, nuptiarum fructum facientis: in aliorum vero cordibus, seminat verbum virginitatis.] [y] Ipsi virginitatem servare desiderant: in quibus, vero, verbum nuptiarum seminat, ipsi facere nuptiarum fructum appetunt.

Which, for my countrymen's sake, I have thus Englished.

I would fain know who it was that first ordained that Christian priests might not marry, God or man.

For if it were God, surely his determination is to be held and observed with all veneration and reverence.

But if it were man and not God, and this tradition came out of the heart of man, not out of the mouth of God; then neither is salvation got by it, if it be observed; nor lost, if it be not observed; for it doth not belong to man either to save or destroy any man for his merits, but it is proper only unto God.

That God hath ordained this, it is neither found written in the Old Testament, nor in the Gospel, nor in the Epistles of the Apostles: in all which is set down whatsoever God hath enjoined unto men.

It is therefore a tradition of man, and not an institution of God nor of his apostles: as the apostle instituted (rather) that a bishop should be the husband of one wife; which he would never have appointed, if it had been adultery for a bishop to have at once a wife and a church; as it were two wives, like as some affirm.

Now that which hath not authority from the holy Scriptures is with the same facility contemned that it is spoken. For the holy Church is not the wife, nor the spouse of the priest, but of Christ; as St. John saith, *He that hath the bride he is the bridegroom.*

Of this Bridegroom, I say, is the Church the spouse, and yet it is lawful even for this spouse in part to marry, by apostolic tradition: for the apostle speaks thus to the Corinthians; *Because of fornications, let every man have his own wife:* and, *I would that all men were as I am; but every man hath his proper gift of God, one thus, another otherwise.*

For all men have not one gift, namely, of virginity and continency: but some are virgins, and contain, others contain not; to whom he granteth marriage, lest Satan tempt them through their

[y] Deest, opinor, pars clausulæ:—"Illi, ergo, in quibus seminat verbum virginitatis, &c."

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incontinency, and they should miscarry in the ruin of their uncleanness.

So also of priests, some are continent, others are incontinent: and those which are continent have received the gift of their continence from God; without whose gift and grace they cannot be continent: but those which are incontinent, have not received this gift of grace; but, whether by the intemperance of their humour or the weakness of their mind, run out into fleshly desires; which they would in no wise do if they had received from God the grace and virtue of continence.

For they also which are delivered by the grace of God from the body of this death feel another law in their members rebelling against the law of their mind, and captivating them to the law of sin, and compelling them to do that which they would not. This law therefore, holding them captive, and this concupiscence of the flesh provoking them, they are compelled either to fornicate or marry; whereof whether is the better, we are taught by the authority of the Apostle, who tells us, *It is better to marry than to burn.*

Surely that which is the better is to be chosen and held: now it is better to marry, because it is worse to burn: and because it is better to marry than to burn, it is convenient for those which contain not, to marry not to burn.

"For marriage is good," as Augustine speaks in his book *super Genesin ad Literam.* In it is commended the good of nature, whereby the pravity of incontinence is ruled, and the fruitfulness of nature graced: for the weakness of either sex declining towards the ruin of filthiness is well relieved by the honesty of marriage; so as the same thing which may be the office of the sound is also the remedy unto the sick.

Neither yet because incontinence is evil, is therefore marriage (even that wherewith the incontinent are joined) to be reputed not good. Yea rather, not for that evil is the good faulty, but for this good is that evil pardonable: since that good which marriage hath, yea which marriage is, can never be sin.

Now this good is threefold; the fidelity, the fruit, the sacrament of that estate. In the fidelity is regarded that, besides this bond of marriage, there be not carnal society with any other. In the fruit of it, that it be lovingly raised and religiously bred. In the sacrament of it, that the marriage be not separated, and that the dismissed party of either sex be not joined to any other, no not for issue's sake.

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This is, as it were, the rule of marriage, whereby the fruitfulness of nature is graced, or the pravity of incontinence ruled.

And this rule of marriage, and this threefold good, the eternal truth hath appointed, in the order of his decree, and that eternal law of his, against which whatsoever is done, spoken, or willed is sin: which Augustine, in his book against Faustus the Manichee, witnesseth, saying, "Sin is either deed, word, or desire against the law eternal[z]."

This eternal law is the divine will or decree, forbidding the disturbance and commanding the preservation of due natural order. Whatsoever therefore commands natural order to be disturbed forbids it to be conserved; prohibits men to use marriage, and attain to the threefold good thereof, fidelity, issue, sacrament; and commands them to break that rule of eternal truth whereby the fruitfulness of nature is graced, or the pravity of incontinency ruled; commands men to abhor those things whereby natural order is held and maintained.

This commandment, I say, forbids natural order to be observed, commands it be disturbed; and therefore is against the law of God, and, by consequence, is sin: for they sin that ordain such a command by which natural order is destroyed.

These men do not, it seems, believe, that of the children of priests God takes for the building of his city above, and for the restoring of the number of angels. For if they did believe it, they would never ordain such a mandate; because they should wittingly and over-rashly go about to effect that the supernal city should never be perfected, and the number of angels never repaired.

For if the supernal city be to be perfected even of the sons of priests, and if the number of angels be of them to be repaired, those that endeavour to procure that they should not be do what in them lies destroy the supernal city, and labour that the number of angels may not be perfected: than which what can be more perversely done? For this is done against the will and predestination of him which hath done those things which shall be: for he hath done, in his predestination, those things which shall be in effect.

Whosoever, therefore, goes about to procure that God may not in effect do those things which he hath done in his predestination, goes about to make void the very predestination of God.

If then God have already in his predestination decreed that

[z] [L. xxii. c. 27. Ed. Ben. T. viii. p. 378.]

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the sons of priests shall once be in effect; he that goes about to procure that they may not be in effect, endeavours to destroy the work of God, because he hath already done it in predestination; and so strives to overthrow God's predestination, and to gainstand that will of God which is eternal.

For God would, from eternity and before all worlds, create all men in the world in that certain order wherein he preconceived and predestinated to create them. He doth nothing disorderly. He createth nothing in the world which he hath not foreordained, by disposing it in the predestination of his mind, that went before all worlds. Whatsoever therefore is by him created in this world doth necessarily follow the predestination of his mind predisposing and preordaining all things; because it is impossible that should not be done which God from eternity hath willed and foreordained to be done.

It is, therefore, necessary that all men should be created in that very order wherein he willed and from eternity foreordained: or else all men are not created as God would have them, nor as he foreordained them. But because this is inconvenient, it must needs be that they are created as he willed from eternity, and forethought and foreordained: because he hath done all things that he would; and never did any thing which he willed not from everlasting, and hath foreconceived in his certain and unchangeable decree: for neither can his will be frustrated, nor his forethought deceived, nor his foreordinations altered.

Which since it is so, needs must it be, that as laics, so priests also, of whom men are created, should yield their service to the divine will and preordination to the creating of them. For parents are not the authors of the creation of their children, but the servants: who, if they should not yield their service, they should, if it were possible, make void the forethought of God, and resist his ordination: which if they should wittingly do, they should offend the more; if ignorantly, the less; not only against God the Father, but also against the heavenly Jerusalem, the mother of all saints; because what in them were, they should not suffer those to be created of whom it is to be builded, and those things to be prepared whereby that celestial country is bestowed.

But from this offence their impotence frees them; because they cannot resist the will of God, and cross his preordination.

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For the will and predestination of God is that eternal law in which the course of all things is decreed; and the pattern wherein the form of all ages is set forth, which can by no means be defaced.

Not to yield our service then hereunto is evil; because, to yield it is good, and especially if it be done with a good intent: which is then done, whenas parents meet together in a desire of propagation of issue, not in an appetite of exercising their lust.

Of propagation, I say; that both the present Church may be multiplied, and the celestial city built, and the number of the elect made up: none of which could be done without such conjugal meeting. For if the first parents of the saints had continued all either continent or virgins, no saint had been born of them in the world; none of them had been crowned with glory and honour in heaven; none of them ascribed into the number of angels. But since it is an inestimable good that saints are born in the world, that they are crowned with glory and honour in heaven, and that they are ascribed into the number of angels; thereupon the fruitfulness of parents is more blessed, and their meeting holier. So, then, it is better for them to have begotten such children than not to have begotten them; and to have brought forth such fruit of marriage than to have been continent or virgins, without fruit. Although it is good for some to be continent or virgins, namely, for them whom God eternally willed and preordained to be so created in the world, that they should remain either in continence or virginity: for as he hath eternally willed and foreordained that some should be so created in the world, as that they should yield the fruit of marriage and beget children; so also hath he willed and from eternity foreordained some to be so created that they should continue in continency or virginity.

And as those other yield their service to the will and preordination of God in the creation of children; so these also serve the will and preordination of God, in conserving their continence and virginity. And hereupon is both the fruitfulness of the one and the virginity of the other good and laudable; which, if it did not yield service to the will and preordination of God, would be neither good nor laudable: for whatsoever is contrary to the will and preordination of God is neither good nor laudable.

If, therefore, God willed and predestinated some to be virgins,

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others to yield the fruit of marriage, (for if all were virgins, no saint, that now is or shall be born, should either be now or hereafter born in the world: neither should those virgins be at all, because they should not be born; for of the fruitfulness of the one arises the others' virginity,) therefore is fruitfulness a great good, from which holy virginity hath proceeded.

Now that there should be some virgins, and others that should bear the fruits of marriage, the word which God soweth in their hearts teacheth us: for in the hearts of some he soweth the word of good fruitfulness, yielding the increase of marriage; and in the hearts of others he sows the word of virginity. Those then in whom he sows the word of virginity, they desire to keep virginity; but those, in whom he sows the word of marriage, they desire to yield the fruit of marriage.

Whereto I will add, for conclusion, the wise and ingenuous judgment of Erasmus Roterodamus; the rather, because it pleased my refuter to lay this worthy author in our dish.

In his Epistle[a] to Christopher, bishop of Basil, concerning Human Constitutions, thus he writes:—

For those things which are altogether of human constitution, must, like to remedies in diseases, be attempered to the present estate of matters and times.

Those things which were once religiously instituted, afterwards, according to occasion and the changed quality of manners and times, may be with more religion and piety abrogated. Which yet is not to be done by the temerity of the people, but by the authority of governors: that tumult may be avoided, and that the public custom may be so altered, that concord may not be broken.

The very same is, perhaps, to be thought concerning the marriage of priests of old.

As there was great paucity of priests, so great piety also. They, that they might more freely attend those holy services, made themselves chaste of their own accord. And so much were those ancients affected to chastity, that they would hardly permit marriage unto that Christian whom his baptism found single; but a second marriage yet more hardly.

And now, that which seemed plausible in bishops and priests was translated to deacons; and at last to subdeacons: which

[a] Habetur Tomo nono Op. Eras. p. 982. Nam, in totum quæ sunt humani juris, quemadmodum in morbis remedia, &c. [Ep. Lond. 1642. L. 31. Ep. 43. p. 2026.]

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voluntarily-received custom was confirmed by the authority of popes.

In the mean time the number of priests increased, and their piety decreased. How many swarms of priests are maintained in monasteries and colleges! and amongst them, how few are there that live chastely[b]! I speak of them which do publicly keep concubines in their houses instead of their wives. I do not now meddle with the mysteries of their more secret lusts[c]: I only speak of those things which are most notoriously known to the world.

And yet, when we know these things, how easy are we to admit men into holy orders! and how difficult, in releasing this constitution of single life! when as, contrarily, St. Paul teaches that hands must not be rashly laid upon any; and more than once hath prescribed what manner of men priests and deacons ought to be: but of their single life, neither Christ nor his apostles have ever given any law in the holy Scriptures.

Long since hath the Church abrogated the nightly vigils at the tombs of martyrs; which yet had been received by the public custom of Christians, and that for divers ages. Those fasts, which were wont to continue till the evening, it hath transferred to noon: and many other things hath it changed, according to the occasions arising.

And why then do we so obstinately urge this human constitution; especially when so many causes persuade us to an alteration?

For first, a great part of our priests lives with an ill name; and, with an unquiet conscience, handleth those holy mysteries[d].

And then the fruit of their labours, for the most part, is utterly lost; because their doctrine is contemned of their people, by reason of their shameful life.

Whereas, if marriage might be yielded to those which do not contain, both they would live more quietly, and should preach God's word to the people with authority, and might honestly bring up their children; neither should the one of them be a mutual shame to other, &c.

[b] Inter hos, quanta raritas eorum qui caste vivunt!

[c] Nec enim attingo nunc secretiorum libidinum mysteria, &c.

[d] "Cur hic humanam constitutionem urgemus tam obstinate; præsertim cum tot causæ suadeant mutationem? Primum, enim, magna pars sacerdotum vivit cum mala fama; parumque requieta conscientia, tractat illa sacrosancta mysteria, &c."

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THE OLD RELIGION:

A TREATISE,

WHEREIN IS LAID DOWN THE TRUE STATE OF THE DIFFERENCE BETWIXT THE

REFORMED AND ROMAN CHURCH,

AND THE BLAME OF THIS SCHISM IS CAST UPON THE TRUE AUTHORS.

SERVING FOR THE VINDICATION OF OUR INNOCENCE, FOR THE SETTLING OF WAVERING MINDS, FOR A PRESERVATIVE AGAINST POPISH INSINUATIONS.

WITH AN ADVERTISEMENT

FOR SUCH READERS, AS FORMERLY STUMBLED AT SOME PASSAGES IN THE BOOK.

BY JOS. HALL, B. OF EXON.

TO MY NEW AND DEARLY AFFECTED CHARGE,

THE DIOCESE OF EXETER,

ALL GRACE AND BENEDICTION.

THE truth of my heart gives me boldness to profess before Him who only knows it, that the same God who hath called me to the oversight of your souls hath wrought in me a zealous desire of your salvation.

This desire cannot but incite me to a careful prevention of those dangers which might threaten the disappointment of so happy an end.

Those dangers are either sins of practice or errors of doctrine. Against both these I have faithfully vowed my utmost endeavours. I shall labour against the first, by preaching, example, censures: wherein it shall be your choice, to expect either the rod or the spirit of meekness. Against the latter, my pen hath risen up in this early assault.

It hath been assured me, that, in this time of late vacancy, false teachers, catching the forelock of occasion, have been busy in scattering the tares of

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errors amongst you. I easily believe it: since I know it is not in the power of the greatest vigilancy to hinder their attempts of evil. Even a full See is no sufficient bar to crafty seducers.

Their suggestions we cannot prevent; their success we may. This I have here essayed to do; bending my style against Popish doctrine with such Christian moderation, as may argue zeal without malice; desire to win souls, no will to gall them.

And since the commonest of all the grounds of Romish deceit is, the pretence of their age and our novelty; and nothing doth more dazzle the eyes of the simple than the name of our forefathers, and the challenge of a particular recital of our professors before Luther's revolt; I have, I hope, fully cleared this coast: so as, out of the right apprehension of these differences, my reader shall evidently see the vanity of this cavil, and find cause to bless God for the safety of his station in so pregnant and undeceivable a truth.

For me, I shame not to profess, that I have passed my most and best hours in quiet meditation: wherein I needed not bend mine edge against any adversary but Satan and mine own corruptions. These controversary points I have rather crossed in my way than taken along with me.

Neither am I ignorant, what incomparably clear beams, in this kind, some of the worthy lights of our Church have cast abroad into all eyes, to the admiration of present and future times. No corner of truth hath lien unsearched, no plea unargued. The wit of man cannot make any essential additions, either to our proofs or answers: but, as in the most perfect discovery, where lands and rivers are specially descried, there may be some small obscure inlets reserved for the notice of following experience; so is it in the business of these sacred quarrels. That brain is very unhappy which meets not with some traverse of discourse more than it hath borrowed from another's pen.

Besides which, having fallen upon a method and manner of tractation, which might be of use to plain understandings, the familiarity whereof promised to contribute not a little to the information and settling of weaker souls, I might not hide it from you, to whose common good I have gladly resolved to sacrifice myself. Let it be taken with the same construction of love wherewith it is tendered.

And, that you may improve this and all other my following labours to a sensible advantage, give me leave to impart myself to you a little in this short and free preamble.

It is a large body, I know, and full of ordinate variety, to which I now direct my words. Let me a while, in these lines, sever them whom I would never abide really disjoined.

Ye, my dear fellow-labourers, as my immediate charge, may well challenge the first place. It is no small joy to me, to expect so able hands, upon whom I may comfortably unload the weight of this my spiritual care. If fame do not overspeak you, there are not many soils that yield either so frequent flocks or better fed. Go on happily in these high steps of true blessedness, and save yourselves and others.

To which purpose let me commend to you, according to the sweet experience of a greater Shepherd, two main helps of our sacred trade: first, the

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tender pastures; and secondly, the still waters: by the one, I mean an inuring of our people to the principles of wholesome doctrine; by the other, an immunity from all faction and disturbance of the public peace.

It was the observation of the learnedest king that ever sat hitherto in the English throne, That the cause of the miscarriage of our people into popery and other errors was, their ungroundedness in the points of Catechism. How should those souls be but carried about with every wind of doctrine, that are not well ballasted with solid informations? Whence it was, that his said late Majesty, of happy memory, gave public order for bestowing the latter part of God's day in familiar catechising, than which nothing could be devised more necessary and behoveful to the souls of men. It was the ignorance and ill-disposedness of some cavillers that taxed this course as prejudicial to preaching; since, in truth, the most useful of all preaching is catechetical. This lays the grounds, the other raiseth the walls and roof. This informs the judgment, that stirs up the affections. What good use is there of those affections that run before the judgment? or of those walls that want a foundation? For my part, I have spent the greater half of my life in this station of our holy service; I thank God, not unpainfully, not unprofitably: but there is no one thing whereof I repent so much, as not to have bestowed more hours in this public exercise of catechism: in regard whereof I could quarrel with my very sermons, and wish that a great part of them had been exchanged for this preaching conference. Those other divine discourses enrich the brain and the tongue; this settles the heart. Those other are but the descants to this plain song. Contemn it not, my brethren, for the easy and noted homeliness. The most excellent and beneficial things are most familiar. What can be more obvious than light, air, fire, water? Let him that can live without these despise their commonness: rather, as we make so much more use of the divine bounty in these ordinary benefits, so let us the more gladly improve these ready and facile helps, to the salvation of many souls; the neglect whereof breeds instability of judgment, misprision of necessary truths, fashionableness of profession, frothiness of discourse, obnoxiousness to all error and seduction. And if any of our people loathe this manna, because they may gather it from under their feet, let not their palates be humoured in this wanton nauseation. They are worthy to fast that are weary of the bread of angels. And if herein we be curious to satisfy their roving appetite, our favour shall be no better than injurious. So we have seen an undiscreet schoolmaster, while he affects the thanks of an overweening parent, mar the progress of a forward child, by raising him to an higher form and author, ere he have well learned his first rules: whence follows an empty ostentation and a late disappointment. Our fidelity and care of profit must teach us to drive at the most sure and universal good; which shall undoubtedly be best attained by these safe and needful groundworks.

From these tender pastures let me lead you—and you others—to the still waters. Zeal in the soul is as natural heat in the body. There is no life of religion without it. But as the kindliest heat, if it be not tempered with a due equality of moisture, wastes itself and the body; so doth zeal, if it be not moderated with discretion and charitable care of the common good. It is hard to be too vehement in contending for main and evident truths: but

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litigious and immaterial verities may soon be overstriven for. In the prosecution whereof, I have oft lamented to see how heedless too many have been of the public welfare, while in seeking for one scruple of truth they have not cared to spend a whole pound weight of precious peace.

The Church of England, in whose motherhood we have all just cause to pride ourselves, hath, in much wisdom and piety, delivered her judgment concerning all necessary points of religion in so complete a body of divinity as all hearts may rest in. These we read; these we write under; as professing, not their truth only, but their sufficiency also. The voice of God our Father in his Scriptures; and out of these, the voice of the Church our mother in her Articles, is that which must both guide and settle our resolutions. Whatsoever is besides these, is but either private or unnecessary and uncertain. O, that while we sweat and bleed for the maintenance of these oracular truths, we could be persuaded to remit of our heat in the pursuit of opinions! These, these are they, that distract the Church, violate our peace, scandalize the weak, advantage our enemies. Fire upon the hearth warms the body, but if it be misplaced burns the house. My brethren, let us be zealous for our God; every hearty Christian will pour oil and not water upon this holy flame. But let us take heed lest a blind self-love, stiff prejudice, and factious impartiality impose upon us, instead of the causes of God. Let us be suspicious of all new verities, and careless of all unprofitable. And let us hate to think ourselves either wiser than the Church or better than our superiors. And if any man think that he sees farther than his fellows in these theological prospects, let his tongue keep the counsel of his eyes; lest, while he affects the fame of deeper learning, he embroil the Church, and raise his glory upon the public ruins.

And ye, worthy Christians, whose souls God hath intrusted with our spiritual guardianship, be ye alike minded with your teachers. The motion of their tongues lies much in your ears; your modest desires of receiving needful and wholesome truths shall avoid their labour after frivolous and quarrelsome curiosities. God hath blessed you with the reputation of a wise and knowing people: in these divine matters let a meek sobriety set bounds to your inquiries. Take up your time and hearts with Christ and him crucified, with those essential truths which are necessary to salvation. Leave all curious disquisitions to the schools, and say of those problems, as the philosopher did of the Athenian shops, "How many things are here that we have no need of!" Take the nearest cut ye can, ye shall find it a side-way to heaven; ye need not lengthen it with undue circuitions. I am deceived, if, as the times are, ye shall not find work enough to bear up against the oppositions of professed hostility. It is not for us to squander our thoughts and hours upon useless janglings; wherewith if we suffer ourselves to be still taken up, Satan shall deal with us like some crafty cheater, who, while he holds us at gaze with tricks of juggling, picks our pockets. Dear brethren, whatever become of these worthless dribblets, be sure to look well to the freehold of your salvation. Error is not more busy than subtle. Superstition never wanted sweet insinuations. Make sure work against these plausible dangers; suffer not yourselves to be drawn into the net by the common stale of—The Church. Know that outward visibility may too well stand with

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an utter exclusion from salvation. Salvation consists not in a formality of profession, but in a soundness of belief. A true body may be full of mortal diseases. So is the Roman church of this day, whom we have long pitied and laboured to cure in vain. If she will not be healed by us, let us not be infected by her. Let us be no less jealous of her contagion than she is of our remedies. Hold fast that precious truth which hath been long taught you by faithful pastors; confirmed by clear evidences of Scriptures; evinced by sound reasons; sealed up by the blood of our blessed martyrs. So, while no man takes away the crown of your constancy, ye shall be our crown and rejoicing in the day of the Lord Jesus.

To whose all-sufficient grace I commend you all, and vow myself,

Your common servant, in Him,
whom we all rejoice to serve,
JOS. EXON.

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INTRODUCTION.

CHAP. I.

The extent of the differences betwixt the Churches.

THE first blessing that I daily beg of my God for his Church is, our Saviour's legacy, *Peace*, John xiv. 27; that sweet peace, which in the very name of it comprehends an happiness both of estate and disposition. As that mountain, whereon Christ ascended, though it abounded with palms and pines and myrtles[a], yet it carried only the name of Olives, which have been an ancient emblem of peace: other graces are for the beauty of the Church, this for the health and life of it; for howsoever even wasps have their combs, and heretics their assemblies (as Tertullian[b]), so as all are not of the Church that have peace, yet so essential is it to the Church in St. Chrysostom's opinion[c], that the very name of the Church implies a consent and concord. No marvel then if the Church, labouring here below, make it her daily suit to her glorious Bridegroom in heaven, *Da pacem*, "Give peace in our time, O Lord." The means of which happiness are soon seen, not so soon attained; even that which Jerome hath to his Ruffinus[d], *Una fides*; "Let our belief be but one, and our hearts will be but one."

But since, as Erasmus hath too truly observed[e], there is nothing so happy in these human things, wherein there is not some intermixtures of distemper; and St. Paul hath told us, *there must be heresies*, 1 Cor. xi. 19, and the spouse, in Solomon's Song, compares her blessed husband to *a young hart upon the mountain of Bether*, that is, division, Cant. ii. 17, yea rather, as under Genseric us and his Vandals[f], the Christian temples flamed higher than the towns; so for the space of these last hundred years there hath been more combustion in the Church than in the civil state; my next wish is, that, if differences in religion cannot be avoided,

[a] Adrichoni Descr. Hieros. fol. fig. 192. [Col. Agr. 1588.]

[b] Faciunt favos et vespæ; faciunt ecclesias et Marcionitæ.—Tert. adv. Marcion. l. iv. c. 5.

[c] Ecclesiæ nomen consensus concordiæque est.—Chrysost. Com. in Ep. ad Gal. [Ed. Bened. t. x. p. 662.]

[d] Sit inter nos una fides, et illico pax sequetur.—Hier. ad Ruff.

[e] Eras. Ep. l. xx. [Ep. 89. Petro] Paulo Decimario.

[f] Victor. Pers. Afric. l. v.

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yet that they might be rightly judged of, and be but taken as they are.

Neither can I but mourn and bleed to see how miserably the world is abused on all hands with prejudice in this kind; while the adverse part brands us with unjust censures, and with loud clamours cries us down for heretics. On the other side, some of ours do so slight the errors of the Roman church, as if they were not worth our contentions, as if our martyrs had been rash and our quarrels trifling. Others again do so aggravate them, as if we could never be at enough defiance with their opinions, nor at enough distance from their communion.

All these three are dangerous extremities. The two former whereof shall, if my hopes fail me not, in this whole discourse be sufficiently convinced. Wherein, as we shall fully clear ourselves from that hateful slander of heresy or schism, so we shall leave upon the church of Rome an unavoidable imputation of many, no less foul and enormous, than novel errors: to the stopping of the mouths of those Adiaphorists, whereof Melancthon seems to have long ago prophesied, *Metuendum est, &c.*: "It is to be feared," saith he[h], "that in the last age of the world this error will reign amongst men, that either religions are nothing, or differ only in words."

The third comes now in our way. That which Laertius[i] speaks of Menedemus, that in disputing, his very ears would sparkle, is true of many of ours, whose zeal transports them to such a detestation of the Roman church, as if it were all error, no Church[k]; affecting nothing more than an utter opposition to their doctrine and ceremony, because theirs: like as Maldonate professeth[l] to mislike and avoid many fair interpretations, not as false, but as Calvin's.

These men have not learned this in St. Augustine's school, who tells us that it was the rule of the fathers, as well before Cyprian and Agrippinus as since, that whatsoever they found in any schism or heresy warrantable and holy, that they allowed for its own worth, and did not refuse it for the abettors[m]. "Neither for the chaff do we leave the floor of God; neither for the bad fishes

[g] Spalat. de Hist. Eccl. tom. ult. l. 7.

[h] Melanct. Postill. de Bapt. Christ.

[i] Diog. Laert. [lib. ii. § 136. Ed. Wetsten. See note of H. Stephens on πρᾳότατος.]

[k] Hooker, Eccl. Pol. l. iv. sect. 3.

[l] Comment. in Evang. sæpe.

[m] Patres nostri et saluberrimam consuetudinem tenuerunt, ut quicquid divinum ac legitimum, &c.—Aug.

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do we break his nets[n]." Rather, as the priests of Mercury had wont to say, when they ate their figs and honey, Γλυκὺ, &c. all truth is sweet. It is indeed God's, not ours, wheresoever it is found; the king's coin is current, though it be found in any impure channel.

For this particular they have not well heeded the charitable profession of zealous Luther, *Nos fatemur, &c.*: "We profess," saith he[o], "that under the papacy there is much Christian good, yea, all, &c.; I say moreover, that under the papacy is true Christianity, yea, the very kernel of Christianity, &c." No man, I trust, will fear that fervent spirit's too much excess of indulgence.

Under the papacy may be as much good as itself is evil[p]; neither do we censure that church for what it hath not, but for what it hath. Fundamental truth is like Maronæan wine, which if it be mixed with twenty times so much water, holds his strength. The sepulchre of Christ was overwhelmed by the Pagans with earth and rubbish; and more than so, over it they built a temple to their impure Venus[q]; yet still, in spite of malice, there was the sepulchre of Christ. And it is a ruled case of Papinian, that a sacred place loseth not the holiness with the demolished walls[r], no more doth the Roman lose the claim of a true visible church by her manifold and deplorable corruptions. Her unsoundness is not less apparent than her being. If she were once the spouse of Christ, and her adulteries are known, yet the divorce is not sued out.

CHAP. II.

The original of the differences.

It is too true that those two main elements of evil, as Timon called them, ambition and covetousness, which Bernard professes were the great masters of that clergy in his times[s], having pal-

[n] Neque propter paleam, relinquimus aream Domini: neque, propter pisces malos, rumpimus retia Domini.—Aug. Ep. 48. [Ed. Ben. xciii. t. ii. p. 252.]—Sic Anabaptistæ accusant pædobaptismum Papismi. Clifton contra Smith.—Sic Neariani Trinitatem arguunt et articulum Papæ. Prolæus Fascic. c. 1.

[o] Nos fatemur sub Papatu plurimum esse boni Christiani; imo, omne bonum Christianum: dico, insuper, et imo vero verum nucleum Christianitatis.—Luther in Ep. ad 2. pleb. de Anabapt. cit. à Cromero de Falsâ Relig. Lutheran.

[p] Aliud est credere, quod Papa credit; aliud credere quod est Papæ.—Prolæus ibid. ubi supr.

[q] Euseb. de Vita Const. l. 3. c. 26.

[r] Justin. tit. i. § 4. Annot. in Leg. xii. Tab.

[s] Magistris [nimirum in hac disciplina] utentes [idoneis] Ambitione et Avaritia.—Bern. ad Henr. Senonensem. [de offic. Episc. c. vii.]

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pably corrupted the Christian world both in doctrine and manners, gave just cause of scandal and complaint to godly minds; which, though long smothered, at last brake forth into public contestation[t], augmented by the fury of those guilty defendants, which loved their reputation more than peace: but yet so as the complainants ever professed a joint allowance of those fundamental truths which descried themselves by their bright lustre in the worst of that confusion; as not willing that God should lose any thing by the wrongs of men, or that men should lose any thing by the envy of that evil spirit, which had taken the advantage of the public sleep for his tares, Matt. xiii. 25.

Shortly, then, according to the prayers and predictions of many holy Christians, God would have his Church reformed. How shall it be done? Licentious courses, as Seneca wisely, have sometimes been amended, "by correction and fear; never of themselves[u]."

As, therefore, their own president was stirred up in the Council of Trent to cry out of their corruption of discipline[x]; so was the spirit of Luther, somewhat before that, stirred up to tax their corruption of doctrine.

But, as all beginnings are timorous[y], how calmly did he enter[z]; and with what submiss supplications did he sue for redress! "I come to you," saith he[a], "most holy father, and humbly prostrate before you, beseech you, that, if it be possible, you would be pleased to set your helping hand to the work."

Entreaties prevail nothing. The while, the importune insolence of Eckius and the undiscreet carriage of Cajetan, as Luther there professes[b], forced him to a public opposition.

At last, as sometimes even poisons turn medicinal[c], the furious prosecution of abused authority increased the zeal of truth; like as the repercussion of the flame intends it more. And, as zeal

[t] Quæ fuerant vitia, mores fiunt.—[citat.] ex Senec. Gers. de Negl. Prælat. [Opp. Argent. 1502. Pars iv. xviii. U.] Grav. Germ.

[u] Per disciplinam et metum; nunquam, sponte.—Sen.

[x] Corrigenda et reformanda est ecclesiastica disciplina, quæ jamdiu depravata atque corrupt. &c.—Orat. Præsid. Conc. Trid. ses. 11. [SS. Concil. Paris. 1672. T. xiv. p. 800.]

[y] Primordia cuncta pavida sunt.—Cassiod. [Ed. Ben. Ep. xl. l. i. p. 19.]

[z] Luther offered 95 Conclusions to be disputed at Wittenberg. Jo. Tecelius offers the contrary Propositions at Francfort. Vid. Hist. Conc. Trid. lib. i. *Lutherus*, &c. [Aug. Trinob. 1620. p. 5.]

[a] Ita venio, Beatissime Pater, &c. et, adhuc prostratus, rogo, &c. — Ep. ad Leon. X.

[b] Ibid. Luth. Jo. Eckius and Sylv. Prierias cont. Luth. Vid. Hist. Conc. Trid.

[c] Sæpe saluti fuere pestifera.—Sen.

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grew in the plaintiff, so did rage in the defendant[d]: so as now that was verified of Tertullian[e]; *A primordio, &c.*: "From the beginning, righteousness suffers violence: and no sooner did God begin to be worshipped, but religion was attended with envy." The masters of the Pythoness are angry to part with a gainful, though evil, guest: *Am I become your enemy, because I told you the truth?* saith St. Paul. Yet that truth is not more unwelcome than successful; for as the breath of a man that hath chewed saffron discolours a painted face[f], so this blunt sincerity shamed the glorious falsehood of superstition.

The proud offenders, impatient of reproof, try what fire and fagot can do for them[g]. And now, according to the old word, "suppressed spirits gather more authority[h]:" as the Egyptian violence rather addeth to God's Israel. Insomuch as Erasmus could tell[i] the rector of Louvain, that by burning Luther's books they might rid him from the libraries of men; not from their hearts.

The ventilation of these points diffused them to the knowledge of the world. And now, upon serious scanning, it came to this; as that honour of Rotterdam professeth[k]: *Non defuisse, &c.*: "That there wanted not great divines which durst confidently affirm, that there was nothing in Luther which might not be defended by good and allowed authors."

Nothing doth so whet the edge of wit as contradiction. Now he who at first, like the blind man in the gospel, (it is Beza's comparison[l],) saw men like trees; upon more clear light, sees and wonders at those gross superstitions and tyrannies wherewith the Church of God had been long abused. And now, as the first hue and cry raiseth a whole country, the world was awakened

[d] James Hogstrat, a Dominican Inquisitor, stirs up pope Leo to capital punishments of Luther and his followers. Ibid. Hist. Conc. [Trid. Aug. Trinob. 1620. p. 6.]

[e] A primordio [enim] justitia vim patitur: statim ut coli Deus cœpit, invidiam religio sortita est.—Tert. Scorpiac. adv. Gnostic. c. 8 [Paris. 1675. p. 493.]

[f] Bapt. Porta. [Mag. Nat. l. ii.]

[g] Leonis Bulla. anno 1518. [Hist. Conc. Trid. ut supra, p. 7.]

[h] Punitis ingeniis, gliscit authoritas.

[i] Eras. Godesch. Rosemund.—[Libris exurendis Lutherus fortassis eximetur e bibliothecis an ex animis revelli possit nescio. Ep. l. xv. 18.]

[k] Non defuisse magnos Theologos [Cum non deessent], qui non verebantur affirmare, nihil esse in Luthero, quin per probatos authores posset defendi.—Eras. Godeschalco Rosemund, &c. lib. xv. Ep. 18.

[l] Theod. Beza contra Andr. &c. Vid. Histor. Conc. Trid. l. i. [ut supra.]

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with the noise; and starting up saw, and stood amazed to see, its own slavery and besottedness.

Meanwhile, that God, who cannot be wanting to himself, raiseth up abettors[m] to his truth. The contention grows. Books fly abroad on both parts. Straight, bulls bellow from Rome[n] nothing but death and damnation to the opposites. Excommunications are thundered out from their Capitoline powers against all the partakers of this so called heresy. The flashes of public anathemas strike them down to hell.

The condemned reprovers stand upon their own integrity; call heaven and earth to record, how justly they have complained, how unjustly they are censured; in large volumes defending their innocence, and challenging an undeniable part in the true visible Church of God, from which they are pretended to be ejected; appeal, next to the tribunal of heaven, to the sentence of a free general council for their right.

Proffer is made at last of a synod at Trent[o]; but neither free nor general: nor such as would afford, after all semblances, either safety of access[p], or possibility of indifferency. That partial meeting, as it was prompted[q] to speak, condemns us unheard: right so, as Ruffinus[r] reports it in that case of Athanasius: *Judicandi potestas, &c.:* "The power of judging was in the accusers:" contrary to the rule of their own laws[s], *Non debet, &c.:* "The same party may not be the judge, accuser, witness;" contrary to that just rule of Theodericus, reported by Cassiodore[t]; *Sententia, &c.:* "The sentence that is given in the absence of the parties is of no moment." We are still where we were: opposing, suffering.

In these terms we stand: what shall we say then? If men would either not have deserved, or have patiently endured reproof, this breach had never been. Woe be to the men by whom this

[m] Ulr. Zuinglius, in Eccl. Zurich, opponit se Fratri Sampsoni Mediolan. Francis. Hugo Constantiens. Episcopus opponit se Zuinglio. Ibid. [p. 7. 13.]

[n] Bulla Secunda Leonis Papæ. an. 1520. [Bin. t. iv. p. 652.]

[o] Anno 1518. Vid. Histor. Conc. Trid. l. i. [ut supra.]

[p] Tres salvi-conductus concessi Protestantibus; sed quam frustra.—Vid. Junii Animadv. in Bellarm.

[q] Vid. Epist. Epi. Quinque Eccles. in Hist. Conc. Trid. [Præfat.]

[r] Judicandi potestas apud [penes] accusatores erat.—Ruffin. Hist. l. i. c. 17.

[s] 2. q. Multo, &c. 3. q. 7. Nullus debet, &c.

[t] Sententia, non præsentibus partibus, dicta, nullius momenti est.—Cassiod. de Amicit. c. 5. Nullus, ante rectam cognitionem causæ, debet privari suo jure.—Rodrig. Cas. Cons. c. 241.

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offence cometh. For us, that rule of St. Bernard[u] shall clearly acquit us before God and his angels: *Cum carpuntur vitia, &c.:* "When faults are taxed, and scandal grows, he is the cause of the scandal who did that which was worthy to be reproved; not he that reproved the ill-doer.

CHAP. III.

The reformed unjustly charged with novelty, heresy, schism.

Be it therefore known to all the world, that our church is only reformed or repaired, not made new[x]. There is not one stone of a new foundation laid by us: yea, the old walls stand still; only the overcasting of those ancient stones with the untempered mortar of new inventions displeaseth us[y].

Plainly, set aside the corruptions, and the church is the same. And what are these corruptions, but unsound adjections to the ancient structure of religion? These we cannot but oppose; and are therefore unjustly and imperiously ejected.

Hence it is that ours is, by the opposite, styled an ablative or negative religion[z]; forsomuch as we join with all true Christians in all affirmative positions of ancient faith, only standing upon the denial of some late and undue additaments to the Christian belief. Or, if those additions be reckoned for ruins, it is a sure rule which Durandus gives[a] concerning material churches, appliable to the spiritual; that if the wall be decayed, not at once, but successively, it is judged still the same church: and, upon reparation, not to be re-consecrated, but only reconciled.

Well therefore may those mouths stop themselves, which loudly call[b] for the names of the professors of our faith, in all succession of times, till Luther looked forth into the world. Had we gone about to broach any new positive truths, unseen, unheard of former times, well and justly might they challenge us for a deduction of this line of doctrine from a pedigree of predecessors: now, that we only disclaim their superfluous and novel opinions

[u] Cum carpuntur vitia, et inde scandalum oritur, ipse sibi scandali causa est, qui fecit, quod argui debet; non ille, qui arguit.—Bern. ad Hug. de Sanct. Vict. Ep. 78.

[x] Nos vetera instauramus; nova non prodimus.—Eras. Godesch. &c. [l. xv. Ep. 18.]

[y] Vide Fregevillii Politique Reforme. an. 1588.

[z] Hæreses non tam docent credere nova, quam vetera non credere: magis, enim, hæresis in non credendo.—Joan. Lenseus Bellidanus de Chr. Libert. l. xii. c. 7.

[a] Durand. Ration. lib. i. [Si vero non simul sed successive parietes omnes ruerint et reparati fuerint eadem censetur ecclesia. fol. xv.]

[b] Fisher contra D. White et D. Featly.

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and practices, which have been, by degrees, thrust upon the Church of God, retaining inviolably all former articles of Christian faith, how idle is this plea! how worthy of hissing out!

Who sees not now, that all we need to do, is but to show that all those points which we cry down in the Roman church are such as carry in them a manifest brand of newness and absurdity? This proof will clearly justify our refusal. Let them see how they shall once, before the awful tribunal of our last Judge, justify their uncharitableness[c], who cease not, upon this our refusal, to eject and condemn us.

The church of Rome is sick. Ingenuous Cassander confesseth so: *Nec inficior, &c.:* "I deny not," saith he[d], "that the Roman church is not a little changed from her ancient beauty and brightness, and that she is deformed with many diseases and vicious distempers."

Bernard tells us how it must be dieted: profitable, though unpleasing medicines, must be poured into the mouth of it[e].

Luther and his associates did this office, as Erasmus acknowledgeth: *Lutherus porrexit, &c.:* "Luther," saith he[f], "gave the world a potion, violent and bitter; whatever it were, I wish it may breed some good health in the body of Christian people; so miserably foul with all kinds of evils." Never did Luther mean to take away the life of that church, but the sickness; wherein, as Socrates answered to his judges, surely he deserved recompense instead of rage. For as St. Ambrose worthily[g], *Dulcior est, &c.:* "Sweeter is a religious chastisement than a smoothing remission."

This, that was meant to the church's health, proves the physician's disease. So did the bitterness of our wholesome draughts offend, that we are beaten out of doors. Neither did we run from that church, but are driven away; as our late sovereign professeth, by Casaubon's hand[h].

[c] Accusatio non debet admitti, quæ non procedit ex charitate. 4. qu. 5.

[d] Nec inficior Rom. ecclesiam a prisco suo decore et splendore non parum diversam; multisque morbis et vitiis deformatam.—Cass. de Offic. Boni Viri, &c. [Cassander de Off. pii Viri, Paris. 1616. p. 786.]

[e] Utilia, vero, et nolenti ingerenda.—Bern. de Vita Solit. [Ep. ad Fratr. de Monte Dei, l. i. c. 7.]

[f] Lutherus porrexit orbi pharmacum, violentum et amarum: id quale, quale sit, optarim ut aliquid bonæ sanitatis, &c. —Eras. Georg. Sax. Duci. l. xxi. [ep. 8.]—Novis morbis novis obviandum [est] medicamentis.—Bern. Ep. 161.

[g] Dulcior est religiosa castigatio, quam blanda remissio.—Ambr. in Obit. Theod. Ser. 6. [Serm. 84. Paris. 1586. t. iv. p. 900.]

[h] Non fugimus, sed fugamur. Casaub. ad Perron.

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We know that of Cyril[i] is a true word: "Those which sever themselves from the Church and communion, are the enemies of God, and friends of devils:" and that which Dionysius said to Novatus[k]; "Any thing must rather be borne, than that we should rend the Church of God." Far, far was it from our thoughts, to tear the seamless coat, or with this precious oil of truth to break the Church's head.

We found just faults, else let us be guilty of this disturbance[l]. If now choler, unjustly exasperated with an wholesome reprehension, hath broken forth into a furious persecution of the gainsayers, the sin is not ours. If we have defended our innocence with blows, the sin is not ours. Let us never prosper in our good cause, if all the water of Tiber can wash off the blood of many thousand Christian souls, that hath been shed in this quarrel, from the hands of the Romish prelacy.

Surely, as it was observed of old, that none of the tribe of Levi were the professed followers of our Saviour; so it is too easy to observe, that of late times this tribe hath exercised the bitterest enmity upon the followers of Christ.

Suppose we had offended in the undiscreet managing of a just reproof; it is a true rule of Erasmus[m], That generous spirits would be reclaimed by teaching, not by compulsion; and, as Alipius wisely to his Augustin[n], "Heed must be taken, lest while we labour to redress a doubtful complaint, we make greater wounds than we find."

O how happy had it been for God's Church if this care had found any place in the hearts of her governors! who, regarding more the entire preservation of their own honour than truth and peace, were all in the harsh language of war; *παῖε, βάλλε*, smite, kill, burn, persecute.

Had they been but half so charitable to their modern reprovers as they profess they are to the foregoing, how had the Church flourished in an uninterrupted unity? "In the old catholic writers,"

[i] Qui ab ecclesia et communione, &c. —Cyril. Orat. de Exitu Animæ.

[k] Oportebat quidem nihil non ferre, ne ecclesiam Dei scinderes.—Dionys. ad Novat. Euseb. l. vi. c. 45, &c. Ed. Burt. [*Ἔδει μὲν γὰρ καὶ πᾶν ὁτιοῦν παθεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ διακόψαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ.*

[l] Qui statum conturbat ecclesiæ, ab ejus liminibus arceatur.—2 Ep. Alex. Pap.

[m] Ingenia generosa doceri cupiunt; cogi non ferunt: cogere, tyrannorum est; cogi tantum, asinorum.—Eras. Rosemund. ubi supra.

[n] Cavendum est, ne, cum rem dubiam emendare volumus, majora vulnera faciamus.—Alip. Aug. Ep. 239.

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say they[o], "we bear with many errors; we extenuate and excuse them; we find shifts to put them off, and devise some commodious senses for them." Guiltiness, which is the ground of this favour, works the quite contrary courses against us. Alas, how are our writings racked and wrested to envious senses! how misconstrued! how perverted! and made to speak odiously, on purpose to work distaste, to enlarge quarrel, to draw on the deepest censures!

Woe is me, this cruel uncharitableness is it that hath brought this miserable calamity upon distracted Christendom. Surely, as the ashes of the burning mountain Vesuvius, being dispersed far and wide, bred a grievous pestilence in the regions round about[p]; so the ashes, that fly from these unkindly flames of discord, have bred a woful infection and death of souls through the whole Christian world.

CHAP. IV.

The Church of Rome guilty of this schism.

It is confessed by the president of the Tridentine council[q], that the depravation of discipline and manners of the Roman church was the chief cause and original of these dissensions. Let us cast our eyes upon the doctrine, and we shall no less find the guilt of this fearful schism to fall heavily upon the same heads.

For first, to lay a sure ground, nothing can be more plain than that the Roman is a particular church, as the fathers of Basil well distinguish it, not the universal; though we take in the churches of her subordination or correspondence. This truth we might make good by authority[r], if our very senses did not save us the labour.

Secondly, no particular church, to say nothing of the universal since the apostolic times, can have power to make a fundamental point of faith. It may explain or declare, it cannot create articles[s].

o Index Expurgat. Belg. jussu Phil. ii. Antwerp. Offic. Plant.—In catholicis veteribus alios plurimos, &c.

p Magdeb. [Cent. i. l. ii. c. 13.]

q Quæ jamdiu depravata atque corrupta, harum ipsarum hæresium, magna ex parte, causa origoque extitit.—Orat. Præs. Conc. Trid. sess. 11. [Bin. t. iv. p. 822.] Petrus Oxon. Sum. Concil. sub Sixto IV.

r Si authoritas quæratur, orbis major est urbe, ubicunque fuerit Episcopus, sive Romæ, sive Eugubii.—Hieron. Evagrio. Waldens. Doctr. Fid. tom. i. l. ii. Pighius. Hierar. Eccl. l. vi. 3. Turrecremat. et alii. Vid. Mort. appell. l. iv. p. 2. sect. 6. Answer of the bishop of St. David's chaplain to Fisher.

s Nec Papa, nec Episcopus, proprie potest propositionem, &c.—Gers. An liceat in causis fidei, &c. Nil. Thessal. Orat. de Dissens.

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Thirdly, only an error against a point of faith is heresy.

Fourthly, those points wherein we differ from the Romanists are they which only the church of Rome hath made fundamental, and of faith.

Fifthly, the reformed, therefore, being by that church illegally condemned for those points, are not heretics. "He is properly an heretic," saith Hosius[t], "who, being convicted in his own judgment, doth of his own accord cast himself out of the church."

For us, we are neither convicted in our own judgment, nor in the lawful judgment of others. We have not willingly cast ourselves out of the church; but, however we are said to be violently ejected by the undue sentence of malice, hold ourselves close to the bosom of the true spouse of Christ, never to be removed; as far therefore from heresy, as charity is from our censurers.

Only we stand convicted by the doom of good pope Boniface[u], or Sylvester Prierius[x]; *Quicunque non, &c.*: "Whosoever doth not rely himself upon the doctrine of the Roman church, and of the bishop of Rome, as the infallible rule of faith, from which even the Scripture itself receives her force, he is an heretic." Whence follows, that the church of Rome, condemning and ejecting those for heretics which are not, is the author of this woful breach in the Church of God.

I shall therefore, I hope, abundantly satisfy all wise and indifferent readers, if I shall show that those points which we refuse and oppose, are no other than such as, by the confessions of ingenuous authors[y] of the Roman part, have been, besides their inward falsity, manifest upstarts, lately obtruded upon the Church; such as our ancient progenitors, in many hundreds of successions, either knew not, or received not into their belief, and yet both lived and died worthy Christians.

Surely it was but a just speech of St. Bernard[z], and that which might become the mouth of any pope or council; *Ego si peregri-*

[t] Is proprie hæreticus dicitur, qui, suo ipsius judicio condemnatus, sua sponte seipsum ejicit ab Ecclesia.—Hosius de Legitimis Judicibus Rerum Ecclesiasticarum. l. ii. [Colon. 1584. p. 485.]

[u] Subesse Romano &c.—Extr. de major et obed. unam, &c. [Porro subesse Roman. Pontif. omnem humanam creaturam, &c. Extravag. comm. de majoritate et obed. fol. xi. col. 4. Paris. 1522.]

[x] Sylv. Prier. Epit. Resp. ad Luth. l. ii. c. 7. [Witeberg. 1582. p. 193.]

[y] Nilus imputat divisiones Orbis Christiani præsumptioni Romanæ Ecclesiæ, quæ susceperit in se, absque Græcis, definire de rebus fidei; et contra sentientes anathemate ferire.—Orat. de Dissens. Eccl.

[z] Ego, si peregrinum dogma induxero, ipse peccavi.—Bern. in Cant. Ser. 30.

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num, &c. : "If I shall offer to bring in any strange opinion, it is my sin."

It was the wise ordinance of the Thurians, as Diodorus Siculus reports[a], that he who would bring in any new law amongst them to the prejudice of the old, should come with an halter about his neck into the assembly, and there either make good his project or die.

For however in human constitutions μεταγενεστέραι, &c. "the later orders are stronger than the former[b];" yet in divinity, *primum verum*, "the first is true;" as Tertullian's rule is. The old way is the good way, according to the prophet. Here we hold us; and because we dare not make more articles than our Creeds, nor more sins than our Ten Commandments, we are indignly cast out.

Let us therefore address ourselves roundly to our promised task, and make good the novelty and unreasonableness of those points we have rejected.

Out of too many controversies disputed betwixt us, we select only some principal; and out of infinite varieties of evidence, some few irrefragable testimonies.

CHAP. V.

The newness of the Article of Justification by Inherent Righteousness.

To begin with justification.

The Tridentine Fathers, in their seven months' debating[c] of this point, have so cunningly set their words, that the error which they would establish might seem to be either hid or shifted; yet at the last they so far declare themselves, as to determine that "the only formal cause of our justification is God's justice[d]; not by which he himself is just, but by which he makes us just: wherewith being endowed by him, we are renewed in the spirit of our minds, and are not only reputed, but are made truly just, receiving every man his own measure of justice, which the Holy Ghost divides to him according to each man's predisposition of

[a] Cit. de Modest. Annot. in Leg. xii. Tab. [Diod. Hist. l. xii. c. 17. Amstel. 1745. t. i. p. 489.]

[b] Μεταγενεστέραι διατάξεις ἰσχυρότεραι τῶν πρὸ αὐτῶν.—Modest. Annot. ibid.

[c] Card. de Monte Præs. Conc. Orat. sua sess. 11. professes what they meant to have despatched in fifteen days, cost seven months' work. [Bin. t. iv. p. 819.]

[d] Unica formalis causa est justitia Dei; non qua ipse justus est, sed qua nos justos facit, &c.—Conc. Trid. sess. 6. [Bin. t. iv. p. 807.]

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himself and cooperation[e]." And withal, they denounce a flat anathema[f] to all those "who shall dare to say that we are formally justified by Christ's righteousness, or by the sole imputation of that righteousness, or by the sole remission of our sins, and not by our inherent grace infused in our hearts by the Holy Ghost." Which terms they have so craftily laid together, as if they would cast an aspersion upon their adversaries of separating the necessity of sanctification from the pretended justification by faith, wherein all our words and writings will abundantly clear us before God and men.

That there is an inherent justice in us, is no less certain, than that it is wrought in us by the Holy Ghost. For God doth not justify the wicked man as such, but of wicked, makes him good; not by mere acceptation, but by a real change, while he justifies him whom he sanctifies.

These two acts of mercy are inseparable[g]; but this justice, being wrought in us by the Holy Spirit, according to the model of our weak receipt, and not according to the full power of the Infinite Agent[h], is not so perfect as that it can bear us out before the tribunal of God. It must be only under the garment of our elder brother that we dare come in for a blessing; his righteousness, made ours by faith, is that whereby we are justified in the sight of God; this doctrine is that which is blasted with a Tridentine curse.

Hear now the history of this doctrine of Justification related by their Andrew Vega (de Just. l. vii. c. 24.) *Magna fuit, &c.:* "Some ages since," saith he, "there was a great concertation amongst divines what should be the formal cause of our justification. Some thought it to be no created justice infused into man, but only the favour and merciful acceptation of God; in which opinion the Master of Sentences is thought by some to have been. Others, whose opinion is more common and probable, held it to be some created quality informing the souls of the just; this opinion was allowed in the Council of Vienna; and the School-

[e] Secundum propriam cujusque dispositionem et cooperationem.—Ibid.

[f] Si quis dixerit, &c. per eam ipsam formaliter justos esse, vel sola imputatione justitiæ Christi, vel sola remissione peccatorum, &c. anathema sit.—Can. 10. 11.

[g] Nunquam remittitur culpa, quin simul infundatur justitia.—Bell. l. ii. de Justif. c. 13. [Ingolst. 1593. t. iii. p. 1081.]

[h] Perfecta sunt opera Dei: ex Deut. xxxii. Bell. l. ii. de Justific. c. 14. [ibid. p. 1082.]—Justitiam in nobis recipientes, unusquisque suam secundum mensuram quam Spiritus Sanctus partitur singulis prout vult, et secundum propriam cujusque dispositionem.—Conc. Trid. ubi supra.

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Doctors, after the Master of Sentences, delivered this not as probable only, but as certain. Afterwards, when some defended the opposite part to be more probable, it seemed good to the holy Synod of Trent thus to determine it."

So as, till the late Council of Trent, by the confession of Vega himself, this opinion was maintained as probable only, not as of faith; yea, I add, by his leave, the contrary was still the most current.

It is not the logic of this point we strive for; it is not the grammar[i], it is the divinity; what is that whereby we stand acquitted before the righteous Judge[k], whether our inherent justice, or Christ's imputed justice apprehended by faith? The divines of Trent are for the former; all antiquity with us for the latter. A just volume would scarce contain the pregnant testimonies of the Fathers to this purpose.

St. Chrysostom tells us[l], it is the wonder of God's mercy, that he who hath sinned confesseth, is pardoned, secured, and suddenly appears just; just, but how? "The cross took away the curse," saith he[m] most sweetly: "Faith brought in righteousness, and righteousness drew on the grace of the Spirit."

St. Ambrose tells us,[n] that our carnal infirmity blemisheth our works, but that the uprightness of our faith covers our errors and obtains our pardon, and professeth that he will glory, not for that he is righteous, but for that he is redeemed; not for that he is void of sins, but for that his sins are forgiven him.

St. Jerome tells us[o], then we are just when we confess ourselves sinners, and that our righteousness stands not in any merit of ours, but in the mere mercy of God; and that the acknowledgment of our imperfection is the imperfect perfection of the just.

[i] Forense vocab. Justif. verbum justificandi in alia significatione usurpant Patres.—Chemnit. Exam. de Justif. [Et forensis sicut vulgo loquimur ejus significatio, &c. exam. Decr. Conc. Trid. Francof. 1574. p. 148.]

[k] Causa formalis, propter quam, homo dicitur justus coram Deo.—Bell. l. ii. de Justif. c. 1. Yet in the next chapter he corrects this *propter*, in Chemnitius; and expresses it by *per*, l. ii. c. 2. [ut supra t. iii. pp. 1029. 1033.]

[l] Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 2.—O misericordiæ magnitudinem, &c. repenteque, justus apparet.

[m] Chrysost. in Galat. c. iii.—Crux sustulit execrationem: fides invexit justitiam: justitia vero gratiam Spiritus allexit.

[n] Ambros. de Jacob. et Vita Beata.—Non operibus justificamur, sed fide; quoniam carnalis infirmitas, &c. [l. ii. c. 2.] —Ibid. c. 6. Non gloriabor quia mens, &c.—Similiter de Cain et Abel. l. i. c. 9. de Fuga, sec. c. 3. et 7.

[o] Hieron. adv. Pelag. l. i.—Tunc ergo justi sumus; cum imperfectos nos, &c. [quando nos peccatores fatemur, Ed. Ben. 1706. t. iv. pars 2. p. 490.]

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St. Gregory tells us[p], that our Just Advocate shall defend us righteous in his judgment, because we know and accuse ourselves unrighteous; and that our confidence must not be in our acts, but in our Advocate.

But the sweet and passionate speeches of St. Austin and St. Bernard would fill a book alone. Neither can any reformed divine either more disparage our inherent righteousness or more magnify and challenge the imputed.

It shall suffice us to give a taste of both.

"We have all, therefore, brethren, received of his fulness; of the fulness of his mercy, of the abundance of his goodness, have we received. What? Remission of sins, that we might be justified by faith. And what more? Grace for grace; that is, for this grace, wherein we live by faith, we shall receive another," saith that divinest of the Fathers[q]. And soon after[r], "All that are from sinful Adam are sinners; all that are justified by Christ are just, not in themselves, but in him; for in themselves, if ye ask after them, they are Adam, in him they are Christ's." And elsewhere[s], "Rejoice in the Lord, and be glad, O ye righteous. O wicked, O proud men, that rejoice in yourselves! Now, believing in him who justifieth the wicked, your faith is imputed to you for righteousness. Rejoice in the Lord! Why? Because now ye are just. And whence are ye just? Not by your own merits, but by his grace. Whence are ye just? Because ye are justified."

"*Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect?* It sufficeth me for all righteousness that I have that God propitious to me against whom only I have sinned. All that he hath decreed not to impute unto me, is as if it had not been. Not to sin is God's justice; man's justice is God's indulgence," saith devout Bernard[t]. How pregnant is that famous profession of his! "And if the mercies of the Lord be from everlasting and to everlasting[u],

[p] Gregor. in Ezech. [l. i.] Hom. 7. ad finem.—Justus igitur advocatus noster, &c.

[q] Ergo, fratres, omnes de plenitudine ejus accepimus: de plenitudine misericordiæ, &c. Quid? Remissionem peccatorum, ut justificaremur ex fide, &c.—Aug. Tract. 3. in Joannem. [Ed. Bened. 1690. t. iii. pars ii. p. 308.]

[r] Omnes, qui ex Adam cum peccato, peccatores: omnes, qui per Christum justificati, justi; non in se, sed in illo: nam, in se, si interroges, Adam sunt, &c.—Ibid. Aug. [p. 309.]

[s] Lætamini, &c. O qui lætamini in vobis! O impii, O superbi, qui lætamini in vobis! Jam credentes in eum, qui justificat impium, &c.—Aug. 2. Enarrat. in Psalm xxxi. [Ibid. t. iv. p. 184.]

[t] Quis accusavit, &c. Sufficit mihi ad omnem justitiam, solum habere propitium, cui soli peccavi. Omne quod, &c. Non peccare, Dei justitia est: hominis justitia est indulgentia Dei.—Bern. in Cant. Ser. 23. [Ed. Bened. 1719. v. i. pp. 1349, 1350.]

[u] Et si misericordia Domini, &c.

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I will also sing the mercies of the Lord everlastingly. What! shall I sing of my own righteousness? No, Lord; I will remember thy righteousness alone[x], for that is mine too. Thou art made unto me, O God, righteousness; should I fear that it will not serve us both? It is no short cloak[y] that it should not cover twain. Thy righteousness is a righteousness for ever, and what is longer than eternity? Behold thy large and everlasting mercy will largely cover both thee and me at once[z]; in me it covereth a multitude of sins, in thee, Lord, what can it cover, but the treasures of pity, the riches of bounty?" Thus he.

What should I need to draw down this truth through the times of Anselm, Lombard, Bonaventure, Gerson?

The "Manual of Christian Religion," set forth in the Provincial Council of Cologne, shall serve for all. Bellarmine himself grants[a] them herein ours, and they are worth our entertaining. That book is commended by Cassander[b] as marvellously approved by all the learned divines of Italy and France, as that which notably sets forth the sum of the judgment of the ancients concerning this and other points of Christian religion. *Nos dicimus, &c.*[c]: "We say that a man doth then receive the gift of justification by faith, when, being terrified and humbled by repentance, he is again raised up by faith, believing that his sins are forgiven him for the merits of Christ, who hath promised remission of sins for those that believe in him; and when he feels in himself new desires, so as detesting evil and resisting the infirmity of his flesh, he is inwardly enkindled to an endeavour of good, although this desire of his be not yet perfect."

Thus they in the voice of all antiquity and the then present Church. Only the late Council of Trent hath created this opinion of justification a point of faith.

SECT. 2.—*The error hereof against Scripture.*

Yet, if age were all the quarrel, it were but light; for though newness in divine truths is a just cause of suspicion, yet we do not so shut the hand of our munificent God, that he cannot bestow

[x] Nunquid justitias meas? Domine, memorabor justitiæ tuæ solius, &c.

[y] Non est pallium breve, &c.

[z] Et te pariter et me operiet largiter larga et æterna justitia, &c.—Bern. sup. Cant. Ser. 61. [Ed. Ben. 1719. T. i. p. 1479.]

[a] Bell. de Justif. l. ii. c. 1. and l. iii. c. 3.

[b] Qui liber ab omnibus eruditoribus Theologis, etiam per Italiam et Galliam, summopere commendatus fuit [fuit collaudatus.] &c.—Cassand. Cons. Art. 4.

[c] Nos dicimus hominem per fidem donum justificationis tum demum accipere, &c.—Enchir. Colon.

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upon his Church new illuminations in some parcels of formerly hidden verities.

It is the charge both of their Canus and Cajetan[d], that no man should detest a new sense of Scripture for this, that it differs from the ancient doctors; for God hath not, say they, tied exposition of Scripture to their senses.

Yea, if we may believe Salmeron[e], the later divines are so much more quicksighted; they, like the dwarf sitting on the giant's shoulder, overlook him that is far taller than themselves.

This position of the Roman church is not more new than faulty. "Not so much novelty, as truth, convinceth heresies," as Tertullian[f].

We had been silent if we had not found this point, besides the lateness, erroneous; erroneous, both against Scripture and reason.

Against Scripture, which every where teacheth, as on the one side, the imperfection of our inherent righteousness; so on the other, our perfect justification by the imputed righteousness of our Saviour brought home to us by faith

The former, Job saw from his dunghill: *How should a man be justified before God? If he will contend with him, he cannot answer one of a thousand,* Job ix. 2, 3. Whence it is that wise Solomon asks, *Who can say, My heart is clean; I am pure from sin?* Prov. xx. 9. And himself answers, *There is not a just man upon earth, which doeth good and sinneth not,* Eccl. vii. 20; a truth which, besides his experience, he had learned of his father David; who could say, *Enter not into judgment with thy servant,* though a man after God's own heart, *for in thy sight shall no man living be justified,* cxliii. 2; and, *If thou, Lord, shouldest mark iniquities, O Lord, who shall stand?* Ps. cxxx. 3. For, *We are all as an unclean thing,* (*we,* saith the Prophet Isaiah, including even himself,) *and all our righteousnesses are as filthy rags,* Is. lxiv. 6. And was it any better with the best saints under the Gospel? *I see,* saith the Chosen Vessel, *in my members, another law warring against the law of my mind, and leading me captive to the law of sin which is in my members,* Rom. vii. 23; so as *in many things we sin all,* James iii. 2: and, *If we say that we have no sin, we do but deceive ourselves, and there is no truth in us,* 1 John i. 8.

[d] Can. Loc. com. l. vii. c. 3. res. hæc de Cajet.

[e] Quo juniores, eo perspicatiores.—Salmer. in Rom. v. Disput. 51. [Col. Ag. 1604. p. 468.]

[f] Hæreses, non tam novitas, quam veritas revincit.—Tert. de Veland. Virgin. [Paris. 1675. p. 172.]

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The latter is the sum of St. Paul's Sermon at Antioch: *Be it known unto you, men and brethren, that through this man is preached unto you forgiveness of sins: and by him all that believe are justified,* Acts xiii. 38, 39. They are justified: but how? *Freely, by his grace,* Rom. iii. 24. What grace? Inherent in us and working by us? No: *By grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God: not of works, lest any man should boast.* Eph. ii. 8, 9. Works are ours: but this is *righteousness of God, which is by the faith of Jesus Christ to all them that believe;* Rom. iii. 22. And how doth this become ours? By His gracious imputation: *Not to him that worketh, but believeth in him who justifieth the wicked, is his faith imputed for righteousness,* Rom. iv. 5.

Lo, it is not the act, not the habit of faith, that justifieth: it is He that justifies the wicked, whom our faith makes ours, and our sin his: *He was made sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him,* 2 Cor. v. 21. Lo, so were we made his righteousness, as he was made our sin. Imputation doeth both: it is that which enfeoffs our sins upon Christ and us in his righteousness, which both covers and redresses the imperfection of ours.

That distinction is clear and full: *That I may be found in him, not having mine own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith,* Phil. iii. 9. St. Paul was a great saint: he had a righteousness of his own; not as a Pharisee only, but as an apostle; but that which he dares not trust to, but forsakes, and cleaves to God's: not that essential righteousness which is in God, without all relation to us; nor that habit of justice which was remaining in him, but that righteousness which is of God, by faith made ours.

Thus being justified by faith, we have peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, Rom. v. 1. For what can break that peace, but our sins? and those are remitted: for, *Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifies,* Rom. viii. 33. And in that remission is grounded our reconciliation; for, *God was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself, not imputing their sins unto them,* 2 Cor. v. 19; but contrarily, imputing to them his own righteousness, and their faith for righteousness, v. 21.

We conclude then that a man is justified by faith, Rom. iii. 28;

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and, *Blessed is he, to whom the Lord imputes righteousness without works. Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered*[g], Rom. iv. 6, 7.

Let the vain sophistry of carnal minds deceive itself with idle subtleties, and seek to elude the plain truth of God with shifts of wit: we bless God for so clear a light, and dare cast our souls upon this sure evidence of God, attended with the perpetual attestation of his ancient Church.

SECT. 3.—*Against Reason.*

Lastly, reason itself fights against them.

Nothing can formally make us just, but that which is perfect in itself[h]. How should it give what it hath not? Now our inherent righteousness, at the best, is in this life defective. *Nostra si qua est humilis, &c.*: "Our poor justice," saith Bernard[i], "if we have any, it is true, but it is not pure; for how should it be pure where we cannot but be faulty?" Thus he. The challenge is unanswerable.

To those that can say they can keep God's law, let me give St. Jerome's answer to his Ctesiphon[k], *Profer quis impleverit*; "Shew me the man that hath done it;" for, as that Father elsewhere[l], "*In thy sight shall none living be justified*: He said not, 'no man,' but, *none living*; not evangelists, not angels, not thrones, not dominions." "If thou shalt mark the iniquities even of thine elect," saith St. Bernard[m], "who shall abide it?" To say now, that "our actual justice, which is imperfect through the admixtion of venial sins, ceaseth not to be both true, and, in a sort, perfect justice[n]," is to say, there may be an unjust justice, or a just injustice; that even muddy water is clear, or a leprous face beautiful.

Besides, all experience evinceth our wants. For, as it is St. Austin's true observation, "He that is renewed from day to day is not all renewed; and so much as he is not renewed, so much

[g] Ad hæc vide Gen. xv. 6. Isa. xlv. 25. l. 8. liii. 11; Rom. iii. 20, 26, 30. iv. 2, 3, 9, 16. v. 9, 18, 19. viii. 1. x. 5, 10; 1 Cor. iv. 4; Gal. ii. 16. iii. 6, 11, 21, 24.

[h] Non majus est creare cœlum et terram, quam peccatores justificare.—Gers. Tract. sup. Magnificat. 10. [xcii. R.]

[i] Bern. de Verbis Is. Ser. 5.

[k] Hier. ad Ctesiphontem. [Ed. Ben. t. iv. pars ii. p. 479.]

[l] Hier. de Filio Prodigo.

[m] Bern. in Cant. Ser. 73. [Ed. Ben. t. i. p. 1527.]

[n] Justitia actualis imperfecta, &c. non desinit tamen esse vera justitia, et, suo [stiam] quodam modo, perfecta.—Bell. de Justif. l. ii. c. 14. [Ingoldst. 1593. t. iii. p. 1082.]

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he must needs be in his old corruption." And as he speaks to his Jerome of the degrees of charity[o], "There is in some more, in some less, in some none at all; but the fullest measure, which can receive no increase, is not to be found in any man while he lives here; and so long as it may be increased, surely that which is less than it ought is faulty; from which faultiness it must needs follow that there is no just man upon earth which doeth good and sinneth not; and thence, in God's sight, shall none living be justified." Thus he.

To the very last hour our prayer must be, *Forgive us our trespasses.* Our very daily endeavour, therefore, of increasing our renovation, convinceth us sufficiently of imperfection; and the imperfection of our regeneration convinceth the impossibility of justification by such inherent righteousness.

In short, therefore, since this doctrine of the Roman church is both new and erroneous, against Scripture and reason, we have justly refused to receive it into our belief, and for such refusal are unjustly ejected.

CHAP. VI.

The newness of the doctrine of merit.

Merit is next: wherein the Council of Trent[p] is no less peremptory: "If any man shall say that the good works of a man justified do not truly merit eternal life, let him be anathema."

It is easy for error to shroud itself under the ambiguity of words. The word *merit* hath been of large use with the ancients, who would have abhorred the present sense. With them it sounded no other than obtaining or impetration[q]; not as now, earning in the way of condign wages, as if there were an equality of due proportion betwixt our works and heaven, without all respects of pact, promise, favour; according to the bold comment of Sotus, Tollet, Pererius, Costerus, Weston, and the rest of that strain.

Far, far was the gracious humility of the ancient saints from this so high a presumption.

[o] Aug. ad Hier. Ep. 29. [Ed. Bened. t. ii. p. 600.]

[p] Conc. Trid. sess. 6. c. 16. can. 32.—Si quis, &c. augmentum gratiæ, vitam æternam, et ipsius vitæ æternæ consecutionem, Anathema sit, &c. [Bin. t. iv. p. 810.]

[q] Ecclesia canit in benedictione Cerei. O felix culpa, quæ talem meruit habere salvatorem!—Salm. in 1 Tim. i. [t. xv. p. 420.] Apostoli a suis civibus occidi meruerunt.—Aug. in Ps. xxxv. Major. est mea iniquitas, quam ut veniam merear.—Gen. iii. Vulg. Tral. vid. Mort. Appel.

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Let St. Basil[r] speak for his fellows. "Eternal rest remains for those who in this life have lawfully striven; οὐ κατ' ὀφείλημα, &c.; not for the merits of their deeds, but of the grace of that most munificent God in which they have trusted."

Why did I name one, when they all, with full consent, as Cassander witnesseth[s], profess to repose themselves wholly upon the mere mercy of God and merit of Christ; with an humble renunciation of all worthiness in their own works?

Yea, that unpartial author derives this doctrine even through the lower ages of the schoolmen and later writers, Thomas of Aquine, Durand, Adrian de Trajecto (afterwards Pope), Clictoveus, and delivers it for the voice of the then present Church[t].

And before him, Thomas Waldensis, the great champion of pope Martin against the miscalled heretics of his own name, professes[u] him the sounder divine and truer catholic, which simply denies any such merit, and ascribes all to the mere grace of God and the will of the Giver.

What should I need to darken the air with a cloud of witnesses; their Gregory Ariminensis, their Brugensis, Marsilius, Pighius, Eckius, Ferus, Stella, Faber Stapulensis?

Let their famous preacher, Royard, shut up all[x]: *Quid igitur is, qui merita prætendit, &c.*; "Whosoever he be that pretends his merits, what doth he else but deserve hell by his works?"

Let Bellarmine's *Tutissimum est, &c.* ground itself upon St. Bernard's experimental resolution: *Periculosa habitatio est, &c.*: "Perilous is their dwellingplace who trust in their own merits;" perilous, because ruinous.

All these, and many more, teach this; not as their own doctrine, but as the Church's. Either they and the Church, whose voice they are, are heretics with us, or we orthodox with them, and they and we with the ancients.

The novelty of this Roman doctrine is accompanied with error, against Scripture, against reason.

[r] Manet sempiterna requies &c.—Basil. in Ps. cxiv. *οὐ κατ' ὀφείλημα τῶν ἔργων*, &c. [Paris. 1721. t. i. p. 202.]

[s] Veteres omnes, summo consensu, tradunt, &c.—Cassand. Consult. de Bonis Quæst. [de bonis operibus, Paris. 1616. p. 921.]

[t] Neque ab hac &c. Scholastici Scriptores, et recentiores Ecclesiastici, &c.—[Ibid.]

[u] Tho. Wald. t. vi. de sacr. tit. i. c. 7. [Venet. 1571. t. iii. p. 25.]—Thom. Wald. præclarus Wiclifistarum impugnator.—A. Vega, l. vii. de Causis Justif. c. 24.

[x] Royard. t. v. Dom. 11. post Pentecost. [Antv. 1524. p. 127. Pars Æstiva.]

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SECT. 2.—*Against Scripture.*

That God doth graciously accept and munificently recompense our good works, even with an incomprehensible glory, we doubt not, we deny not; but this, either out of the riches of his mercy or the justice of his promise: but that we can earn this at his hands, out of the intrinsical worthiness of our acts is a challenge too high for flesh and blood; yea, for the angels of heaven.

How direct is our Saviour's instance of the servant come out of the field, and commanded by his master to attendance! *Doth he thank that servant because he did the things that were commanded him? I trow not. So likewise ye, when ye shall have done all things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants:* Luke xvii. 9, 10. "Unprofitable," perhaps you will say, "in respect of meriting thanks, not unprofitable in respect of meriting wages; for *to him that worketh is the reward not reckoned of grace, but of debt.*" Rom. iv. 4. True; therefore herein our case differeth from servants, that we may not look for God's reward as a debt, but as of grace: *By grace are ye saved, through faith;* Eph. ii. 8. Neither is it our earning, but God's gift: both it cannot be; for *if by grace, then it is no more of works*—even of the most renewed—*otherwise grace is no more grace. But if it be of works, then is it no more grace: otherwise work should be no more work.* Rom. xi. 6. Now, *Not by works of righteousness which we have done,* at our best, *but according to his mercy he saveth us,* Tit. iii. 5. Were our salvation of works, then should eternal life be our wages; but now, *the wages of sin is death; but the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord.* Rom. vi. 23.

SECT. 3.—*Against Reason.*

In very reason where all is of mere duty there can be no merit; for how can we deserve reward by doing that which if we did not we should offend? It is enough for him that is obliged to his task, that his work is well taken. Now all that we can possibly do, and more, is most justly due unto God, by the bond of our creation, of our redemption; by the charge of his royal Law, and that sweet Law of his Gospel; nay, alas! we are far from being able to compass so much as our duty: *In many things, we sin all.*

It is enough that in our glory we cannot sin; though their

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Faber Stapulensis would not yield so much[y], and taxeth Thomas for saying so, with the same presumption that Origen held the very good angels might offend. Then is our grace consummate[z]; till then our best abilities are full of imperfection. Therefore the conceit of merit is not more arrogant than absurd.

We cannot merit of him whom we gratify not; we cannot gratify a man with his own; all our good is God's already, his gift, his property: *What have we that we have not received?* 1 Cor. iv. 7. Not our talent only, but the improvement also, is his mere bounty. There can be therefore no place for merit.

In all just merit there must needs be a due proportion betwixt the act and the recompense. It is of favour if the gift exceed the worth of the service.

Now what proportion can be betwixt a finite, weak, imperfect obedience, (such is ours at the best,) and an infinite, full, and most perfect glory? The bold schools dare say[a], That the natural and entitative value of the works of Christ himself was finite, though the moral value was infinite. What then shall be said of our works, which are, like ourselves, mere imperfection? We are not so proud that we should scorn with Ruard. Tapperus[b], to expect heaven as a poor man doth an alms; rather, according to St. Austin's charge[c], (*Non sit caput turgidum &c.*, "Let not the head be proud, that it may receive a crown,") we do with all humility and self dejection look up to the bountiful hands of that God who crowneth us in mercy and compassion.

This doctrine, then, of merit, being both new and erroneous, hath justly merited our reproof and detestation; and we are unjustly censured for our censure thereof.

CHAP. VII.

The newness of the Doctrine of Transubstantiation.

The point of transubstantiation is justly ranked amongst our highest differences[d]. Upon this quarrel in the very last age, how many souls were sent up to heaven in the midst of their flames[e]!

[y] Alex. Pesant. in 1, 2. qu. 4. artic. 4. disp. 4. [Venet. 1606. p. 290.]

[z] Gloria est gratia consummata.—P. Ferius Specim. Schol. Orth. c. 13.

[a] Pesant. in 3. Thq. qu. 1. art. 2.—Valorem physicum et entitativum operum Christi &c. [Venet. 1606. p. 780.]

[b] Absit ut justi vitam æternam expectent, sicut pauper eleemosynam.—Ruard. Tap. ex Artic. Colon.

[c] Aug. de Verb. Apost. ser. 2. [Ed. Bened. t. v. p. 644.

[d] Fons Idolomaniarum Transubstant.—Melanct. ad Amicum, 1544. Boxhorn. Isag. ad Concord. l. iii.

[e] Fox, Acts and Mon. passim.

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as if the sacrament of the altar had been sufficient ground of these bloody sacrifices.

The definition of the Tridentine Council is herein beyond the wont clear and express[f]: "If any man shall say, that in the sacrament of the sacred eucharist there remains still the substance of bread and wine, together with the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and shall deny that marvellous and singular conversion of the whole substance of bread into the body, and the whole substance of wine into blood, the (*species*) semblances or shows only of bread and wine remaining; which said conversion the Catholic Church doth most fitly call *transubstantiation;* let him be accursed." Thus they.

Now let us inquire how old this piece of faith is.

In Synaxi sero &c.: "It was late ere the Church defined transubstantiation," saith Erasmus[g]: "For of so long it was," saith he, "held sufficient to believe that the true body of Christ was there, whether under the consecrated bread or howsoever."

And how late was this! Scotus shall tell us: *Ante Concilium Lateranense, &c.:* "Before the Council of Lateran, transubstantiation was no point of faith;" as cardinal Bellarmine himself confesses his opinion[h], with a *minime probandum.* And this council was in the year of our Lord one thousand two hundred and fifteen. Let who list believe that this subtle doctor had never heard[i] of the Roman Council under Gregory the Seventh, which was in the year one thousand seventy-nine; or that other, under Nicholas the Second, which was in the year one thousand and threescore; or that he had not read those Fathers which the cardinal had good hap to meet with. Certainly his acuteness easily found out other senses of those conversions which antiquity mentions; and therefore dares confidently say, wherein Gabriel Biel seconds him[k], *Non admodum antiquam, &c.:* That "this doctrine of transubstantiation is not very ancient."

Surely if we yield the utmost time wherein Bellarmine can plead the determination of this point, we shall arise but to *saltem*

[f] Si quis dixerit in Sacrosancto &c.—Concil. Trid. de Transub. c. 8. can. 2. [Bin. t. iv. p. 826.]

[g] In Synaxi sero transubstantiationem definivit ecclesia. Diu satis erat credere, sive sub pane consecrato, sive quocunque modo, adesse verum corpus Christi.—Eras. Annot. in 1 Cor. vii. [Op. Ed. Basil. 1541. t. vi. p. 472.]

[h] Bellarm. de Euchar. l. iii. c. 23. [Ingols. 1597. t. ii. p. 763.]

[i] Ibid. Bell.

[k] Confitente etiam Suarez.

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ab annis quingentis, &c., "five hundred years ago:" "so long," saith he[l], "at least was this opinion of transubstantiation, upon pain of a curse, established in the Church."

The Church; but what church? The Roman, I wis, not the Greek. That word of Peter Martyr is true, That the Greeks ever abhorred from this opinion of transubstantiation. Insomuch as at the shutting up the Florentine Council[m], which was but in the year 1539, when there was a kind of agreement betwixt the Greeks and Latins about the procession of the Holy Ghost, the pope earnestly moved the Grecians, that amongst other differences they would also accord, *de divina panis transmutatione*, "concerning the divine transmutation of the bread;" wherein, notwithstanding, they departed as formerly, dissenting.

How palpably doth the cardinal shuffle in this business, while he would persuade us that the Greeks did not at all differ from the Romans in the main head of transubstantiation, but only concerning the particularity of those words whereby that unspeakable change is wrought! whenas it is most clear by the acts of that council, related even by their Binius himself, that after the Greeks had given in their answer, "That they do firmly believe that in those words of Christ the sacrament is made up[n]," which had been sufficient satisfaction if that only had been the question, the pope urges them earnestly still, *ut de divina panis transmutatione, &c.*, that in the synod there might be treaty had "of the divine transmutation of the bread:" and when they yet stiffly denied, he could have been content to have had the other three questions, of unleavened bread, purgatory, and the pope's power discussed, waving that other of transubstantiation, which he found would not abide agitation. Since which time their patriarch Jeremias of Constantinople hath expressed the judgment of the Greek church[o]: *Etenim vere &c.*: "For the body and blood of Christ are truly mysteries; not that these are turned into man's body, but that the better prevailing we are turned into them;" yielding a change, but mystical, not substantial.

As for the ancients of either the Greek or Latin church, they are so far from countenancing this opinion, that our learned

[l] Saltem ab annis quingentis dogma transub. sub anathemate stabilitum.—Bell. de Euch. l. iii. c. 21. [ut supra p. 754.]

[m] Concil. Florent. sess. ult. [Bin. t. iv. p. 474.]

[n] Se firmiter credere, verbis illis Dominicis sacramentum fieri.—Ibid. sess. ult. [p. 474.]

[o] Act. Theol. Wittenberg. ann. 1584

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Whitaker durst challenge his Duræus[p], *Si vel unum &c.*: "If you can bring me but one testimony of sincere antiquity, whereby it may appear that the bread is transubstantiate into the flesh of Christ, I will yield my cause."

It is true that there are fair flourishes made of a large jury of Fathers[q] giving their verdict this way, whose very names can hardly find room in a margin. Scarce any of that sacred rank are missing.

But it is as true that their witnesses are grossly abused to a sense that was never intended, they only desiring in an holy excess of speech to express the sacramental change[r] that is made of the elements in respect of use, not in respect of substance; and passionately to describe unto us the benefit of that sacrament in our blessed communion with Christ and our lively incorporation into him.

Insomuch, as cardinal Bellarmine himself is fain to confess[s] a very high hyperbole in their speeches, *Non est novum &c.*: "It is no unusual thing," saith he, "with the ancients, and especially Irenæus, Hilary, Nyssen, Cyril, and others, to say that our bodies are nourished by the holy eucharist."

Neither do they use less height of speech, as our learned bishop hath particularly observed[t] in expressing our participation of Christ in baptism, wherein yet never any man pleaded a transubstantiation.

Neither have there been wanting some of the classical leaders of their schools, which have confessed more probability of ancient evidence for consubstantiation than for this change.

Certainly neither of them both entered ever into the thoughts of those holy men, however the sound of their words have undergone a prejudicial mistaking.

Whereas the sentences of those ancients against this mis-opinion are direct, punctual, absolute, convictive, and uncapable of any other reasonable sense.

[p] Whitak. contr. Dur. l. ii. fol. 220.

[q] Ignat. ad Smyrn.; Iren. l. v. cont. Hæres.; Tertull. de Resur.; Orig. Hom. 5. in diver. loc.; Cyprian. de Cœna Dom.; Basil. in Reg. Brev. q. 172; Greg. Nyssen in Catechet.; Cyril. Hierosol. Cat. Myst. 4; Hilar. l. viii. de Trinit.; Ambr. de Sacr. l. iv. c. 4. et 5; Greg. Naz. in Epit. Gorgon.; Epiph. in Anch.; Chrys. Hom. 24. in 1 Cor.; Cyril. Alex. Epist. ad Cœlesyrium; Aug. in Psal. xxiii.; Hier. ad Hedib. Theodor. Dial. 3; Leo, Ser. vi. de Jejunio; Damas. l. iv. de Fid. Orth.; Theophylact. in Luc. xxii.

[r] Et quidem mutatur: est enim alia elementi natura; Sacramenti, alia.—Eliens. cont. Bell.

[s] Bell. de Euchar. l. ii. c. 4. [Disp. t. ii. p. 564, 5.]

[t] Bishop Morton's Appell.

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What can be more choking than that of their pope Gelasius[u], above a thousand years since? *Et, tamen, &c.*: "Yet there ceaseth not to be the very substance of bread and wine."

What can be more plain than that of St. Augustin[x]? "It is not this body which you see that you shall eat, neither is it this blood which my crucifiers shall spill that you shall drink; it is a sacrament that I commend unto you, which being spiritually understood shall quicken you." Or that other[y]? "Where a flagitious act seems to be commanded, there the speech is figurative, as when he saith, *Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, &c.*: it were an horrible wickedness to eat the flesh of Christ, therefore here must needs be a figure understood."

What shall I urge that of Tertullian[z], whose speech Rhenanus confesseth to have been condemned after in Berengarius? "My body, that is, the figure of my body."

That of Theodoret[a]? "The mystical signs, after consecration, lose not their own nature."

That of St. Chrysostom[b]? "It is a carnal thing to doubt how Christ can give us his flesh to eat, whenas this is mystically and spiritually to be understood." And soon after, inquiring what it is to understand carnally, he thus explicates it[c]: "It is to take things simply as they are spoken, and not to conceive of any other thing meant by them." This, wherein we are, is a beaten path, trod with the feet of our holy martyrs, and traced with their blood.

What should I need to produce their familiar and ancient advocates, who have often wearied and worn this bare; Athanasius[d], Justin[e], Origen[f], Cyprian[g], Nazianzen[h], Basil[i], Jerome[k], Hilary[l],

[u] Gelas. Pap. de Duabus Christ Nat. Biblioth. Patr. tom. 4.

[x] August. in Ps. xcviii.—Non hoc corpus quod videtis manducaturi estis, &c. neque hunc ipsum sanguinem, &c. sacramentum vobis aliquod commendavi, &c.

[y] Ubi flagitium &c.—Aug. de Doct. Christ. l. iii. c. 16. [Ed. Ben. t. iii. pars 1. p. 50.]

[z] Tertull. contr. Marcionem, lib. iv. [c. xl. Paris. 1675. p. 458.]

[a] Theodor. Dial. 2. et 3. *μένει γὰρ*, &c.

[b] Carnale est, dubitare quo modo de cœlo descendit, &c. quo modo possit carnem suam dare ad manducandum: Hæc inquam omnia carnalia, quæ mystica et spiritualiter intelligenda sunt.—Chrys. in cap. vi. Joan. Hom. 46. [Ed. Bened. t. viii. p. 177, 8.]

[c] Simpliciter, ut res dicuntur, neque aliud quippiam excogitare, &c.—Ibid.

[d] In illud, Si quis dixerit contra Filium Hom.

[e] Contr. Tryphon.

[f] Hom. 7. in Levit.

[g] De Cœna Dom.

[h] In Epitaph. Cæsarii, et ad Cives Nazian.

[i] L. de Baptis.

[k] In Isa. lxvi.

[l] Lib. viii. de Trin.

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Cyril[m], Macarius[n], Bertram[o]; besides those whom I formerly cited.

Of all others, which I have not found pressed by former authors, that of our Albinus or Alcuinus[p], Beda's learned scholar, who lived in the time of Charles the Great, seems to me most full and pregnant: *Hoc est, ergo, &c.*: "This is, therefore, to eat that flesh, and to drink that blood; to remain in Christ and to have Christ remaining in us: so as he that remains not in Christ, and in whom Christ remaineth not, without doubt doth not spiritually eat his flesh, although carnally and visibly he chew the sacrament of his body and blood with his teeth[q]; but rather he eats and drinks the sacrament of so great a thing unto his own judgment, because he presumed to come unclean unto those sacraments of Christ; which none can take worthily but the clean." Thus he. Neither is this his single testimony, but such as he openly professeth the common voice of all his predecessors[r]. And a little after, upon those words, *The flesh profiteth nothing*, he addeth, "The flesh profiteth nothing, if ye understand the flesh so to be eaten as other meat; as that flesh which is bought in the shambles."

This is the ordinary language of antiquity: whereof we may truly say, as the disciples did of Christ, *Behold, now thou speakest plainly, and speakest no parable*, John xvi. 29.

At last, ignorance and misunderstanding brought forth this monster of opinion, which superstition nursed up but fearfully and obscurely, and not without much scope of contrary judgments; till after pope Nicholas had made way for it, in his proceedings against Berengarius (by so gross an expression as the Gloss is fain to put a caveat upon) anno 1060. The Lateran Council authorized it for a matter of faith anno 1215.

Thus young is transubstantiation. Let Scripture and reason show how erroneous.

SECT. 2.—*Transubstantiation against Scripture.*

Were it not that men do wilfully hoodwink themselves with their own prejudice, the Scripture is plain enough. For the mouth that said of bread, *This is my body*, said also of the same

[m] In Joan. l. iii. c. 34.
[n] Hom. 27.
[o] Lib. de Corp. et Sang. &c.
[p] Albin. in Joan. c. 6.
[q] Dentibus premat, &c.
[r] Sicut etiam ante nos intellexerunt homines Dei.—Ibid.

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body, *My flesh is meat indeed,* John vi. 55. long before there can be any plea of transubstantiation; and, *I am the bread that came down from heaven,* John vi. 51: so was he manna to the Jews, as he is bread to us. And St. Paul says of his Corinths, *Ye are the body of Christ,* 1 Cor. xii. 27, yet not meaning any transmutation of substance.

And in those words wherein this powerful conversion is placed, he says only, *This is,* Matt. xxvi. 26. not, this is transubstantiate; and, if while he says, *This is,* he should have meant a transubstantiation, then it must needs follow that his body was transubstantiate before he spake, for *This is,* implies it already done. He adds, *This is my body,* his true, natural, human body was there with them, took the bread, brake it, gave it, ate it: if the bread were now the body of Christ, either he must have two bodies there, or else the same body is by the same body taken, broken, eaten; and is, the while, neither taken nor broken nor eaten. Yet he adds, *which is given for you,* Luke xxii. 19; this was the body which was given for them, betrayed, crucified, humbled to the death; not the glorious body of Christ which should be capable of ten thousand places at once, both in heaven and earth; invisible, incircumscriptible. Lastly, he adds, *Do this in remembrance of me:* remembrance implies an absence; neither can we more be said to remember that which is in our present sense, than to see that which is absent.

Besides that, the great doctor of the Gentiles tells us, that after consecration it is bread which is broken and eaten, 2 Cor. xi. 23, 24, 26: neither is it less than five times so called, after the pretended change.

Shortly, Christ as man was in all things like to us, except sin, Heb. ii. 17; and our human body shall be once like to his glorious body. The glory which is put upon it shall not strip it of the true essence of a body. and if it retain the true nature of a body, it cannot be, at the same instant, both above the heavens and below on earth, in a thousand distant places. He is locally above: for *the heavens must receive him till the times of the restitution of all things,* Acts iii. 21. He is not at once in many distant places of the earth; for the angel, ever after his resurrection, says, *He is not here: for he is risen,* Matt. xxviii. 6.

Sect. III.—*Transubstantiation against reason.*

Never did or can reason triumph so much over any prodigious paradox as it doth over this. Insomuch as the patrons of it are-

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fain to disclaim the sophistry of reason, and to stand upon the suffrages of faith and the plea of miracles.

We are not they, who, with the Manichees[s], refuse to believe Christ unless he bring reason. We are not they who think to lade the sea with an egg shell; to fathom the deep mysteries of religion with the short reach of natural apprehension. We know there are wonders in divinity fit for our adoration, not fit for our comprehending; but withal we know, that if some theological truths be above right reason, yet never any against it; for all verity complies with itself[t], as springing from one and the same fountain.

This opinion therefore we receive not; not because it transcends our conceit, but because we know it crosseth both true reason and faith.

It implies manifest contradiction[x]; in that it refers the same thing to itself in opposite relations; so as it may be at once present and absent, near and far off, below and above.

It destroys the truth of Christ's human body; in that it ascribes quantity to it, without extension, without locality[y]; turning the flesh into spirit, and bereaving it of all the properties of a true body; those properties which, as Nicetas truly[z], cannot so much as in thought be separated from the essence of the body. Insomuch as Cyril can say[a], "If the Deity itself were capable of partition, it must be a body; and if it were a body, it must needs be in a place, and have quantity and magnitude; and thereupon should not avoid circumscription."

It gives a false body to the Son of God; making that every day of bread by the power of words, which was made once of the substance of the Virgin by the Holy Ghost.

It so separates accidents from their subjects, that they not only can subsist without them, but can produce the full effects of substances: so as bare accidents are capable of accidents; so as of them substances may be either made or nourished.

It utterly overthrows, which learned Cameron[b] makes the

[s] Aug. de Util. Cred. c. 14. [Ed. Ben. t. viii.]

[t] *συναληθεύει.*

[x] Quod cum affirmatur negatur, impossibile est, et implicat contradictionem.—Cassan. in Implic. Contradict.

[y] Spatia locorum tolle corporibus.—Aug. Ep. 57. [Ed Bened. t. ii. p. 683. Ep. 187.]

[z] Nicetas, in Nazianz. Orat. de Pent. Quidem ne cogitatione *ἀπεσκεύασθαι*, &c. [Ed. Leuncl. Basil. 1571. p. 726.] Sic et Aug.: Tolle ipsa corpora qualitatibus, &c. [ut supra.]

[a] Nam si vere sectionem et partitionem Divina Natura reciperet, &c.—Cyril. Alex. t. ii. Dialog. de Trin. lib. ii.

[b] Resp. ad Epist. Viri Docti.

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strongest of all reasons, the nature of a sacrament; in that it takes away at once the sign and the analogy betwixt the sign and the thing signified: the sign, in that it is no more bread, but accidents; the analogy, in that it makes the sign to be the thing signified.

Lastly, it puts into the hands of every priest power to do every day a greater miracle than God did in the creation of the world: for in that, the Creator made the creature; but in this, the creature daily makes the Creator.

Since then this opinion is both new, and convinced to be grossly erroneous by Scripture and reason, justly have we professed our detestation of it, and for that are unjustly ejected.

CHAP. VIII.

SECT. 1.—*The newness of the half-communion.*

The novelty of the half-sacrament, or dry communion, delivered to the laity is so palpable, as that the patrons of it, in the presumptuous Council of Constance, profess no less[c]. *Licet Christus &c.*: "Although Christ," say they, "after his supper, instituted and administered this venerable sacrament, under both kinds of bread and wine, &c.:" *Licet, in primitiva, &c.*: "Although in the primitive church, this sacrament were received by the faithful under both kinds:" *Non obstante, &c.* "Yet this custom, for the avoiding of some dangers and scandals[d], was upon just reason brought in, that laics should receive only under one kind, and those that stubbornly oppose themselves against it shall be ejected, and punished as heretics."

Now this council was but in the year of our Lord God one thousand four hundred and fifty three. Yea, but these Fathers of Constance, however they are bold to control Christ's law by custom, yet they say it was *consuetudo diutissime observata*, "a custom very long observed."

True; but the full age of this *diutissime* is openly and freely calculated by their Cassander[e]. *Satis constat* [*compertum est*] *&c.*; "It is apparent enough that the Western or Roman Church, for a thousand years after Christ, in the solemn and ordinary dispensation of this sacrament, gave both kinds of bread and wine to all the members of the Church: a point which is manifest by innumerable

[c] Const. Synod. sess. 13. [an. 1415.]

[d] [Inter alia] propter periculum effusionis.—Jo. de Burgo. [Pupilla Oculi] 4 partis cap. 8.

[e] Cassand. Cons. [art. xxii.] de utraque spec. Sacr. &c. [1577. pp. 166, 168.]

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ancient testimonies both of Greeks and Latins, and this they were induced to do by the example of Christ's institution." *Quare non temere, &c.:* "It is not therefore," saith he, "without cause that most of the best catholics, and most conversant in the reading of ecclesiastical writers, are inflamed with an earnest desire of obtaining the cup of the Lord; that the sacrament may be reduced to that ancient custom and use, which hath been for many ages perpetuated in the universal Church." Thus he. We need no other advocate.

Yea, their Vasquez draws it yet lower, *Negare non, &c.* [*indubitatum est*[f]]: "We cannot deny, that in the Latin Church there was the use of both kinds; and that it so continued until the days of St. Thomas, which was about the year of God 1260."

Thus it was in the Roman Church.

But as for the Greek, the world knows it did never but communicate under both kinds. These open confessions spare us the labour of quoting the several testimonies of all ages. Else it had been easy to show how in the Liturgy of St. Basil and Chrysostom[g] the priest was wont to pray, "Vouchsafe, O Lord, to give us thy body and thy blood, and by us to thy people:" how, in the order of Rome[h], the archdeacon taking the chalice from the bishop's hand, confirmeth all the receivers with the blood of our Lord: and from Ignatius's[i] ἓν ποτήριον τοῖς ὅλοις, "one cup distributed to all," to have descended along through the clear records of St. Cyprian, Jerome, Ambrose, Augustin, Leo, Gelasius, Paschasius, and others, to the very time of Hugo and Lombard, and our Halensis; and to show how St. Cyprian[k] would not deny the blood of Christ to those that should shed their blood for Christ; how St. Austin[l], with him, makes a comparison betwixt the blood of the legal sacrifices, which might not be eaten, and this blood of our Saviour's sacrifice, which all must drink.

But what need allegations to prove a yielded truth? so as this halving of the sacrament is a mere novelty of Rome, and such a one as their own pope Gelasius sticks not to accuse of no less than sacrilege[m].

[f] [Vasquez. Comm. in part. iii. Thomæ. vol. iii. p. 463. Antv. 1614.]

[g] Liturg. Basil. de Chrysost. [See Chemnitius Exam. Trident.]

[h] Vid. Cassand. Cons. ubi supra, [p. 170. Cassander does not quote these particulars.]

[i] In Ep. ad Philadelph. [This is the reading in the old editions down to Usher's. Oxon. 1643. p. 96.]

[k] Lib. i. Ep. 2.

[l] Lib. de Cœna Dom. Quæst. in Levit. 57. [Opp. vol. iii. coll. 515–17.]

[m] Grat. Decret. [pars iii.] de Consecrat. dist. 2. cap. 12.—Comperimus. Divisio unius ejusdem mysterii sine grandi sacrilegio non potest provenire. [Par. 1612. col. 2087.]

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SECT. 2.—*Half-communion against Scripture.*

Neither shall we need to urge Scripture, when it is plainly confessed by the late Councils of Lateran and Trent that this practice varies from Christ's institution.

Yet the Tridentine Fathers have left themselves this evasion[n], That "however our Saviour ordained it in both kinds, and so delivered it to his apostles; notwithstanding, he hath not, by any command, enjoined it to be so received of the laity;" not considering that the charge of our Saviour is equally universal in both: to whom he said, *Take and eat*, to the same also he said, *Drink ye all of this;* so as, by the same reason, our Saviour hath given no command at all unto the laity to eat or drink; and so this blessed sacrament should be to all God's people, the priests only excepted, arbitrary and unnecessary.

But the great doctor of the Gentiles is the best commenter upon his Master, who writing to the Church of God at Corinth, *to them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, with all that in every place call upon the name of Jesus Christ*, 1 Cor. i. 2, so delivers the institution of Christ, as that in the use of the cup he makes no difference[o]; six times conjoining the mention of drinking with eating, and fetching it in with an ὡσαύτως, *equality* of the manner and necessity of both, charges all Christians indifferently, *Probet seipsum, Let every man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread and drink of that cup*, 1 Cor. xi. 28.

SECT. 3.—*Half-communion against reason.*

In this practice reason is no less their enemy.

Though it be but a man's testament, yet if it be confirmed, no man disannulleth it, saith St. Paul, Gal. iii. 15. How much less shall flesh and blood presume to alter the last will of the Son of God, and that in so material a point as utterly destroys the institution! For as our learned bishop of Carlisle argues truly[p], half a man is no man, half a sacrament is no sacrament.

And as well might they take away the bread as the cup; both depend upon the same ordination. It is only the command of

[n] Etsi Christus Dominus &c. non tamen illa institutio et traditio eo tendunt, ut omnes Christi fideles statuto Domini ad utramque speciem accipiendam astringantur, &c.—Conc. Trid. sess. 5. sub Pio, anno. 1562. cap. 1. [Labbe, Conc. Trident. Sess. XXV.]

[o] Nihil differt sacerdos a subdito, quando fruendum est mysteriis.—[ἔστι δὲ ὅπου οὐδὲ διέστηκεν ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ ἀρχομένου· οἷον ὅταν ἀκολαύειν δέῃ τῶν φρικτῶν μυστηρίων. Chrys. Hom. XVIII. in II. Cor. c. viii. 24.]

[p] Doct. White contra Fisher. ["Replie to Jesuit Fisher's Answer." Lond. 1624. p. 483.]

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Christ that makes the bread necessary; the same command of Christ equally enjoins the cup; both do either stand or fall upon the same ground.

The pretence of concomitancy is so poor a shift, that it hurts them rather; for if, by virtue thereof, the body of Christ is no less in the wine than the blood is in the bread, it will necessarily follow, that they might as well hold back the bread and give the cup, as hold back the cup and give the bread.

And could this mystery be hid from the eyes of the blessed Author of this sacrament? Will these men be wiser than the wisdom of his Father? If he knew this, and saw the wine yet useful, who dares abrogate it; and if he had not seen it useful, why did he not then spare the labour and cost of so needless an element?

Lastly, the blood that is here offered unto us is that which was shed for us: that which was shed from the body is not in the body: in vain therefore is concomitancy pleaded for a separated blood.

Shortly, then, this mutilation of the sacrament, being both confessedly late, and extremely injurious to God and his people, and contrary to Scripture and reason, is justly abandoned by us; and we, for abandoning it, unjustly censured.

CHAP. IX.

The newness of the missal sacrifice.

It sounds not more prodigiously, that a priest should every day make his God, than that he should sacrifice him.

Antiquity would have as much abhorred the sense, as it hath allowed the word. Nothing is more ordinary with the Fathers, than to call God's table an altar[q], the holy elements an oblation, the act of celebration an immolation, the actor a priest.

St. Chrysostom reckons[r] ten kinds of sacrifice, and at last, as having forgotten it, adds the eleventh; all which we well allow. And indeed many sacrifices are offered to God in this one: but, "a true, proper, propitiatory sacrifice for quick and dead," which the Tridentine Fathers[s] would force upon our belief, would have seemed no less strange a solecism to the ears of the ancients than it doth to ours.

[q] Macarium in altare insultasse, mensam Domini evertisse.—Socr. l. i. c. 27.

[r] Chrys. in Ps. xcv. [inter *spuria*; Ed. Bened. vol. v. p. 631.]

[s] Conc. Trid. sess. 6. [sub Pio IV.] c. 2. [Sacrificium] Propitiatorium.

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St. Augustin[t] calls it a designation of Christ's offering upon the cross: St. Chrysostom[u], and Theophylact after him, a remembrance of his sacrifice; Emissenus, a daily celebration in mystery of that which was once offered in payment; and Lombard himself[x], a memorial and representation of the true sacrifice upon the cross.

That which Cassander cites[y] from St. Ambrose or Chrysostom may be instead of all. "In Christ is the sacrifice, once offered, able to give salvation. What do we therefore? Do we not offer every day? Surely, if we offer daily, it is done for a recordation of his death."

This is the language and meaning of antiquity; the very same which the Tridentine Synod condemneth in us[z]: "If any man shall say, that the sacrifice of the mass is only a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, or a bare commemoration of the sacrifice offered upon the cross, let him be accursed."

SECT. 2.—*The sacrifice of the mass against Scripture.*

How plain is the Scripture, while it tells us that our High Priest *needeth not daily, as those high priests,* under the law, *to offer up sacrifice, first for his own sins, then for the people's: for this he did once, when he offered up himself!* Heb. vii. 27.

The contradiction of the Trent Fathers[a] is here very remarkable. "Christ," say they, "who on the altar of the cross offered himself in a bloody sacrifice, is now this true propitiatory sacrifice in the mass made by himself. He is one and the same sacrifice; and one and the same offerer of that sacrifice, by the ministry of his priests, who then offered himself on the cross." So then, they say, that Christ offered up that sacrifice then, and this now; St. Paul says he offered up that sacrifice and no more. St. Paul says our High Priest needs not to offer daily sacrifice; they say these daily sacrifices must be offered by him. St. Paul says, that he offered himself but once for the sins of the people; they say, he offers himself daily for the sins of quick and dead. And if the

[t] In lib. Sent. Prosp.

[u] Hom. 17. ad Hebr. [cap. x.]

[x] Prece mystica consecratum [sumimus] in memoria Dominicæ passionis.—Lomb. Sent. l. iv. d. 11.

[y] Cassand. Consult. de Sacrificio. [Cited in the "Glossa Ordinaria," from *Ambrose.*] Hoc autem sacrificium exemplar est illius.—[τοῦτο ἐκείνης τύπος ἐστί.]—Chrys. ubi supra.

[z] Si quis dixerit, Missæ sacrificium tantum esse laudis et gratiarum actionis, &c.—Sess. 6. can. 3.

[a] Conc. Trid. Sess. 6. can. 3. [ut supra, col. 135.]

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apostle, in the spirit of prophecy, foresaw this error, and would purposely forestall it, he could not speak more directly than when he saith, *We are sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all. And every high priest standeth daily ministering and offering oftentimes the same sacrifices, which can never take away sins: but this man, after he had offered one sacrifice for sins for ever sat down on the right hand of God; from henceforth expecting till his enemies be made his footstool. For by one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified,* Heb. x. 10–14.

Now let the vain heads of men seek subtle evasions in the different manner of this offering[b], bloody then, unbloody now. The Holy Ghost speaks punctually of the very substance of the act, and tells us absolutely there is but one sacrifice, once offered by him in any kind; else the opposition that is there made betwixt the legal priesthood and his should not hold; if as they, so he, had often properly and truly sacrificed.

That I may not say they build herein what they destroy; for an unbloody sacrifice, in this sense, can be no other than figurative and commemorative; is it really propitiatory? *Without shedding of blood there is no remission,* Heb. ix. 22. If therefore sins be remitted by this sacrifice, it must be in relation to that blood which was shed in his true personal sacrifice upon the cross; and what relation can be betwixt this and that, but of representation and remembrance? in which their moderate Cassander fully resteth.

SECT. 3.—*Missal sacrifice against reason.*

In reason, there must be in every sacrifice, as cardinal Bellarmine grants[d], a destruction of the thing offered: and shall we say, that they make their Saviour to crucify him again? No, but to eat him: for, *Consumptio seu manducatio, quæ fit à sacerdote, &c.:* "The consumption or manducation, which is done of the priest, is an essential part of this sacrifice," saith the same author: "for in the whole action of the mass there is," saith he, "no other real destruction but this."

Suppose we then the true human flesh, blood, and bone of Christ, God and man, really and corporally made such by this

[b] Sola offerendi ratione diversa.— Conc. Trid. ibid. [cap. 2. col. 133.]

[c] Cassand. Consult. de Sacrif. [pp. 213, 214.]

[d] Bell. de Missa, l. i. c. 2. [Disp. Ingolst. 1601. vol. iii. col. 941.]

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transubstantiation, whether is more horrible, to crucify or to eat it?

By this rule, it is the priest's teeth, and not his tongue, that makes Christ's body a sacrifice.

By this rule it shall be *hostia* "a host," when it is not a sacrifice; and a reserved host is no sacrifice, howsoever consecrated. And what if a mouse or other vermin should eat the host (it is a case put by themselves[e]) who then sacrificeth?

To stop all mouths, laics eat as well as the priest, there is no difference in their manducation; but laics sacrifice not. And, as Salmeron urges, the Scripture distinguisheth betwixt the sacrifice and the participation of it; *Are not they which eat of the sacrifices partakers of the altar?* 1 Cor. x. 18; and in the very canon of the mass, *Ut quotquot, &c.*, the prayer is, "That all we, which in the participation of the altar have taken the sacred body and blood of thy Son, &c.; "wherein it is plain," saith he, "that there is a distinction betwixt the host and the eating of the host."

Lastly, sacrificing is an act done to God; if, then, eating be sacrificing, the priest eats his God to his God; *Quorum Deus venter.*

While they in vain study to reconcile this new-made sacrifice of Christ, already in heaven, with *Jube hæc perferri, &c.* "Command these to be carried by the hands of thy holy angels to thine high altar in heaven, in the sight of thy divine Majesty," we conclude that this proper and propitiatory sacrifice of the mass, as a new, unholy, unreasonable sacrifice, is justly abhorred by us; and we, for abhorring it, unjustly ejected.

CHAP. X.

The Newness of Image-worship.

As for the setting up and worshipping of images, we shall not need to climb so high as Arnobius, or Origen, or the Council of Eliberis, anno 305, or to that fact and history of Epiphanius, (whose famous epistle is honoured by the translation of Jerome[f],) of the picture found by him in the church of the village of Anablatha, though out of his own diocese; how he tore it in an holy zeal, and wrote to the bishop of the place, beseeching him that no

[e] Jo. de Burg. 4. partis c. 8. de Ministrat. Euch.—Salmer. tom. 9. tr. 29.—An Euchar. sit proprie sacrificium

[f] Epist. Epiphan. [Joanni Episc. Hierosol.] Inter Opera Hieron. [ed. Bened. Par. 1706. t. iv. 822.]

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such pictures may be hanged up contrary to our religion[g]; though, by the way, who can but blush at master Fisher's evasion, that it was sure the picture of some profane pagan; whenas Epiphanius himself there says it had *imaginem quasi Christi, vel sancti cujusdam,* "the image as it were of Christ, or some saint?" Surely therefore the image went for Christ's, or for some noted saint's; neither doth he find fault with the irresemblance, but with the image as such.

That of Agobardus[h] is sufficient for us; *Nullus antiquorum catholicorum &c.:* "None of the ancient catholics ever thought that images were to be worshipped or adored. They had them indeed, but for history's sake; to remember the saints by, not to worship them."

The decision of Gregory the Great[i], some six hundred years after Christ, which he gave to Serenus bishop of Massilia, is famous in every man's mouth and pen: *Et; quidem, quia eas adorari vetuisses, &c.:* "We commend you," saith he, "that you forbad those images to be worshipped, but we reprove your breaking of them;" adding the reason of both; "for that they were only retained for history and instruction, not for adoration." Which ingenuous Cassander so comments upon[k], as that he shews this to be a sufficient declaration of the judgment of the Roman Church in those times: *Videlicet, ideo haberi picturas, &c.:* "That images are kept, not to be adored and worshipped, but that the ignorant, by beholding those pictures, might, as by written records, be put in mind of what hath been formerly done, and be thereupon stirred up to piety."

And the same author tells us, that *sanioribus scholasticis displicet, &c.*[l]: "the sounder schoolmen disliked that opinion of Thomas Aquine, who held, that the image is to be worshipped with the same adoration which is due to the thing represented by it," reckoning up Durand, Holcot, Biel.

Not to spend many words in a clear case; what the judgment and practice of our ancestors in this island was, concerning this point, appears sufficiently by the relation of Roger Hoveden, our

[g] Quæ contra religionem nostram veniunt, &c. [Ibid. 829.]

[h] Biblioth. Patr. tom. ix. [Col. Agr. 1618. pars i. p. 598. sed causa historiæ ad recordandum, non ad colendum. Agobardus, p. 597.]

[i] Greg. Ep. l. ix. Ep. 9. Indict. 4. [Ed. Bened. Paris. 1705. lib. xi. indict. iv. Epist. xiii.]

[k] Cassand. Consult. art. xxi. De cultu sanct. § de Imagg. [pp. 155, 6.]

[l] [Cassand. ut supra, p. 161.]

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historian; who tells us[m], that in the year 792, Charles, the king of France, sent into this isle a synodal book directed unto him from Constantinople, wherein there were divers offensive passages; but especially this one, that by the unanimous consent of all the doctors of the East, and no fewer than three hundred bishops, it was decreed, that images should be worshipped; *quod Ecclesia Dei execratur*, saith he, "which the Church of God abhors." "Against which error Albinus," saith he, "wrote an epistle marvellously confirmed by authority of divine Scriptures, and in the person of our bishops and princes exhibited it, together with the said book, unto the French king." This was the settled resolution of our predecessors: and if, since that time, prevailing superstition have encroached upon the ensuing succession of the Church, *τὰ ἀρχαῖα*, let the old rules stand as those fathers determined; away with novelties.

But, good Lord, how apt men are to raise or believe lies for their own advantages! Urspergensis, and other friends[n] of idolatry, tell us of a council held at London in the days of pope Constantine, anno 714; wherein the worship of images was publicly decreed. The occasion whereof was this: Egwin the monk, after made bishop, had a vision from God, wherein he was admonished to set up the image of the mother of God in his church: the matter was debated, and brought before the pope in his see apostolic: there Egwin was sworn to the truth of his vision: thereupon, pope Constantinus sent his legate Boniface into England, who called a council at London, wherein, after proof made of Egwin's vision, there was an act made for image-worship. A figment so gross, that even their Baronius[o] and Binius fall foul upon it with a *facile inducimur, &c.* "we are easily induced to believe it to be a lie." Their ground is, that it is destitute of all testimony of antiquity; and besides, that it doth directly cross the report of Beda, who tells us that our English, together with the Gospel, received that use of images from their apostle Augustin, and therefore needed not any new vision for the entertainment thereof. Let us inquire then a little into the words of Beda[p]; *At illi*, "but they," (Augustin and his fellows,) *non dæmoniaca, &c.* "came armed, not with the power of devils,

[m] Rog. Hoveden. Annal. Part. i. anno 792. fol. 3. [Rer. Ang. Script. Savile, Francof. 1601, p. 405.]

[n] Vid. Binium in Vita Const. P. [Col. Agr. 1618, t. iii. p. 337.]

[o] [Annales Lucæ, 1742. t. xii p. 248.]

[p] Beda Eccles. Hist. Angl. l. i. c. 25.

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but of God; bearing a silver cross for their standard, and the image of our Lord and Saviour painted in a table, and singing litanies, both for the salvation of themselves and of them whom they came to convert." Thus he. This shews indeed that Augustin and his fellows brought images into England unknown here before, a point worthy of good observation; but how little this proves the allowed worship of them will easily appear to any reader, if he consider, that Gregory the First and Great, was he that sent this Augustin into England, whose judgment concerning images is clearly published by himself to all the world, in his forecited epistle, absolutely condemning their adoration: Augustin should have been an ill apostle, if he had herein gone contrary to the will of him that sent him. If withal he shall consider, that within the very same century of years, the clergy of England, by Albinus, Bede's scholar, sent this public declaration of their earnest disavowing both of the doctrine and practice of image-worship.

SECT. 2.—*Image-worship against Scripture.*

As for Scripture, we need not to go farther than the very second commandment; the charge whereof is so inevitable, that it is very ordinarily (doubtless in the guiltiness of an apparent check) left out in the devotional books to the people.

Others[o], since they cannot raze it out, would fain limit it to the Jews; pretending that this precept against the worship of images was only temporal and ceremonial, and such as ought not to be in force under the times of the Gospel; wherein they recall to my thoughts that which Epiphanes the son of Carpocrates answered, when his lust was checked with the command of *Non concupisces*. "True," said he, "that is to be understood of the heathen, whose wives and sisters we may not indeed lust after[p]."

Some more modest spirits are ashamed of that shift, and fly to the distinction of idols and images; a distinction without a difference[q]; of their making, not of God's; of whom we never learned other than, that as every idol is an image of something, so every image worshipped turns idol. The language differs, not the thing

[o] Azorius, Instit. l. ix. c. 6, cites, for this opinion, Alex. p. 3. q. 30. memb. 3. art. 3. [§ 1]; Alber. 3. d. 9. art. 4; Bonavent. 3. d. 9. [art. 1. qu. 2. ad 1]; Richard. 3. d. 9. art. 2. q. 2. ad 1; Palud. 3. d. 9. q. 1. [ar. 2]; Marsil. 3. q. 8. [a. 2. ad 2]; Henric. quodlib. 10. q. 6; [Colon. Agr. 1602. p. 740.]

[p] [Hist. Eccl. Magdeburg. cent. ii. c. 5.]

[q] Εἴδωλον *sæpe simulachrum* vers. Acts vii. 41; xv. 20; 1 Cor. xii. 2; 1 John v. 21.

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itself. To be sure, God takes order for both: *Ye shall make you no idol nor graven image, neither rear you up any standing image, neither shall ye set up any image of stone in your land, to bow down to it*, Levit. xxvi. 1. Yea, as their own Vulgate turns it, *Non facies tibi, &c. statuam: Thou shalt not set thee up a statue; which God hateth*, Deut. xvi. 22.

The book of God is full of his indignation against this practice[r].

We may well shut up all with that curse in Mount Gerizim; *Cursed be the man that maketh any graven or molten image, an abomination unto the Lord, the work of the hands of the craftsmen, and putteth it in a secret place. And all the people shall say, Amen*, Deut. xxvii. 15. Surely their Durandus, after he hath cited divers scriptures against idols, as Exod. xx, Levit. xxvi, Deut. iv, Num. xxv, &c., at last concludes, *Ex his et similibus, &c.*: "By these and the like authorities is condemned the too much use of images[s]."

Now because many eyes are bleared with a pretence of worshipping these, not as gods but as resemblances of God's friends, let any indifferent man but read the epistle of Jeremiah (Baruch vi.) canonical to them, though not to us, and compare the estate and usage of those ancient idols with the present images of the Roman Church, and if he do not find them fully paralleled, let him condemn our quarrel of injustice.

But we must needs think them hard driven for Scripture when they run for shelter under that text which professedly taxeth them, ἐν ἀθεμίτοις, &c. *in illicitis idolorum cultibus*, saith St. Peter, *in unlawful idolatries*, speaking of the Gentiles[t]; "Therefore," saith Valentia[v], "there is a lawful worship of idols." As if that were an epithet of favour which is intended to aggravation. So he that should call Satan an unclean devil, should imply, that some devil is not unclean; or deceivable lust, some lusts deceitless; or hateful wickedness, some wickedness not hateful. The man had forgot that the apostle spake of the heathenish idolatry; wherein himself cannot plead any colour of lawfulness. May this therefore

[r] Isa. xlii. 17; xlv. 16; Mich. v. 13; Hab. ii. 18, 19; Zech. x. 2; Isaiah ii. 8, xxx. 22, xli. 7, 22, 23, 24, 29, xliv. 12; Jer. vii. 18, viii. 19; x. 8; Ezek. vi. 4, 13, xx. 28, 32, xxiii. 27; Hos. viii. 4, 5; Mic. i. 7.

[s] Durand. Ration. l. i. c. 3.—Ex his aut similibus auctoritatibus reprobatur nimius imaginum usus. [Venet. 1519. fol. 4.]

[t] 1 Pet. iv. 3. We turn it well, *abominable idolatries*.

[v] Greg. Val. l. ii. Apol. de Idolol. c. 7.—Neque absurde profecto putaveris B. Petrum insinuavisse cultum aliquem simulachrorum rectum esse, &c. contra Herbrandum. [Opera, Lugd. 1591. p. 718.]

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befriend them, to call idolatry abominable, the Scripture is theirs: neither can they look for any other countenance from those sacred monuments.

SECT. 3.—*Image-worship against Reason.*

What need we seek any other reason of God's prohibition than his will? And yet God himself hath given abundant reason of his prohibition of images erected to himself.

To whom will ye liken God? or what likeness will ye compare unto him? Is. xl. 18. *Ye saw no manner of similitude in the day that the Lord spake to you in Horeb,* Deut. iv. 15. It is an high injury to the infinite and spiritual nature of God, to be resembled by bodily shapes. And for the worship of images erected to himself or his creature, *I am the Lord: that is my name: and my glory will I not give to another, nor my praise to molten images,* Is. xlii. 8. The holy jealousy of the Almighty will not abide any of his honour divided with his creature; and whatever worship more than mere human is imparted to the creature sets it in rivality with our Maker[u].

The man is better than his picture, and if religious worship will not be allowed to the person of man[x] or angel, how much less to his image! not to man; St. Peter forbids it, Acts x. 26: not to angel; himself forbids it, Rev. xix. 10. What a madness then is it for a living man to stoop unto a dead stock, unless, as that cynic had wont to speak unto statues[y], to use himself to repulses!

This courtesy was too shameful in the pagans of old, how much more intolerable in Christians!

And as for that last shift of this unlawful devotion, That they worship not the image, but by it the person represented[z] [*Hic enim color*] *a Paganis afferri solebat,* "This," saith Cassander[a], out of the evidence of Arnobius and Lactantius, to whom he might have added St. Augustin, "was the very evasion of the old heathen." *Nec valebat tunc illa ratio:* "Neither would this colour then serve." How can it hope now to pass and find allowance?

[u] Si quis puram creaturam propter quamcunque excellentiam colit cultu et honore majori quam puro humano, cultus hic jam accedit ad cultum religiosum, et consequenter ad divinum.—Spalat. de Rep. Eccl. l. vii. c. 12. [sect. 10. Hanov. 1622. p. 282.]

[x] Sed neque Elias adorandus est, etiamsi in vivis sit: neque Johannes adorandus, &c.—Epiphan. cont. Collyrid. Hær. 79. [ἀλλ' οὔτε Ἠλίας προσκυνητὸς, &c.]

[y] Diog. Laert. [l. ii. Vit. Diog. § 49.]

[z] Per illa colitur Deus.—Lessius de [Justitia et] Jure, &c. l. ii. cap. 36, de Relig. dub. 3. [Par. 1606. p. 456.]

[a] Cassand. Cons. Art. xxi.

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The doctrine therefore and practice of image-worship, as late as erroneous, is justly rejected by us; who, according to St. Jerome's profession[b], worship not the relics of martyrs, nor sun, nor moon, nor angels, nor archangels, nor cherubim, nor seraphim, nor any name that is named in this world or in the world to come; and unjustly are we hereupon ejected.

CHAP. XI.

The Newness of Indulgences and Purgatory.

Nothing is more palpable than the novelty of indulgences or pardons, as they are now of use in the Roman Church: the intolerable abuse whereof gave the first hint to Luther's inquiry.

Pope Leo had gratified his sister Magdalen with a large monopoly of German pardons[c]. Aremboldus, her factor, was too covetous, and held the market too high. The height of these overrated wares caused the chapmen to inquire into their worth.

They were found as they are, both for age and dignity.

For age, so new, as that Cornelius Agrippa[d], and Polydore Vergil[e], and Machiavel (and who not?) tell us Boniface the Eighth, who lived anno 1300, was the first that extended indulgences to purgatory; the first that devised a jubilee for the full utterance of them.

The indulgences of former times were no other than relaxations of canonical penances[f], which were enjoined to heinous sinners; whereof Burchard, the bishop of Worms, set down many particulars about the year 1020. For example, if a man had committed wilful murder, he was to fast forty days together in bread and water, which the common people call a lent; and to observe a course of penance for seven years after. Now these years of penance and these lents were they, which the pardons of former times were used to strike off or abate, according as they found reason in the disposition of the penitent; which may give light to those terms of so many lents and years remitted in former indulgences.

But that there should be a sacred treasure of the Church,

[b] Nos non dico Martyrum reliquias, &c.—Hier. ad Riparium. [Epist. 37. Par. 1706. vol. iv. par. ii. col. 279.]

[c] [Sarpi] Histor. Concil. Trid. l. i. an. 1517.]

[d] De Vanit. Scient. c. 61. [Hag. Com. 1662. p. 237.]

[e] De Invent. Rer. lib. viii. c. 1. [Lugd. 1561. p. 647.]

[f] Dies indulgentiarum referuntur ad pœnitentias pro vita [hac] injunctas.—Gers. Reg. Moral. [§ De Pœnit. Par. 1606. vol. i. par. ii. col. 35.]

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wherein are heaped up piles of satisfactions of saints, whereof only the pope keeps the keys, and hath power to dispense them where he lists, is so late a device, that Gregory of Valence is forced to confess[g], that not so much as Gratian or Peter Lombard (which wrote about 400 years before him) ever made mention of the name of indulgence.

Well therefore might Durand and Antonine grant it not to be found either in the Scriptures or in the writings of the ancient doctors; and our B. Fisher goes so far in the acknowledgment of the newness hereof, that he hath run into the censure of the late Jesuits.

Just and warrantable is that challenge of learned Chemnitius[h], that no testimony can be produced of any Father, or of any ancient church, that either such doctrine or practice of such indulgences was ever in use until towards one thousand two hundred years after Christ. *Talium indulgentiarum:* some there were in the time immediately foregoing, but such as now they were not. Besides Eugenius's time, which was too near the verge, (for the words of Chemnitius[i] are, *per annos ferme mille ducentos;* "for well near a thousand two hundred years:") Bellarmine instances in the third Council of Lateran, about the year 1116, wherein pope Paschal the Second gave indulgences of forty days to those which visited the threshold of the apostles. But it must be considered, that we must take this upon the bare word of Conradus Urspurgensis. Secondly, that this indulgence of his is no other but a relaxation of canonical penance; for he adds, which Bellarmine purposely concealeth, *iis qui de capitalibus &c*[k]: "to those that should do penance for capital sins he released forty days' penance:" so as this instance helps nothing. Neither are the rest, which he hath raked together within the compass of a few preceding years, of any other alloy.

Neither hath that cardinal offered to cite one Father for the proof of this practice, the birth whereof was many hundred years after their expiration, but cunningly shifts it off with a cleanly excuse[l], *Neque mirum, &c,:* "Neither may it seem strange, if we have not many ancient authors that make mention of these

[g] Greg. de Val. Opp. Lugd. 1591. de Indulgent. cap. 4. p. 887.] et Bell. l. ii. de Indulgent. [cap. 17. Opp. t. iii. col. 1615.]

[h] Chemn. Exam. [Conc. Trid.] de Indulgent. c. 4. [p. 719.]

[i] Ibid.

[k] [Conradi Ursperg. Chronicum. Basil. 1569. p. 260.]

[l] Bell. lib. ii. de Indulgent. c. 17. [t. iii. col. 1616.]

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things in the Church, which are preserved only by use, not by writing." So he.

He says, "Not many authors:" he shews not one. And if many matters of right have been traduced to the Church without notice of pen or press, yet let it be shown what one doctrine or practice, of such importance as this is pretended to be, hath escaped the report and maintenance of some ecclesiastic writer or other, and we shall willingly yield it in this.

Till then, we shall take this but for a mere colour, and resolve that our honest Roffensis deals plainly with us; who tells us, *Quamdiu nulla fuerat de purgatorio cura, &c.*[m]: "So long as there was no care of purgatory, no man sought after indulgences; for upon that depends all the opinion of pardon. If you take away purgatory, wherefore should we need pardons? Since therefore purgatory was so lately known and received of the whole Church, who can marvel, concerning indulgences, that there was no use of them in the beginning of the Church: indulgences then began after men had trembled somewhile at the torments of a purgatory."

Thus their martyr, not partially for us, but ingenuously, out of the power of truth, professes the novelty of two great articles of the Roman Creed—purgatory and indulgences.

Indeed, both these now hang on one string: although there was a kind of purgatory dreamed of before their pardons came into play. That device peeped out fearfully from Origen, and pulled in the head again, as in St. Austin's time[n], doubting to show it; *Tale aliquid, &c.*: "That there is some such thing," saith he, "after this life, it is not utterly incredible, and may be made a question." And elsewhere; "I reprove it not, for it may perhaps be true." And yet again, as retracting what he had yielded, he resolves: "Let no man deceive himself, my brethren: there are but two places, and a third there is none." Before whom St. Cyprian is peremptory[o]; *Quando isthinc excessum fuerit, &c.*: "When we are once departed hence, there is now no more place of repentance, no effect of satisfaction; here is life either lost or

[m] [Assert. Luth. Confut. art. xviii. Opp. Wirceb. 1597. col. 497.]

[n] Aug. Enchir. c. 69; De Civit. Dei. l. xxi. c. 26. [vii. col. 649.] Quicquid sit quod illo significatur, sinu Abrahæ. Confess. l. ix. c. 3. [t. i. col. 159. t. vii. col. 649.] Qui cum Christo regnare non meruerit, cum Diabolo absque dubitatione [ulla] peribit. Serm. 295, t. v. appendix col. 495.] And the like, De Civitate Dei. l. xxi. cap. 25. [non est locus medius.]

[o] Cypr. contra Demetrian. ad finem. [Par. 1726. p. 224.]

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kept." And Gregory Nazianzen's verse[m] sounds to the same sense. And St. Ambrose can say[n] of his Theodosius, that, being freed from this earthly warfare, *fruitur nunc luce perpetua, &c.*, "he now enjoys everlasting light, during tranquillity, and triumphs in the troops of the saints."

But what strive we in this? We may well take the word of their martyr, our Roffensis, for both; and true Erasmus[o], for the ground of this defence; *Mirum in modum, &c.:* "They do marvellously affect the fire of purgatory, because it is most profitable for their kitchens."

SECT. 2.—*Indulgences and Purgatory against Scripture.*

These two then are so late-come strangers, that they cannot challenge any notice taken of them by Scripture. Neither were their names ever heard of in the language of Canaan.

Yet the wisdom of that all-seeing Spirit hath not left us without preventions of future errors, in blowing up the very grounds of these human devices.

The first and main ground of both is the remainders of some temporal punishments, to be paid after the guilt and eternal punishment remitted; the driblets of venial sins to be reckoned for when the mortal are defrayed.

Hear what God saith: *I, even I, am he that blotteth out thy transgressions for mine own sake, and will not remember thy sins,* Is. xliii. 25. Lo, can the letter be read that is blotted out? Can there be a back-reckoning for that which shall not be remembered? *I have done away thy transgressions as a cloud,* Isa. xliv. 22. What sins can be less than transgressions? What can be more clearly dispersed than a cloud? *Wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow,* Ps. li. 7. Who can tell where the spot was when the skin is rinsed? *If we confess our sins, he is faithful to forgive our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness,* 1 John i. 9. Lo, he cleanseth us from the guilt, and forgives the punishment. What are our sins but *debts?* Matt.

[m] [Ἐνθά δ' ἄκος μερόπεσσι, τὰ δ' ὅστατα δέσμια πάντα.]
—Hic etiam nobis est prompta medela:
Post autem clausa est omnis medicina salutis.
Naz. Car. de Rebus Suis. Carm. l. fig. 13.
[Par. 1611. t. ii. p. 36. § 16. lin. 304.]

[n] Ambros. Orat. de Obitu Theodos. ad medium, [c. 32. Par. 1690. t. ii. c. 1206.]

[o] Erasm. Epist. l. xx. Hier. Agathio. [Lugd. Bat. 1703. t. iii. col. 1106.]

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vi. 12. What is the infliction of punishment, but an exaction of payment? What is our remission, but a striking off that score? And when the score is struck off, what remains to pay? *Remitte debita, Forgive our debts,* is our daily prayer. Our Saviour tells the paralytic, *Thy sins are forgiven thee,* Mark ii. 5. in the same words implying the removing of his disease. If the sin be gone, the punishment cannot stay behind. We may smart by way of chastisement after the freest remission, not by way of revenge; for our amendment, not for God's satisfaction.

The second ground is a middle condition betwixt the state of eternal life and death; of no less torment for the time than hell itself; whose flames may burn off the rust of our remaining sins; the issues wherefrom are in the power of the great Pastor of the Church!

How did this escape the notice of our Saviour? *Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that heareth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and comes not into judgment*[p], as the Vulgar itself turns it; *but is passed from death unto life.* Behold a present possession and immediate passage, no judgment intervening, no torment. How was this hid from the great doctor of the Gentiles? who, putting himself into the common case of the believing Corinthians, professes, *We know that if once our earthly house of this tabernacle be dissolved, we have a building of God, not made with hands, eternal in the heavens,* 2 Cor. v. 1. The dissolution of the one is the possession of the other: here is no interposition of time, of estate. The Wise Man of old could say, *The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and there shall no torment touch them,* Wisd. iii. 1; *Upon their very going from us they are in peace,* verse 3. ἀπάρτι, as St. John heard from the heavenly voice, Rev. xiv. 13; from their very *dying in the Lord* is their blessedness.

SECT. 3.—*Indulgences and Purgatory against Reason.*

It is absurd in reason, to think that God should forgive our talents, and arrest us for the odd farthings.

Neither is it less absurd to think, that any living soul can have superfluities of satisfaction; whenas all that man is capable to suffer cannot be sufficient for one, and that the least, sin of his own, the wages whereof is eternal death.

Or, that those superfluities of human satisfaction should piece

[p] Εἰς κρίσιν οὐκ ἔρχεται, &c. John v. 24.

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up the infinite and perfectly meritorious superabundance of the Son of God.

Or, that this supposed treasure of divine and human satisfactions should be kept under the key of some one sinful man.

Or, that this one man, who cannot deliver his own soul from purgatory, no not from hell itself[q], should have power to free what others he pleaseth from those fearful flames, to the full gaol-delivery of that direful prison; which though his great power can do, yet his no less charity will not, doth not.

Or, that the same pardon which cannot acquit a man from one hour's toothache, should be of force to give his soul ease from the temporary pains of another world.

Lastly, guilt and punishment are relatives, and can no more be severed, than a perfect forgiveness and a remaining compensation can stand together.

This doctrine, therefore, of papal indulgences, as it led the way to the further discovery of the corruptions of the degenerated Church of Rome; so it still continues justly branded with novelty and error, and may not be admitted into our belief; and we, for rejecting it, are undoubtedly refused.

CHAP. XII.

The Newness of Divine Service in an Unknown Tongue.

That prayers and other divine offices should be done in a known tongue, understood of the people, is not more available to edification, as their Cajetan liberally confesseth[r], than consonant to the practice of all antiquity; insomuch as Lyranus[s], freely, "In the primitive church, blessings and all other services were done in the vulgar tongue."

What need we look back so far, when even the Lateran Council[t], which was but in the year 1215, under Innocent the Third, makes this decree; *Quoniam in plerisque, &c.:* "Because in many parts within the same city and diocese people are mixed of divers lan-

q Collegia clericorum et conventus religiosorum . . . aspergunt et incensant corpus Papæ, et absolvunt.—Sacr. Cerem. [Rom. Eccl. Venet. 1582. f. 108.]

r Cajet. in 1 Cor. xiv. 17.—Ex hac Pauli doctrina habetur, quod melius ad ædificationem Ecclesiæ est orationes publicas, quæ audiente populo dicuntur, dici lingua communi clericis et populo quam dici Latine.—[Lugd. 1639. t. v. p. 137.]

s Lyr. ibid.—[In primitiva ecclesia benedictiones et cætera communia fiebant in vulgari.—In 1 Cor. xiv. 16. Bibl. cum glossa ord. &c. Antv. 1617. t. vi. col. 322.]

t Concil. Later. anno 1215. [cap. 9. Bin. t. iii. pars. ii. p. 1453.]

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guages, having, under one faith, divers rites and fashions, we strictly command that the bishops of the said cities or dioceses provide fit and able men, who, according to the diversities of their rites and languages, may celebrate divine services, and administer the sacraments of the Church to them, instructing them both in word and example."

Cardinal Bellarmine's evasion is very gross: That, in that place, Innocentius and the Council speak only of the Greek and Latin tongue: "For then," saith he[u], "Constantinople was newly taken by the Romans; by reason whereof, there was in Greece a mixture of Greeks and Latins, insomuch as they desired that in such places of frequence two bishops might be allowed for the ordering of those several nations. Whereupon it was concluded, that since it were no other than monstrous to appoint two bishops unto one see, it should be the charge of that one bishop to provide such under him as should administer all holy things to the Grecians in Greek, and in Latin to the Latins."

For who sees not that the constitution is general? *plerisque partibus*, "for very many parts" of the Christian world; and, *populi diversarum linguarum*, "people of sundry languages:" not, as Bellarmine, cunningly, *diversæ linguæ*, "of a diverse language." And if these two only languages had been meant, why had it not been as easy to specify them, as to intimate them by so large a circumlocution.

This synod is said to be universal; comprehending all the patriarchs, seventy-seven metropolitans, and the most eminent divines of both the East and West Churches, to the number of at least two thousand two hundred and twelve persons, or, as some others, two thousand two hundred and eighty five; besides the ambassadors of all Christian princes of several languages. Now shall we think that there were in all their territories and jurisdictions no mixtures of inhabitants, but only of Grecians and Romans? or that all these Fathers were careless of the rest? especially, since the end which they profess to propose unto themselves herein is the instruction of the people, of what nation or language soever: which end, as it was never meant to be limited to two sorts of people, so could it never be attained without this liberty of language, fitted to their understanding.

To which may be added, that the Greeks and Latins, of all other, had the least need of this provision; since it was famously

[u] [De Verbo Dei, lib. ii. cap. xvi. t. i. col. 153.]

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known that they had their several services already, of received and current use, before this constitution was hatched.

Neither is it of any moment, which he addeth, that in Italy itself this decree was not extended to the use of vulgar tongues: for that it is evident that St. Thomas, who lived soon after, composed in Latin the Office of the Feast of Corpus Christi, not in the Italian; although the same Aquinas confesses[y], that the vulgar tongue of Italy, at that time, was not Latin. For what child cannot easily see, that if their great doctor would write an Office for the public use as is intended of the whole Church, he would make choice to write it in such a language as might improve it to the most common benefit of all the Christian world? not confining it to the bounds of a particular nation. Besides, what was the Italian, in those times especially, but a broken and corrupt Latin, differing more in idiom and termination than in the substance of speech. That which Radevicus, about the year 1170, records for the voice of the people in the election of pope Victor, *Papa Victore Sancto Pietro l'elege*[z], makes good no less: for what such difference is betwixt this and *Papam Victorem Sanctus Petrus elegit?* So as this instance doth nothing at all infringe that just decree of the Roman Fathers. Howsoever, that observation of Erasmus is true and pregnant to this purpose[a]; *Nec lingua vulgaris, &c.:* "Neither was the vulgar tongue," i. e. the Latin, "withdrawn from the people, but the people went off from it."

And as for our ancestors in this island, our venerable Beda witnesses[b], that in England, the Scriptures were read by them in five languages, according to the number of the books wherein the Law of God was written: namely, English, Scottish, British, Pictish, and Latin; "which," saith he, "in meditation of the Scriptures, is made common to all the rest:" a point which the said author specifies for a commendation of the well-instructedness of those people; not as purposing to intimate that the use of the Latin did thrust out the other four; for he there tells us, that in all four they did not only search, but confess and utter the knowledge of the highest truth.

[y] Thom. Aquin. in 1 Cor. c. xiv. 23. [t. vi. p. 332. Ven. 1775.]

[z] ["Papa Victore S. Pietro l'elegge." Radevici continuatio historiæ Ottonis Frising. lib. ii. sive iv. cap. lxvi; ad calc. Ottonis Fris. Basil. 1569. p. 330.]

[a] Nec lingua vulgaris populo subtracta est, sed populus ab ea recessit.—Erasm. Declarat. adv. censuras Parisiensium, tit 12. sect. 41. [ed. Leclerc. t. ix. col. 875.]

[b] Bed. Histor. l. i. [c. 1.]

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This restraint then is not more new, than envious and prejudicial to the honour of God and the souls of men.

Sect. 2.—*Against Scripture.*

As for Scriptures, were this practice so old as it is pretended, the rule is[c], *Longævæ consuetudinis, &c.:* "The authority of an ancient custom is not to be slighted so long as it is not against the Canons."

Nothing can be more against the Canons of the blessed apostle than this, who, did he live in these our days, and would bend his speech against the use of a language not understood in God's service, could not speak more directly, more punctually, than he doth to his Corinths.

How doth he tell us, that the speaking in a strange tongue edifies not the church, profits not the hearers, 1 Cor. xiv. 5, 6, produces a necessary ignorance of the thing spoken, v. 9, makes me a barbarian to him that speaketh, and him that speaks a barbarian to me! v. 11.

How doth he require him that speaketh in an unknown tongue to pray that he may interpret! v. 13, and if he must pray that he may do it, how much more must he practise it when he can do it!

How doth he tell us, that in a strange languaged prayer, the understanding is unfruitful! v. 14; that it is better to speak five words with understanding, that we may teach others, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue! v. 19; that those which speak with strange tongues are but as madmen to the unlearned or unbelievers! v. 23.

Sect. 3.—*Against Reason.*

In which Scriptures, besides authority, the apostle hath comprised unanswerable and convincing reasons against this Romish abuse.

Amongst the rest, is intimated that utter frustration of the use of the tongue in God's service; for it is a true rule which Salmeron

[c] Longævæ consuetudinis non est vilis authoritas, dummodo Canonibus non sit contraria.—11 Dist. Consuet, &c. [This appears to be made up from these two passages:—

1. "Consuetudinis ususque longævi non vilis auctoritas est, verum non . . . ut aut rationem vincat aut legem."—Distinct. xi. cap. 4.

2. "Inviolabilis est consuetudo, quæ nec humanis legibus nec sacris canonibus obviare."—Tit. cap. 5. *ibid.* Decr. Par. 1612. col. 39.]

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cites out of Lactantius[d], *Nihil valet ex se, &c.:* "That thing is to no purpose which avails not unto the end whereto it serves." Silence doth as much express the thought, as a language not understood. In this sense, is that of Laurentius[e] too well verified, *Sacerdos imperitus, mulier sterilis:* "A priest unable to express himself is as a barren woman," uncapable of bringing forth children unto God. As good no tongue as no understanding. "What good doth a well sealed up?" as Ptolemy said of the Hebrew Text[f]. Wherefore do we speak, if we would not be understood? It was an holy resolution of St. Augustin[g], That he would rather say, *Ossum,* in false Latin, to be understood of the people, than *Os,* in true, not to be understood.

This practice, however it may seem in itself slight, and unworthy of too much contention; yet, in regard of that miserable blindness and misdevotion which it must needs draw in after it, it is so heinous, as may well deserve our utmost opposition.

The unavoidableness of which effects hath carried some of their casuists into an opinion of the unnecessariness of devotion in these holy businesses: so as one says[h], "He that wants devotion sins not:" another[i], "Though it be convenient that the communicant should have actual devotion, yet it is not necessary." Alas! what service is this which poor souls are taught to take up with, which God must be content to take from hoodwinked suppliants!

This doctrine, this practice, thus new, thus prejudicial to Christians, we bless God that we have so happily discarded, and for our just refusal are unjustly ejected.

CHAP. XIII.

The Newness of Forced Sacramental Confession.

The necessity of a particular, secret, full sacramental confession of all our sins to a priest, upon pain of non-remission, is an act or

[d] Salmeron in illa, Vos estis sal terræ. Ex Lactantio, [Comm. t. v. p. 154. Col. Agr 1602.]

[e] Laurent. Presbyt. Pisanus, Paradoxa Evangelica. [apud Grynæi monumenta Patrum orthodoxographorum, Bas. 1569. t. ii. p. 914.]

[f] Quid prodest fons signatus? [Θησαυροῦ κεκρυμμένου καὶ πηγῆς σφραγισμένης τίς ὠφέλεια ἐν ἀμφοτέροις; Epiphan. de Mensuris et Ponderibus, cap. ii. Opp. Par. 1622. t. ii. p. 168.]

[g] ["Habeo in abscondito quoddam ossum. Sic enim potius loquamur: melius est reprehendant nos grammatici quam non intelligant populi."—Aug. in Ps. cxxxviii. 15. t. iv. col. 1545.]

[h] Jac. Graph. Decis. Aur. [de Grafflis. Antv. 1596.]

[i] Sylv. quæst. 80. artic. 9.

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institution of the Roman Church[k]: for as for the Greek Church, it owns not either the doctrine or practice.

So the Gloss[l] of the canon law, directly; *Confessio apud Græcos, &c.:* "Confession is not necessary amongst the Grecians, unto whom no such tradition hath been derived."

That Gloss would tell us more[m]: and so would Gratian himself, if their tongues were not clipt by a guilty expurgation.

But in the mean time, the Gloss of that canon, hitherto allowed, plainly controls the decree of that late council: for if the necessity of confession be only a tradition, and such a one as hath not been deduced to the Greek Church, then it stands not by a law of God, which is universal, not making differences of places or times; like an high elevated star, which hath no particular aspect upon one region.

That there is a lawful, commendable, beneficial use of confession, was never denied by us; but to set men upon the rack, and to strain their souls up to a double pin of absolute necessity (both *præcepti* and *medii*), and of a strict particularity, and that by a screw of *Jus Divinum*, "God's Law," is so mere a Roman novelty, that many ingenuous authors of their own have willingly confessed it.

Amongst whom, Cardinal Bellarmine[n] himself yields us Erasmus[o] and Beatus Rhenanus[p], two noble witnesses, whose joint tenet he confesses to be, *Confessionem secretam, &c.:* "That the secret confession of all our sins is not only not instituted or commanded *Jure Divino*, 'by God's Law,' but that it was not so much as received into use in the ancient Church of God." To whom he might have added, out of Maldonate's account, *Omnes decretorum, &c.:* "All the interpreters of the decrees," and amongst the schoolmen, Scotus.

We know well those sad and austere *Exomologeses*, which were publicly used in the severe times of the primitive church. While these took place, what use was there of private? These obtained, even in the Western or Latin Church, till the days of Leo, about

[k] Conc. Trid.—Si quis dixerit in Sacram. Pœnitentiæ ad remissionem, &c. Anath. &c.—Sess. 14. [Can. 7. Bin. t. iv. p. 832.]

[l] Gloss. Grat. de Pœn. Dist. 5. c. In pœnitentia. Græci solummodo Deo confitendum dicunt.—De Pœnit. D. 1. [Decr. Greg. ix. Paris. 1601. p. 1867.]

[m] Multa alia et magni ponderis emendata sunt.—In notis ibid.

[n] Bell. de Pœnit. l. iii. c. 1. [t. ii. p 134.]

[o] In Annot. Hier. ad Ocean. [Ed. Froben. 1537. t. i. p. 201.]

[p] In Notis Tertull. de Pœnit. &c. [Paris. 1580. p. 382.]

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four hundred and fifty years; in which time they had a grave public penitentiary for this purpose[q].

Afterwards, whether the noted inconveniences of that practice, or whether the cooling of the former fervour occasioned it, this open confession began to give way to secret; which continued in the Church; but with freedom, and without that forced and scrupulous strictness which the latter times have put upon it.

It is very remarkable, which learned Rhenanus hath; *Cæterum Thomas ab Aquino, &c.:* "But," saith he[r], "Thomas of Aquine, and Scotus, men too acute, have made confession at this day such, as that Joannes Geilerius, a grave and holy divine, which was for many years preacher at Strasburgh, had wont to say to his friends, that, according to their rules, it is an impossible thing to confess:" adding, that the same Geilerius, being familiarly conversant with some religious votaries, both Carthusians and Franciscans, learned of them with what torments the godly minds of some men were afflicted by the rigour of that confession, which they were not able to answer; and thereupon he published a book in Dutch, entitled, "The Sickness of Confession."

The same, therefore, which Rhenanus writes of his Geilerius he may well apply unto us; *Itaque Geilerio non displicebat, &c.:* "Geilerius, therefore, did not dislike confession, but the scrupulous anxiety which is taught in the sums of some late divines, more fit indeed for some other place than for libraries." Thus he. What would that ingenuous author have said, if he had lived to see those volumes of cases, which have been since published, able to perplex a world; and those peremptory decisions of the Fathers of the society, whose strokes have been with scorpions, in comparison of the rods of their predecessors?

To conclude, this bird was hatched in the Council of Lateran, anno 1215, fully plumed in the Council of Trent; and now lately, hath her feathers imped by their modern casuists.

SECT. 2.—*Romish Confession not warranted by Scripture.*

Since our quarrel is not with confession itself, which may be of singular use and behoof; but with some tyrannous strains in the practice of it, which are the violent forcing and perfect fulness thereof; it shall be sufficient for us herein to stand upon

[q] De Presbyt. Pœnitentiariis, vide Socrat. l. v. c. 19. [Oxon. 1844. p. 234.]

[r] Beat. Rhenan. Argum. in Tert. de Pœnitentia.—Argentorati, &c., [Paris. 1580. p. 377.]

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our negative, That there is no Scripture in the whole Book of God, wherein either such necessity or such entireness of confession is commanded; a truth so clear, that it is generally confessed by their own canonists.

Did we question the lawfulness of confession, we should be justly accountable for our grounds from the Scriptures of God: now that we cry down only some injurious circumstances therein, well may we require from the fautors thereof their warrants from God; which if they cannot show, they are sufficiently convinced of a presumptuous obtrusion.

Indeed, our Saviour said to his apostles and their successors, *Whose sins ye remit, they are remitted; and whose sins ye retain, they are retained*, John xx. 23: but did he say, "No sin shall be remitted but what ye remit?" or, "No sin shall be remitted by you but what is particularly numbered unto you?"

St. James bids, *Confess your sins one to another*, James v. 16: but would they have the priest shrive himself to the penitent, as well as the penitent to the priest? This act must be mutual, not single.

Many believing Ephesians *came, and confessed, and showed their deeds*, Acts xix. 18: many, but not all, not *omnes utriusque sexus:* they confessed their deeds; some, that were notorious, not all their sins.

Contrarily, rather so did Christ send his apostles, as the Father sent Him, John xx. 21: he was both their warrant and their pattern. But that gracious Saviour of ours many a time gave absolution where was no particular confession of sins: only the sight of the paralytic's faith fetched from him, *Son, be of good cheer; thy sins be forgiven thee*, Matt. ix. 2: the noted sinner in Simon's house, approving the truth of her repentance by the humble and costly testimonies of her love, without any enumeration of her sins, heard, *Thy sins are forgiven thee.*

SECT. 3.—*Against Reason.*

In true divine reason this supposed duty is needless, dangerous, impossible.

Needless, in respect of all sins, not in respect of some; for however, in the cases of a burthened conscience nothing can be more useful, more sovereign; yet, in all, our peace doth not depend upon our lips; *Being justified by faith, we have peace with God through Jesus Christ our Lord*, Rom. v. 1.

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Dangerous, in respect both of exprobration, as St. Chrysostom worthily[s], and of infection; for, *Delectabile carnis, &c.*, as a casuist confesseth[t]: "Fleshly pleasures, the more they are called into particular mention, the more they move the appetite." I do willingly conceal from chaste eyes and ears what effects have followed this pretended act of devotion in wanton and unstayed confessors.

Impossible; for *who can tell how oft he offendeth?* He is poor in sin that can count his stock: and he sins always, that so presumes upon his innocence, as to think he can number his sins; and if he say of any sin, as Lot of Zoar, *Is it not a little one?* as if therefore it may safely escape the reckoning. It is a true word of Isaac the Syrian[u], *Qui delicta, &c.*: "He that thinks any of his offences small, even in so thinking falls into greater."

This doctrine and practice, therefore, both as new and erroneous, full of usurpation, danger, impossibility, is justly rejected by us; and we, for so doing, unjustly ejected.

SECT. 4.—*The Novelty of Absolution before Satisfaction.*

Lest any thing in the Roman church should retain the old form, how absurd is that innovation which they have made in the order of their penance and absolution!

The ancient course, as Cassander[x] and Lindanus[y] truly witness, was, That absolution and reconciliation, and right to the communion of the Church, was not given by imposition of hands unto the penitent, till he had given due satisfaction, by performing of such penal acts as were enjoined by the discreet penitentiary. "Yea, those works of penance," saith he[z], "when they were done out of faith, and an heart truly sorrowful, and by the motion of the Holy Spirit preventing the mind of man with the help of his divine grace, were thought not a little available to obtain remission of sin, and to pacify the displeasure of God for sin: not that they could merit it by any dignity of theirs; but that thereby the mind of man is in a sort fitted to the receipt of

[s] Chrysost. in Ps. l. [inter Opp. spuria.]

[t] Sayr. Summo Cas. Navar [Venet. 1614. § de Confess. [p. 90. olim nisi his operibus, ab ecclesiæ præfecto injunctis rite peractis, absolutio et reconciliatio et communionis jus per manus impositionem non concedebatur.]

[u] Isaac. Syr. Presb. Antiochen. de Contempt. Mundi, &c.

[x] Cassand. Cons. [art. xii. de Pœnit.]

[y] Lind. Panopl. l. iv.

[z] Cass. ibid. [pp. 90, 91.]

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God's grace. But now, immediately upon the confession made, the hand is laid upon the penitent, and he is received to his right of communion; and after his absolution, certain works of piety are enjoined him, for the chastisement of the flesh and expurgation of the remainders of sin." Thus Cassander.

In common apprehension, this new order can be no other than preposterous; and, as our learned bishop of Carlisle[a], like Easter before Lent. But, for this, *ipsi viderint:* it shall not trouble us how they nurture their own child.

CHAP. XIV.

The Newness of the Romish Invocation of Saints.

Of all those errors which we reject in the Church of Rome, there is none that can plead so much show of antiquity as this of invocation of saints[b].

Which yet, as it hath been practised and defended in the latter times, should in vain seek either example or patronage amongst the ancient. However there might be some grounds of this devotion secretly muttered, and at last expressed in panegyric forms, yet, until almost five hundred years after Christ, it was not in any sort admitted into the public service.

It will be easily granted[c], that the blessed Virgin is the prime of all saints; neither could it be other than injurious, that any other of that heavenly society should have the precedency of her.

Now the first that brought her name into the public devotions of the Greek church is noted by Nicephorus[d] to be Petrus Gnapheus, or Fullo, a presbyter of Bithynia, afterwards the usurper of the see of Antioch; much about four hundred and seventy years after Christ; who, though a branded heretic, found out four things, saith he, "very useful and beneficial to the Catholic church[e];" whereof the last was, *Ut, in omni precatione, &c.:* "that, in every prayer, the mother of God should be named, and her divine name called upon." The phrase is very remarkable wherein this rising superstition is expressed.

And as for the Latin church, we hear no news of this invoca-

[a] Resp. ad Fisherum.

[b] Spalat. de Rep. Eccl. l. vii. c. 12. sect. 16. [Hanov. 1622. § 20. pp. 285, 286.]

[c] Rex Jacob. Præmonit. ad Principes, &c. [Lond. 1619. p. 30.]

[d] Niceph. l. xv. c. 28. [Paris, 1630. p. 633.]

[e] Ecclesiæ Catholicæ commodissima. Ibid.

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tion in the public litanies, till Gregory's time; about some one hundred and thirty years after the former[f].

And in the mean time some Fathers speak of it fearfully and doubtfully. How could it be otherwise, when the common opinion of the ancients, even below St. Austin's age, did put up all the souls of the faithful, except martyrs, in some blind receptacles, whether in the centre of the earth or elsewhere; where they might, *in candida expectare diem judicii*, as Tertullian hath it four several times: and Stapleton[g] himself sticks not to name divers of them, thus foully mistaken.

Others of the Fathers have let fall speeches directly bent against this invocation: *Non opus est patronis, &c.*: "There is no need of any advocates to God," saith St. Chrysostom[h]: and most plainly elsewhere[i]; *Homines si quando, &c.*: "If we have any suit to men," saith he, "we must fee the porters; and treat with jesters and parasites; and go, many times, a long way about. In God, there is no such matter: he is exorable, without any of our mediators: without money, without cost, he grants our petitions: it is enough for thee to cry, with thine heart alone; to pour out thy tears; and presently thou hast won him to mercy." Thus he.

And those of the ancients that seem to speak for it, lay grounds that overthrow it.

Howsoever it be, all holy antiquity would have both blushed and spit at those forms of invocation which the late clients of Rome have broached to the world. If, perhaps, they speak to the saints, *tanquam deprecatores, vel potius comprecatores*, as Spalatensis yields[k]; moving them to be competitioners with us to the throne of grace, not properly, but improperly, as Altisiodore construes it[l], how would they have digested that blasphemous psalter of our lady, imputed to Bonaventure, and those styles of mere deification which are given to her[m]; and the division of all

[f] Jos. Scalig. Notis in Nov. Test.

[g] Stap. l. de Author. Scr.

[h] Chrysost. Homil. de Pœnitentia Hom. 4. Which place the margin of the Latin edition of Venice, set forth by the authority of the inquisition, tells us (and we must believe it) makes nothing against invocation of saints.

[i] Vide ibid.

[k] Spalat. l. vii. c. 12. sect. 26. [ut supra, p. 287.]

[l] Gul. Altis. in 4. Sent. &c. [L. iii. Tract. vii.]

[m] Dea, Primas Cœli, &c. præcipe angelis ut nos custodiant.—In Rosar. Canon. Reg. Anonym. Dividunt coram Patre inter se Mater et Filius pietatis officia,....et condunt inter se reconciliationis nostræ inviolabile testamentum.—Arnold. Carnot. de Laudibus 5 Virg. [Ad Calc. Cypriani Opp. ed. Fell. p. 93.]

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offices of piety to mankind betwixt the mother and the Son? How had their ears glowed, to hear *Christus oravit, Franciscus exoravit;* "Christ prayed, Francis prevailed!" How would they have brooked that which Ludovicus Vives freely confesses[n], *Multi Christiani, &c.:* "Many Christians worship *divos divasque,* the saints of both sexes, no otherwise than God himself?" or that which Spalatensis professes to have observed[o], That "the ignorant multitude are carried with more entire religious affection to the blessed Virgin, or some other saint, than to Christ their Saviour?"

These foul superstitions are not more heinous than new, and such as whereon we have justly abhorred to take part with the practisers of them.

SECT. 2.—*Invocation of Saints against Scripture.*

As for the better side of this misopinion, even thus much colour of antiquity were cause enough to suspend our censures, according to that wise and moderate resolution of learned Zanchius[p], were it not, that the Scriptures are so flatly opposite unto it, as that we may justly wonder at that wisdom which hath provided antidotes for a disease, that, of many hundred years after, should have no being in the world.

The ground of this invocation of saints is, their notice of our earthly condition and special devotions. And, behold, *Thou prevailest ever against man, and he passeth: thou changest his countenance, and sendest him away. His sons come to honour, and he knows it not: and they are brought low, and he perceiveth it not;* saith Job, Job xiv. 20, 21. *The dead know nothing at all,* saith wise Solomon, Eccl. ix. 5. *Also, their love, and their hatred, and their envy, is now perished: neither have they any more a portion for ever in any thing that is done under the sun,* v. 6: no portion in any thing; therefore, not in our miseries, not in our allocutions. If we have a portion in them, for their love and prayers in common for the Church; they have no portion in our particularities, whether of want or complaint. *Abraham, our father, is ignorant of us,* saith

[n] Lud. Vives in Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. viii. c. ult.

[o] Nam et plebem rudiorem religiose, &c. Et magis plurimos interne religioso affectu erga beatam Virg. &c. quam erga Christum.—Spalat. de Rep. Eccl. l. vii. c. 12. sect. 28. [ut supra p. 287.]

[p] Ego certe ab antiquitate non recedo, nisi coactus.—Zanc. in Coloss. [c. ii. de Fest. Christ.]

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Isaiah, *and Israel acknowledges us not*, Isa. lxiii. 16. Lo, the father of the faithful, above, knows not his own children, till they come into his bosom; and he that gives them their names is to them as strangers. Wherefore should good Josiah *be gathered to his fathers*, as Huldah tells him; but that his *eyes might not see all the evil which should come upon Jerusalem?* 2 Kings xxii. 20.

We cannot have a better commenter than St. Augustin. "If," saith he[q], "the souls of the dead could be present at the affairs of the living, &c. surely my good mother would no night forsake me, whom, while she lived, she followed both by land and sea. Far be it from me, to think that a happier life hath made her cruel, &c. But, certainly, that which the holy Psalmist tells us, is true, *My father and my mother have forsaken me, but the Lord took me up.* If therefore our parents have left us, how are they present, or do interest themselves in our cares or businesses? and if our parents do not, who else among the dead know what we do or what we suffer? Isaiah the prophet saith, *Thou art our father; for Abraham is ignorant of us, and Israel knows us not:* if so great patriarchs were ignorant, what became of that people which came from their loins, and which, upon their belief, was promised to descend from their stock, how shall the dead have aught to do, either in the knowledge or aid of the affairs or actions of their dearest survivors? How do we say, that God provides mercifully for them who die before the evils come; if, even after their death, they are sensible of the calamities of human life, &c.? How is it then that God promised to good king Josiah, for a great blessing, that he should die beforehand, that he might not see the evils which he threatened to that place and people?" Thus that divine Father.

With whom agrees St. Jerome; *Nec enim possumus, &c.:* "Neither can we," saith he[r], "when this life shall once be dissolved, either enjoy our own labours, or know what shall be done in the world afterwards."

But could the saints of heaven know our actions, yet our hearts they cannot. This is the peculiar skill of their Maker: Thou art the searcher of the hearts and reins, O righteous God: God only knows *abscondita animi, the hidden secrets of the soul*, Ps. vii. 9; xliv. 21; cxxxix. 1, &c.; Prov. xv. 11; xvii. 3; xxiv. 12; Jer.

[q] Aug. de Cura pro Mort. Gerend. c. 13. [Ed. Ben. tom. vi. c. xvi. p. 526.]
[r] Hier. in Eccles. iii. ad fin.

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xi. 20; xvii. 10; xx. 12. Now the heart is the seat of our prayers; the lips do but vent them to the ears of men; Moses said nothing when God said, *Let me alone*, Moses. *O*, therefore, *thou that hearest the prayers, to thee shall all flesh come.* Solomon's argument is irrefragable: *Hear thou in heaven thy dwellingplace, and do, and give to every man according to his ways, whose heart thou knowest; (for thou, even thou only, knowest the hearts of all the children of men;)* 1 Kings viii. 39. He only should be implored that can hear; he only can hear the prayer that knows the heart.

Yet, could they know our secretest desires, it is an honour, that God challengeth as proper to himself, to be invoked in our prayers; *Call upon me in the day of thy trouble: and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me*, Ps. l. 15. *There is one God, and one Mediator betwixt God and man, the Man Jesus Christ*, 1 Tim. ii. 5: one, and no more; not only of redemption, but of intercession also: for, *through him* only *we have access by one Spirit unto the Father*, Eph. ii. 18: and he hath invited us to himself, *Come to me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden.*

SECT. 3.—*Against Reason.*

How absurd therefore is it in reason, when the King of Heaven calls us to him, to run with our petitions to the guard or pages of the court! Had we to do with a finite prince, whose ears must be his best informers, or whose will to help us were justly questionable, we might have reason to present our suits by second hands; but since it is an Omnipresent and Omniscious God with whom we deal, from whom the saints and angels receive all their light and love to his Church, how extreme folly is it, to sue to those courtiers of heaven, and not to come immediately to the throne of grace! That one Mediator *is able*, and willing also, *to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them*, Heb. vii. 25.

Besides, how uncertain must our devotions needs be, when we can have no possible assurance of their audience! for who can know that a saint hears him? That God ever hears us, we are as sure, as we are unsure to be heard of saints. Nay, we are sure we cannot be all heard of them; for what finite nature can divide itself betwixt ten thousand suppliants, at one instant, in several regions of the world, much less impart itself whole to each? Either, therefore, we must turn the saints into so many deities,

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or we must yield that some of our prayers are unheard; and, *whatsoever is not of faith is sin.*

As for that heavenly glass of St. Gregory, wherein the saints see us and our suits, confuted long since by Hugo de Sancto Victore[s], it is as pleasing a fiction, as if we imagined therefore to see all the corners of the earth, because we see that sun which sees them. And the same eyes that see in God the particular necessities of his saints below, see in the same God such infinite grace and mercy for their relief, as may save the labour of their reflecting upon that divine mirror in their special intercession.

This doctrine therefore and practice of the Romish invocation of saints, both as new and erroneous, against Scripture and reason, we have justly rejected, and are thereupon ejected as unjustly.

CHAP. XV.

The Newness of Seven Sacraments.

The late Council of Florence, indeed, insinuates this number of seven sacraments, as Suarez contends[t]; but the later Council of Trent determines it[u], *Si quis dixerit aut plura, &c.:* "If any man shall say, that there are either more or fewer sacraments than seven, viz. baptism, confirmation, &c., or that any of these is not truly and properly a sacrament, let him be anathema."

It is not more plain, that in Scripture there is no mention of sacraments, than that in the Fathers there is no mention of seven. Cardinal Bellarmine's evasion, That the Scripture and Fathers wrote no Catechism, is poor and ridiculous: no more did the Councils of Florence and Trent; and yet there the number is reckoned and defined.

So as the word *sacrament* may be taken for any holy significant rite, there may be as well seventy as seven; so strictly as it may be and is taken by us, there can no more be seven than seventy.

This determination of the number is so late, that Cassander is forced to confess[x], *Nec temere, &c.:* "You shall not easily find any man, before Peter Lombard, which hath set down any certain and definite number of sacraments."

And this observation is so just, that upon the challenges of our writers, no one author hath been produced by the Roman doctors

[s] Hugo de Sancto Vict. de Sacr. l. ii. [pars xvi. c. 11.]

[t] Summa [Concil.] Caranzæ, &c. [Rothom. 1633. p. 867.]

[u] Concil. Trid. sess. 7. Can. 1. [Bin. t. iv. p. 813.]

[x] Cassand. Consult. art. 13. de Numero Sacr. [Colon. 1577. p. 97.]

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for the disproof of it, elder than Hugo, and the said Master of Sentences.

But numbers are ceremonies. Both Luther[y] and Philip Melancthon[z] profess, they stand not much upon them. It is the number numbered, which is the thing itself misrelated into that sacred order, that we stick at. There we find, that none but Christ can make a sacrament; for none but he who can give grace can ordain a sign and seal of grace.

Now it is evident enough, that these adscititious sacraments were never of Christ's institution. So was not confirmation, as our Alexander of Hales[a] and Holcot[b]. So was not matrimony, as Durand. So was not extreme unction, as Hugo, Lombard, Bonaventure, Halensis, Altisiodore, by the confession of their Suarez[c]. These were ancient rites, but they are new sacraments. All of them have their allowed and profitable use in God's Church, though not in so high a nature; except that of extreme unction; which as it is an apish misimitation of that extraordinary course which the apostolic times used in their cures of the sick, so it is grossly misapplied to other purposes than were intended in the first institution. Then it was, *Ungebant et sanabant*, Mark vi. 13; James v. 14; the oil miraculously conferring bodily recovery; but now, *Non nisi in mortis articulo adhibetur*, "It is not used but upon the very point of death;" as[d] Cajetan and Cassander[e] confess, and all experience manifests; and, by Felix the Fourth, drawn to a necessity of address to eternal life[f].

SECT. 2.—*Seven Sacraments, beside Scripture.*

Not to scan particulars, which all yield ample exceptions, but to wind them all up in one bottom; whosoever shall look into the Scripture shall find it apparent, that as in the time of man's innocence there were but two sacraments, the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge, so, before and under the Law, however they

[y] Luther. de Captivit. Babyl. [Opp. Jenæ, 1566. t. ii. 278.]

[z] In Loc. Com. Cassand. ibid. Thus all antiquity runs upon two. Clem. Recognit. l. i. [Col. Agr. 1570.] Justin. Apol. 1. Tertull. de Coron. Milit. [cap. iii.] et ad Scapulam. Cypr. l. ii. Epist i. [Ep. lxxii. Par. 1726. p. 128.] Cyril. Hierosol. in Catech. Ambros. [Ep. 54. Opp. 1684. t. i.] August. &c. [Suarez. Qu. lxv. art. 1.]

[a] [Alex. Halens. Summa pars iv. Qu. v. Colon. 1622. t. iv. p. 86.]

[b] [Holcot. iv. Libb. Sent. l. iv. qu. 2.]

[c] Suar. tom. iv. dis. 39. s. 2. [Opp. t. iv. p. 571.] Vid. Mort. Appell. l. ii. c. 26. sect. 5. [i. e. Morton's Catholike Appeale for Protestants. Lond. 1609. p. 338.]

[d] [In Epist. Jac. v. 14.]

[e] [Consult. xxii.]

[f] Franc. Jun. Animadv. in Bellarm. l. de Verb. Dei. 4. [c. 3.]

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had infinite rites, yet, in the proper sense, they had but two sacraments, the same, in effect, with those under the Gospel: the one, the sacrament of initiation, which was their circumcision, paralleled by that baptism which succeeded it; the other, the sacrament of our holy communion, that spiritual meat and drink which was their paschal Lamb, and manna, and water from the rock; prefiguring the true Lamb of God, and Bread of Life, and Blood of our Redemption.

The great apostle of the Gentiles, that well knew the analogy, hath compared both: *Moreover, brethren, I would not have you ignorant, how that all our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea; and all were baptized in the cloud and in the sea; and all did eat the same spiritual meat; and all did drink the same spiritual drink: for they drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them: and that Rock was Christ,* 1 Cor. x. 1–4.

What is this, in any just construction, but that the same two sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, which we celebrate under the Gospel, were the very same with those which were celebrated by God's ancient people under the Law: they two, and no more; *Hoc facite, Do this,* is our warrant for the one; and, *Ite, baptizate, &c. Go, teach and baptize,* for the other. There is deep silence in the rest.

SECT. 3.—*Against Reason.*

In reason, it must be yielded, that no man hath power to set to a seal, but he whose the writing is.

Sacraments, then, being the seals of God's gracious evidences, whereby he hath conveyed to us eternal life, can be instituted by no other than the same power that can assure and perform life to his creature.

In every sacrament, therefore, must be a divine institution and command of an element, that signifies; of a grace, that is signified; of a word, adjoined to that element; of an holy act, adjoined to that word. Where these concur not, there can be no true sacrament: and they are palpably missing in these five adjections of the church of Rome.

Lastly; the sacraments of the new law, as St. Austin often, flowed out of the side of Christ. None flowed thence but the sacrament of water, which is baptism; and the sacrament of blood, in the supper: whereof the author saith, *This cup is the*

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new testament in my blood, which is shed for you. The rest, never flowing either from the side or from the lips of Christ, are, as new and misnamed sacraments, justly rejected by us; and we, thereupon, as unjustly censured.

CHAP. XVI.

The Newness of the Doctrine of Traditions.

The chief ground of these and all other errors in the church of Rome, is, the over-valuing of traditions; which the Tridentine synod professeth to receive and reverence[g] with no less pious affection than the Books of the Old and New Testament; and that, not in matter of rite and history only, but of faith and manners also[h].

Wherein, as they are not unwilling to cast a kind of imputation of imperfection upon the written word; so they make up the defects of it by the supply of unwritten traditions: to which indeed they are more beholden for the warrant of the greater part of their superadded articles than to the Scriptures of God.

Both which are points so dangerously envious, as that antiquity would have abhorred their mention.

Neither is any thing more common with the holy Fathers of the Church, than the magnifying the complete perfection of Scripture, in all things needful, either to be believed or done.

What can be more full and clear than that of St. Austin[i]: *In his, quæ aperte &c.*: "In these things, which are openly laid forth in Scripture, are found all matters that contain either faith or manners?" Cardinal Bellarmine's elusion[k] is not a little prejudicial to his own cause. He tells us, that St. Austin speaks of those points which are simply necessary to salvation for all men: all which he acknowledges to be written by the apostles: "But, besides these, there are many other things," saith he, "which we have only by tradition." Will it not, therefore, hence follow, that the common sort of Christians need not look at his traditions? that, commonly, men may be saved without them? that heaven may be attained, though there were no traditions? Who will not now say, "Let me come to heaven by Scripture: go you, whither

[g] Concil. Trid. sess. 4.

[h] In his rebus, de quibus nihil certi statuit Scriptura Divina, mos populi Dei vel instituta majorum pro lege tenenda sunt.—August. Epist. 86. [36. in ed. Ben. t. ii. col. 68.]

[i] Aug. l. ii. de Doctrina Christ. c. 9. In iis, quæ aperte in Scripturis posita sunt, inveniuntur illa omnia, quæ continent fidem moresque vivendi. [t. iii. col. 24.]

[k] Bell. de Verb. Dei, l. iv. c. 11.

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you will, by traditions?" To which add, that a great, yea the greater part, if we may believe some of their own, of that which they call religion, is grounded upon only tradition. If, then, tradition be only of such things as are not simply necessary to salvation, then the greater part of their misnamed religion must needs be yielded for simply unnecessary to all men: and if we may be saved without them, and be made citizens of heaven; how much more may we, without them, be members of the true Church on earth! As for this place, St. Augustin's words are full and comprehensive; expressing all those things which contain either faith or manners, whether concerning governors or people. If now they can find out any thing that belongs not either to belief or action, we do willingly give it up to their traditions; but all things which pertain to either of those are openly comprised in Scripture.

What can be more direct than that of holy Athanasius[l]? *αὐτάρκεις μὲν γάρ εἰσιν*, &c.: "The holy Scriptures, inspired by God, are in themselves all-sufficient to the instruction of truth:" and if Chemnitius[m] construe it, "all truth," this needs not raise a cavil. The word signifies no less: for if they be all-sufficient to instruction, they must needs be sufficient to all instruction in the truth intended.

Tertullian professes openly[n], *Adoro Scripturæ plenitudinem, &c.*: "I adore the fulness of Scripture. Let the skill of Hermogenes show where it is written: if it be not written, let him fear that woe which is pronounced against those that add or detract." Thus he. Who can but fear, that the cardinal shifts this evidence against his own heart? "For," saith he, "Tertullian speaks of that one point, That God created all things of nothing, and not of a preexistent matter, as Hermogenes dreamed: now because this truth is clearly expressed in Scripture, therefore the fulness of Scripture, as concerning this point, is adored by Tertullian; and, for that Hermogenes held another opinion contrary to Scripture, he is said to add unto Scripture, and to incur that malediction." Now let any reader of common sense judge whether the words of Tertullian be not general, without any limitation: and if the first clause could be restrained, the second

[l] Athanas. lib. contra Gent.; initio. *αὐτάρκεις μὲν γάρ εἰσιν αἱ ἁγίαι καὶ θεόπνευστοι γραφαὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀναγγελίαν*, &c. "Sufficiunt per se," vertit Nannius. [Heidelb. 1601. p. 1.]

[m] [Ad omnem instructionem veritatis.—Exam. Conc. Trid. Genev. 1634. p. 39.]

[n] Tert. lib. advers. Hermogenem. [c. xxii.]

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cannot; *Scriptum esse doceat, &c.* Whatsoever therefore is not written, by this rule may not be obtruded to our belief. Neither doth he say, "If it be written against;" but, "If it be not written:" and his challenge is, *nusquam legi*, that, "the words are nowhere read;" as if this were quarrel enough, without a flat contradiction to what is read. So as the cardinal's gloss merely corrupts the text.

How easy were it for me to tire my reader with the full suffrages of Origen, Cyprian, Chrysostom, Basil, Cyril, Epiphanius, Jerome, Ambrose, Theodoret, Hilary, Vincentius Lirinensis, and, in a word, with the whole stream of antiquity! which though they give a meet place to traditions of ceremony, of history, of interpretation, of some immaterial verities, yet reserve the due honour to the sacred monuments of divine Scriptures.

Our learned Chemnitius hath freely yielded seven sorts of traditions, such as have a correspondence with, or an attestation from the written word: the rest we do justly, together with him, disclaim; as unworthy to appear upon that awful bench, amongst the inspired penmen of God.

SECT. 2.—*Traditions, against Scripture.*

It is not to be imagined, that the same word of God which speaks for all other truths should not speak for itself.

How fully doth it display its own sufficiency and perfection! *All Scripture*, saith the Chosen Vessel, *is given by inspiration of God; and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness*; 2 Tim. iii. 16. "*Profitable*," saith the cardinal[o], "but not sufficient. Many things may avail to that end whereto they suffice not: so, meat is profitable to nourish; but without natural heat it nourisheth not." Thus he. Hear yet what followeth; *that the man of God may be perfected, and thoroughly furnished unto all good works*; 2 Tim. iii. 17. Lo, it is so profitable to all these services, that thereby it perfects a divine; much more an ordinary Christian. That which is so profitable as to cause perfection is abundantly sufficient, and must needs have full perfection in itself. That which can perfect the teacher is sufficient for the learner. The Scriptures can perfect the man of God; both for his calling in the instruction of others, and for his own glory.

[o] Bellarm. de Verbo Dei, l. iv. c. 10. [Ingolst. 1596. t. i. p. 243.]

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Thou hast known the Scriptures from a child, saith St. Paul to his Timothy; *which are able,* not profitable only, *to make thee wise unto salvation, through faith, which is in Christ Jesus;* 2 Tim. iii. 15. It is the charge, therefore, of the apostle, *not to be wise above that which is written:* the same with wise Solomon's, *The whole word of God is pure. Add thou not unto his words, lest he reprove thee, and thou be found a liar;* Prov. xxx. 5, 6. Lo, he saith not, "Oppose not his words;" but, *Add not to them;* even addition detracts from the majesty of that word; for, *The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul: the testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the simple. The statutes of the Lord are right, rejoicing the heart: the commandment of the Lord is pure, enlightening the eyes;* Psalm xix. 7, 8.

As for those traditions which they do thus lift up to an unjust competition with the written word, our Saviour hath beforehand humbled them into the dust: *In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men,* Matt. xv. 9. Making this a sufficient cause of abhorring, both the persons and the services of those Jews, that they thrust human traditions into God's chair, and respected them equally with the institutions of God. Cardinal Bellarmine would shift it off with a distinction of traditions: "These were such," saith he, *quas acceperant a recentioribus &c.:* "as they had received from some later hands: whereof some were vain; some others pernicious: not such as they received from Moses and the prophets." And the authors of these rejected traditions he cites from Epiphanius[p], to be R. Akiba, R. Juda, and the Asamoneans; from Jerome[q], to be Sammai, Hillel, Akiba. But this is to cast a mist before the eyes of the simple: for who sees not that our Saviour's challenge is general; to traditions thus advanced, not to these or those traditions? And where he speaks of some later hands, he had forgotten that our Saviour, upon the Mount tells him, ἐρρέθη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις; Matt. v. 21, 27, 33: that these faulted traditions were *of old.* And that he may not cast these upon his Sammai and Hillel, let him remember, that our Saviour cites this out of Isaiah, though with some more clearness of expression, who far

[p] Epiphan. in Hæres. Ptolom. [l. i. t. ii. § 9. Αἱ γὰρ παραδόσεις τῶν πρεσβυτέρων &c.]

[q] Hieron. in c. 8. Isa. [Opp. 1704. t. iii. col 79.] et in Epist. ad Algas. q. 10. [ibid. t. iv. col. 20.]

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overlooked the times of those pretended fathers of mistraditions: that I may not say, how much it would trouble him to show any dogmatical traditions that were derived from Moses and the prophets. In parallel whereof, let them be able to deduce any evangelical tradition from the apostles, and we are ready to embrace it, with all observance. Shortly, it is clear that our Saviour never meant to compare one tradition with another, as approving some, rejecting others; but with indignation complains, that traditions were obtruded to God's people in a corrivality with the written word: which is the very point now questioned.

SECT. 3.—*Traditions, against Reason.*

Even the very light of reason shows us, that, as there is a God, so that he is a most wise and most just God.

Needs therefore must it follow, that, if this most just and wise God will give a word, whereby to reveal himself and his will to mankind, it must be a perfect word: for as his wisdom knows what is fit for his creature to know of himself, so his justice will require nothing of the creature but what he hath enabled him to know and do. Now then, since he requires us to know him, to obey him, it must needs follow, that he hath left us so exquisite a rule of this knowledge and obedience, as cannot admit of any defect or any supplement. This rule can be no other than his written word: therefore written, that it might be preserved entire, for this purpose, to the last date of time.

As for oral traditions, what certainty can there be in them? What foundation of truth can be laid upon the breath of man? How do we see the reports vary of those things which our eyes have seen done! how do they multiply in their passage, and either grow or die upon hazards!

Lastly, we think him not an honest man whose tongue goes against his own hand. How heinous an imputation then do they cast upon the God of truth, which plead traditions derived from him, contrary to his written word! Such, apparently, are the worship of images, the mutilation of the sacrament, purgatory, indulgences, and the rest which have passed our agitation.

Since, therefore, the authority of Romish traditions, is, besides novelty, erroneous; against Scripture and reason; we have justly abandoned it; and are thereupon unjustly condemned.

As for those other dangerous and important innovations concerning scriptures, their canon enlarged, their faulty version

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made authentical, their fountains pretended to be corrupted, their mispleaded obscurity, their restraint from the laity, we have already largely displayed them in another place[r].

CHAP. XVII.

The Newness of the Universal Headship of the Bishop of Rome.

Those transcendent titles of headship and universality, which are challenged to the bishop and see of Rome, are known to be the upstart brood of noted ambition[s]. Simple and holy antiquity was too modest either to require or tolerate them.

Who knows not the profession of that holy martyr in the council of Carthage[t]? *Neque, enim, &c.:* "There is none of us that makes himself a bishop of bishops; or, by a tyrannous fear, compels his underlings to a necessity of obedience."

But perhaps at Rome it was otherwise:—Hear then with what zeal their own pope, Gregory the Great, inveighs[u] against the arrogance of John, bishop of Constantinople, for giving way to this proud style. His epistles are extant in all hands; so clear and convictive, as no art of sophistry can elude them: wherein he calls this title (affected by the said John, and Syriacus after him), "a new name, a wicked, profane, insolent name, the general plague of the Church, a corruption of the faith, against canons, against the apostle Peter, against God himself[x];" as if he could never have branded it enough.

And, lest any man should cavil that this style is only cried down in the bishops of Constantinople, which yet might be justly claimed by the bishops of Rome; Gregory himself meets with this thought, and answers beforehand[y], *Nunquam pium virum, &c.:* that "Never any godly man, never any of his predecessors, used those titles;" and, more than so, that "whosoever shall use this proud style, he is the very forerunner of antichrist." If, in a

[r] "Serious Dissuasive &c."

[s] Hæreseos mater est principatus cupiditas. [ἡ γὰρ τῶν αἱρέσεων μήτηρ ἡ τῆς φιλαρχίας ἐστὶν ἐπιθυμία.]—Chrysost. in Gal. v.

[t] Neque, enim, quisquam nostram Episcopum Episcoporum se [esse] constituit; aut, tyrannico terrore, ad obsequendi necessitatem suos [collegas] adigit.—Oratt. Cypr. in Syn.

[u] Greg. Epist. l. iv. Epist. 32. et 34. et l. vi. Epist. 24. [et l. v. Ep. 21. ed. 1705.]

[x] Novum, scelestum, profanum, [Nefandum elationis vocabulum] &c.—Et l. iv. Epist. 38, 39, &c. [l. v. Ep. 18.]

[y] Nunquam pium virum hujusmodi titulis usum esse, &c. nullum prædecessorum meorum, &c.

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foresight of this usurpation, Gregory should have been hired to have spoken for us, against the pride of his following successors; he could not have set a keener edge upon his style.

Consonant whereto, it is yet extant in the very canon law, as quoted by Gratian out of the epistle of pope Pelagius the Second[z], *Universalis autem nec etiam Romanus Pontifex appelletur:* "Not the bishop of Rome himself may be called universal."

Yet how famously is it known to all the world, that the same Gregory's next successor save one, Boniface the Third, obtained this title of universal bishop from the emperor Phocas; which the said emperor gave him, in a spleen against Cyriacus, patriarch of Constantinople, for delivering Constantina, the wife of Mauritius and her children[a]; or, as some others relate it, upon a worse occasion! And, accordingly, was this haughty title communicated by the same power to the see of Rome; and by strong hand ever since maintained.

This qualification, their registrar Platina confesses[b], was procured, not without great contention. And Otho Frisingensis fully and ingenuously writeth thus[c]: "Gregory departed hence to the Lord: after whom, the next save one, Boniface, obtained of Phocas, that by his authority the Roman church might be called the head of all churches: for at that time the see of Constantinople (I suppose, because of the seat of the empire translated thither) wrote herself the first." Thus their bishop Otho.

Now, if any man shall think that hence it will yet follow, that the see of Rome had formerly enjoyed this honour, however the Constantinopolitan for the present shouldered with her for it, let him know the ground of both their challenges: which, as it was supposed by Otho, so is fully, for the satisfaction of any indifferent judgment, laid forth in the general council of Chalcedon. "The same," say those fathers[d], "we determine of the privileges of the most holy church of Constantinople, called New Rome. For the fathers have justly heretofore given privilege to the throne of Old Rome, because that city was then the governess of the world: and upon the same consideration were the hundred

[z] Pelag. II. Omnibus Episcopis illicite a Joan. [Constantinop. et Gratian.] Decret. p. 1. Dist. 99. c. 4. Nullus, &c.

[a] Baron. An. 606. [Lucæ. 1742. t. xi. p. 80.]

[b] Plat. in Vita Bonif. III. [Colon. 1593. p. 86.]

[c] Gregorius migravit ad Dominum, &c. A quo, &c. ut, ipsius authoritate, &c.—Otho Frising. l. v. c. 8. [Basil. 1569. p. 97.]

[d] Concil. [Chalced.] v. Gener. Act. 15. [Can. 28.]

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and fifty bishops, men beloved of God, moved to yield equal privileges to the throne of New Rome; rightly judging that this city, which is honoured with the empire and senate, and is equally privileged with Old Rome, the then queen of the world, should also, in ecclesiastical matters, be no less extolled and magnified." Thus they.

And this act is subscribed, *Bonifacius, presbyter ecclesiæ Romanæ, statui et subscripsi:* "I, Boniface, presbyter of the church of Rome, have so determined and subscribed:" *Et cæteri, &c.* And the rest of the bishops of divers provinces and cities subscribed.

What can be more plain? This headship of the bishop was in regard of the see; and this headship of the see was in regard of the preeminence of the city; which was variable, according to the changes of times or choice of emperors.

But Binius wrangleth here. Can we blame him when the freehold of their great mistress is so nearly touched? "This act," saith he[e], "was not synodical, as that which was closely and cunningly done in the absence of the pope's legates, and other orthodox bishops, at the instance of Anatolius, patriarch of Constantinople, an ambitious man, by the eastern bishops only." How can this plea stand with his own confessed subscription? Besides, that their Caranza, in his abridgment, shows[f] that this point was long and vehemently canvassed in that council between Lucentius and Boniface, legates of the Roman church, and the rest of the bishops; and at last so concluded as we have related; not indeed without the protestation of the said legates [g], *nobis præsentibus, &c.:* "the apostolic see must not, in our presence, be abased." Notwithstanding, this act then carried; and after this, pope Simplicius, succeeding to Hilarius, made a decree to the same purpose, not without allusion to this contention for precedency, that Rome should take place of Constantinople[h].

Yea, so utterly unthought of was this absolute primacy and headship of old; as that, when the Roman dition was brought down to a dukedom, and subjected to the exarchate of Ravenna, the archbishop of Ravenna, upon the very same grounds, stuck

[e] Sever. Bin. in Notis Concil. Chalced.

[f] Caranz. Epitom. Concil. [Lugd. 1587. f. 193 b.]

[g] Sedes Apostolica, nobis præsentibus, humiliari non debet.—Ibid. [f. 194 b.]

[h] Constantinopolitano Episcopo damnato, Ecclesiarum omnium primam esse Romanam [declaravit.]—Caranz. Epit. Concil. [Decreta Simplicii, ibid. f. 196.]

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not, as Blondus tells us, to strive with the bishop of Rome for priority of place. So necessarily was the rising or fall of the episcopal chair annexed to the condition of that city wherein it was fixed.

But in all this, we well see what it is that was stood upon, an arbitrable precedency of these churches in a priority of order.

And according thereunto, the bishop of Rome[i] is determined to be *primæ sedis episcopus*, "the bishop of the first see:" a style which our late learned sovereign professed, with Justitian, not to grudge unto the modern bishops of that see.

But as for a primacy of sovereignty over all churches, and such an headship as should inform and enliven the body, and govern it with infallible influences[k]; it is so new and hateful, as that the church in all ages hath opposed it to the utmost: neither will it be endured at this day by the Greek Church; notwithstanding the colourable pretence of subscription hereunto by their dying patriarch Joseph of Constantinople, in the late Florentine Council[l], and the letters of union subscribed by them anno 1539.

Yea, so far is it from that, as that their emperor Michael Paleologus, for yielding a kind of subjection of the Eastern bishops to the Roman, would not be allowed the honour of Christian burial, as Æmylius hath recorded[m]. And in our time Basilius, the emperor of Russia, which challengeth no small part in the Greek church, threatened to the pope's legate, as I have been informed, an infamous death and burial, if he offered to set foot in his dominions, out of a jealous hate of this usurpation.

SECT. 2.—*The Newness of challenged Infallibility.*

The particularities of this new arrogation of Rome are so many, that they cannot be pent up in any strait room. I will only instance in some few.

The pope's infallibility of judgment is such a paradox, as the very histories of all times and proceedings of the Church do sufficiently convince.

For to what purpose had all councils been called, even of the

[i] Decr. p. 1. d. 99. [Cap. iii. Par. 1612. col. 521.] πρεσβίας privilegium concessum a Justiniano.—Sancimus senioris Romæ papam primum esse omnium Sacerdotum.—[Justin. Novellæ. Constit. 131. cap. 2. Antv. 1575. p. 212.] Prærog. ante alios residendi. Cod. de sacros Eccl. decernimus.

[k] Influentia vitæ. Capistran. Influentia regiminis. August. Triumph.

[l] Bin. in Concil. Florent. [tom. iv. p. 474.]

[m] P. Æmyl. Hist. Gall. [de reb. gest. Franc. Bas. 1601. p. 246.]

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remotest bishops; to what purpose were the agitations of all controversial causes in those assemblies, as Erasmus justly observes, if this opinion had then obtained?

Or, how came it about that the sentences of some bishops of Rome were opposed by other sees, by the successors of their own, by Christian academies, if this conceit had formerly passed for current with the world?

How came it to pass that whole councils have censured and condemned some bishops of Rome for manifest heresies, if they were persuaded beforehand of the impossibility of those errors? Not to speak of Honorius, of Liberius, and others; the Council of Basil shall be the voice of common observation; *Multi pontifices, &c.*: "Many popes," say they[n], "are recorded to have fallen into errors and heresies."

Either all stories mock us, or else this parasitical dream of impeccancy in judgment is a mere stranger; and his disguise is so foul, that it is no marvel if *Errare non possum*, "I cannot err," seemed to Eberhardus, bishop of Saltzburgh[o], no other than the suit of an antichrist.

SECT. 3.—*The Newness of the Pope's Superiority to General Councils.*

How bold and dangerous a novelty is that which cardinal Bellarmine, and with him the whole society, and all the late fautors of that see (after the Florentine synod), stick not to avouch[p]! *Summus Pontifex, &c.*: "The pope is absolutely above the whole Church, and above a general council, so as he acknowledges no judge on earth over himself."

How would this have relished with those well near a thousand fathers in the Council of Constance, who punctually determined thus[q]; *Ipsa synodus, &c.*: "The synod, lawfully assembled in the Holy Ghost, making a general council representing the Catholic Church militant upon earth, hath immediately power from Christ; whereunto every man, whosoever he be, of what state or dignity soever, although he be the pope himself, is bound to obey in those things which pertain to faith or to the extirpation of schism."

[n] Multi [nonnulli] pontifices in errores et hæreses lapsi esse [dicuntur et] leguntur.—Concil. Basil. in Ep. Synod. [Bin. t. iv. p. 103.]

[o] Aventin. [Annal. Boio.] l. vii. [Basil. 1615. p. 420.]

[p] Bell. de Concil. l. ii. c. 17. [t. ii. 120.]

[q] Concil. Const. sess. 4. et 5. Caranz. [Summa Concill. f. 436 b.] anno 1415.

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And fifteen years after that[r], the general Council of Basil, wherein was president Julianus, cardinal of St. Angelo, the pope's legate, defined the same matter in the same words.

It is no marvel if cardinal Bellarmine, and some others of that strain, reject these as unlawful councils. But they cannot deny, first, that this decree was made by both of them; secondly, that the divines there assembled were in their allowance catholic doctors, and such as in other points adhered to the Roman church; insomuch as they were the men by whose sentence John Huss and Jerome suffered no less than death; and yet, even so lately, did these numerous divines, in the voice of the Church, define the superiority of a council above the pope.

What speak we of this, when we find that the bishops of the east excommunicated in their assembly Julius, the bishop of Rome himself, amongst others, without scruple, as Sozomen reporteth[s].

How ill would this doctrine or practice now be endured! Insomuch as Gregory[t] of Valence dare confidently say, that whosoever he be that makes a council superior to the pope, fights directly, though unawares, against that most certain point of faith, concerning St. Peter's and the Roman bishop's primacy in the Church.

SECT. 4.—*The New Presumption of Papal Dispensations.*

From the opinion of this supereminent power hath flowed that common course of dispensations with the canons and decrees of councils, which hath been of late a great eyesore to moderate beholders.

Franciscus à Victoria makes a woful complaint of it[u], professing to doubt whether in the end of the year there be more that have leave by this means to break the laws, than those that are tied to keep them: thereupon wishing, for remedy, that there were a restraint made of those now-boundless dispensations; and at last, objecting to himself that such a decree of restriction would be new, and not heard of in any former council, he answers, *Tempore conciliorum antiquorum, &c.:* "In the time of the ancient councils popes were like to the other fathers of those councils, so as there was no need of any act for holding them back from this immoderate license of dispensing; yea, if we do well turn over the laws

[r] Anno 1431. [sessio ii. cap. 3.]

[s] Sozom. l. iii. c. 11. [Cantab. 1720. p. 107.]

[t] [De rebus fidei controversis; analysis fidei Cathol. lib. viii. cap. 7. Lugd. 1591. p. 87. col. 1.]

[u] Fr. Victor. Relect. [IV.] de Potest. Papæ et Concil. [Lugd. 1586.] pp. [149,] 151.

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and histories of the ancient we shall find, that popes did not presume so easily and commonly to dispense with the decrees of councils, but observed them as the oracles of God himself; yea, not only did they forbear to do it ordinarily, but perhaps not once did they ever dispense at all against the decrees of councils; but now," saith he, "by little and little are we grown to this intemperance of dispensations, and to such an estate, as that we can neither abide our mischiefs nor our remedies." Thus that learned Spaniard, in an honest confession of the degenerate courses of the late popes from the simple integrity of their predecessors.

What should I add unto these, the presumptuous dispensations with vows and oaths, with the laws of God himself, with the law of nature? a privilege, ordinarily both yielded and defended by flattering canonists[x]; and that which meets with us at every turn in Hostiensis, Archidiaconus, Felinus, Capistranus, Triumphus, Angelus de Clavasio, Petrus de Ancorano, Panormitan; as is largely particularized by our learned bishop of Derry[y].

SECT. 5. — *The New Challenge of Popes' domineering over Kings and Emperors.*

I may well shut up this scene with that notorious innovation of the pope's subducing himself from the due obedience of his once-acknowledged lord and sovereign, and endeavouring to reduce all those imperial powers to his homage and obedience.

The time was when pope Gregory could say to Mauritius[z], *Vobis obedientiam præbere desidero*, "I desire to give you due obedience;" and when pope Leo came with cap and knee to Theodosius, for a synod to be called, with *Clementia vestra concedat*, as cardinal Cusanus cites it from the history.

The time was when *Nemo Apostolicæ, &c.*: "No man did offer to take upon him the steering of the apostolic bark, till the authority of the emperor had designed him;" as their Balbus, out of their own law[a]. That of pope Gregory is plain enough: *Ecce*,

[x] Pontificalis authoritas a juramento fidelitatis absolvit.—Decr. p. 2. causa 15. qu. 6. cap. 3. Alius. [Par. 1612. col. 1177.] Almain de Potest. Eccl. c. 13. [Papa non potest in lege pure naturali, aut divina dispensare aut revocare.] ἄχρι τοῦ μὴ ἐνιορκεῖν was the rule of old.

[y] [Downham.] Papa Antichristus, Diatrib. iv. c. 9. [Lond. 1620. pp. 303-6.]

[z] Greg. [lib. v. Ep. 20, olim] l. iv. Ep. 32. [tom. ii. col 749.] et serenissimis jussionibus obedientiam præbeo.—Ibid. [col. 748.]

[a] Hieron. Balb. de Coron. [Bonon. 1530. f. 22b.]

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serenissimus, &c.: "Behold," saith he[b], speaking of his own advancement to the bishopric of Rome, "our gracious lord, the emperor, hath commanded an ape to be made a lion: and surely at his command it may be called a lion, but it cannot be one: so as he must needs lay all my faults and negligences, not upon me, but upon his own piety, which hath committed this ministry of power to so weak an agent[c]."

The time was when the popes of Rome dated their apostolic letters with the style of the reign of their lords the emperors[d]; now, ever since pope Paschal, they care only to note the year of their own apostleship or papacy[e].

The time was when the holy bishops of that see professed to succeed St. Peter, in homely simplicity, in humble obedience, in piety, in zeal, in preaching, in tears, in sufferings: now, since the case is altered, the world sees and blushes at the change. For now[f], *Quanta inter solem et lunam, &c.:* "Look, how much the sun is bigger than the moon, so much is the papal power greater than the imperial." Now, *Papa est Dominus imperatoris:* "the pope is the emperor's lord;" saith their Capistranus[g]: and "the emperor is subject to the pope, as his minister or servant," saith Triumphus[h].

And, lest this should seem the fashionable word of some clawing canonist only, hear what pope Adrian himself saith[i]: *Unde habet, &c.:* "Whence hath the emperor his empire, but from us? all that he hath he hath wholly from us. Behold, it is in our power to give it to whom we list."

And to the same purpose is that of pope Innocent the Fourth[k]: *Imperator est advocatus, &c.:* "the emperor is the pope's advocate; and swears to him; and holds his empire of him."

[b] Ecce, serenissimus dominus, Imperator, fieri simiam leonem jussit, &c.—Greg. [lib. i.] Ep. 5.

[c] Qui virtutis ministerium infirmo commisit.—Ibid.

[d] Guicciard. l. iv. Hist.—Imperante Carolo, domino nostro.

[e] Paschalis, anno Evangelii 1070, primus, omissis Imperatoris annis, sui pontificatus annos subscripsit. In data autem dicitur, loco Pontificatus nostri, Suscepti a nobis Apostolatus officii anno 1. Sacr. Cærem. [Ven. 1582. fol. 12b.]

[f] Greg. [ix.] l. i. [Tit. xxxiii. c. 6.] de Major. et Obed. ex Innoc.

[g] Capistr. 77.

[h] Aug. Triumph. q. 44. [art.] 1. [1582. p. 240. et Concil. auct. Ven. 1580. fol. 1b.]

[i] Vid. Diatr. Derens. Episc. l. iv. c. 3. sect. 2. [p. 257.]—Unde habet Imperator Imperium, nisi a nobis? Imperator quod habet, totum habet a nobis. Ecce, in potestate nostra est, ut demus illud cui volumus.—Hadrian. Epist. apud Aventin. l. vi. [Basil. 1615. p. 390. above.]

[k] Innoc. IV. in cap.—Licet de foro compet.

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But perhaps this place is yet too high for an emperor; a lower will serve[l]: *Fit canonicus, &c.*: "the emperor is," of course, "made a canon," and brother of the church of Lateran.

Yet lower, he shall be the sewer of his holiness's table, and set on the first dish, and hold the bason for his hands[m].

Yet lower, he shall be the trainbearer to the pope in his walking processions[n]; he shall be the equerry of his stable, and hold his stirrup in getting upon his horse[o]; he shall be, lastly, his very porter, to carry his holiness on his shoulder[p]: and all this, not out of will, but out of duty.

Where now is *Augustus, ab Augendo*, as Almain derives him[q], when he suffers himself thus diminished? Although there is more wonder in the other's exaltation: *Papæ!* Men are too base to enter into comparison with him. "His authority is more than of the saints in heaven," saith one: yet more, "He excelleth the angels in his jurisdiction," saith another: yet, more once, "The pope seems to make one and the same consistory with God himself:" and, which comprehends all the rest, *Tu es omnia, et super omnia*; "Thou art all, and above all;" as the council of Lateran under Julius.

O strange alteration, that the great commanders of the world should be made the drudges of their subjects! that order and sovereignty should lose themselves in a pretence of piety! that the professed successor of him that said, *Gold and silver have I none*, should thus trample upon crowns! that a poor silly worm of the earth should raise up itself above all that is called God, and offer to crawl into the glorious throne of heaven!

CHAP. XVIII.

The Epilogue, both of Exhortation and Apology.

Not to weary my reader with more particularities of innovation, let now all Christians know and be assured, that such change as they sensibly find in the head, they may as truly, though not so

[l] Libr. Sacr. Cærem. [see Downham's Diatr. p. 261.]

[m] Etiam Imperator aut Rex aquam ad lavandas [Pontificis] manus primo ferat. Primum ferculum [portabit nobilior princeps, sive Imperator sive Rex sit.—Ibid. ff. 31, 32.]

[n] Ib. [Downham's Diatrib. p. 261.]

[o] Stapham equi papalis tenet, &c.—Ibid. [f. 27.]

[p] Sellam ipsam cum Pontifice humeris suis portare aliquantulum debet.—Ibid. [f. 28.]

[q] Alm. de Potest. Eccl. [cap. xv. inter aurea opuscula, Par. 1518. fol. 22b.]

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visibly, note in the body of the Roman church; yea, rather in that soul of religion which informeth both.

And if thereupon all our endeavour, as we protest before God and his holy angels, hath been and is only to reduce Rome to itself; that is, to recall it to that original truth, piety, sincerity, which made it long famous through the world, and happy; how unjustly are we ejected, persecuted, condemned!

But if that ancient mistress of the world shall stand upon the terms of her honour; and will needs plead the disparagement of her retractations, and the age and authority of these her impositions; let me have leave to shut up all, with that worthy and religious contestation of St. Ambrose with his Symmachus.

That eloquent patron of idolatry had pleaded hard for the old rites of heathenism, and brings in ancient Rome speaking thus for herself[r]: *Optimi principes, &c.*: "Excellent princes, the fathers of your country, reverence ye my years, into which my pious rites have brought me. I will use the ceremonies of my ancestors; neither can I repent me. I will live after mine own fashion, because I am free. This religion hath brought the world under the subjection of my laws: these sacred devotions have driven Hannibal from our walls, from our Capitol. Have I been preserved for this, that in mine old age I should be reproved? Say that I did see what were to be altered; yet late and shameful is the amendment of age[s]." To which that holy Father no less wittily and elegantly answers, by way of retortion, bringing in Rome to speak thus rather[t]: "I am not ashamed, in mine old age, to be a convert with all the rest of the world. It is surely true, that in no age it is too late to learn. Let that old age blush that cannot mend itself. It is not the gravity of years, but of manners, that deserves praise. It is no shame to go to the better[u]." And when Symmachus urges, *Majorum servandus est ritus*, "We must observe the rites of our forefathers;" *Dicant igitur*, saith St. Ambrose[x], "Let them as well say, that all things should remain in their own imperfect principles; that the world, once overcovered with darkness, offends in being shined upon by the glorious brightness of the sun: and how much more happy is

[r] Inter Epistolas Ambrosii. l. ii. Ep. 11. [Relat. Symm. Par. 1586. col. 1009.]

[s] Sera tamen et contumeliosa est emendatio senectutis.—Ibid.

[t] Ambros. Epist. l. ii. Ep. 12. [ibid. col. 1012.]

[u] Nullus pudor est ad meliora transire.—Ibid.

[x] [Ibid. col. 1016.]

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it, to have dispelled the darkness of the soul than of the body; to be shined upon by the beams of faith than of the sun!" Thus he, most aptly to the present occasion: whereto, did that blessed Father now live, he would doubtless no less readily apply it.

Nec erubescas mutare sententiam, saith Jerome to his Ruffinus: "Never blush to change your mind, you are not of such authority as that you should be ashamed to confess you have erred[y]."

O that this meek ingenuity could have found place in that once famous and orthodox church of Christ! How had the whole Christian world been *as a city at unity in itself,* and triumphed over all the proud hostilities of paganism!

But since we may not be so happy, we must sit down and mourn for our desolations, for our divisions.

In the mean time we wash our hands in innocence. There are none of all these instanced particulars, besides many more, wherein the church of Rome hath not sensibly erred in corrupt additions to the faith; so as herein we may justly, before heaven and earth, warrant our disagreement of judgment from her. The rest is their act, and not ours. We are mere patients in this schism, and therefore go because we are driven. That we hold not communion with that church, the fault is theirs; who both have deserved this strangeness by their errors, and made it by their violence. Contrary to that rule, which Cato in Tully gives of unpleasing friendship, they have not ripped it in the seam, but torn it in the whole cloth.

Perhaps I shall seem unto some to have spoken too mildly of the estate of that debauched church. There are, that stand upon a mere nullity of her being; not resting in a bare depravation. For me, I dare not go so far. If she be foul, if deadly diseased, (as she is,) these qualities cannot utterly take off her essence or our relations.

Our divines indeed call us out of Babylon, and we run: so as here is an actual separation on our parts: true; but from the corruptions (wherein there is a true confusion), not from the Church. Their very charge implies their limitation. As it is Babylon, we must come out of it: as it is an outward visible church, we neither did nor would. This dropsy, that hath so

[y] Non es tantæ authoritatis, ut errasse te pudeat, &c.—Hier. Apol. adv. Ruffin.

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swollen up the body, doth not make it cease to be a true body, but a sound one[z].

The true principles of Christianity which it maintains, maintain life in that church: the errors which it holds, together with those principles, struggle with that life, and threaten an extinction[a]. As it is a visible church then, we have not detrected to hold communion with it; though the contemptuous repulse of so many admonitions have deserved our alienation: as Babylon, we can have nothing to do with it. Like as in the course of our life, we freely converse with those men in civil affairs with whom we hate to partake in wickedness.

But will not this seem to savour of too much indifferency? "What need we so vehemently labour to draw from either part, and triumph in winning proselytes, and give them for lost on either side, and brand them for apostates that are won away; if, which way soever we fall, we cannot light out of a true visible church of Christ? What such necessity was there of martyrdom, what such danger of relapses, if the Church be with both?"

Let these sophisters know, that true charity needs not abate any thing of zeal. If they be acquainted with the just value of truth, they shall not inquire so much into the persons, as into the cause.

Whatever the Church be, if the errors be damnable our blood is happily spent in their impugnation, and we must rather choose to undergo a thousand deaths than offend the majesty of God, in yielding to a known falsehood in religion. Neither doth the outward visibility of the Church abate aught of the heinousness of misopinions or the vehemence of our oppositions. Were it St. Peter himself, if he halt in Judaizing, St. Paul must resist him to the face; neither is his fault less, because an apostle's.

Yea, let me say more, were the Church of Rome and ours laid upon several foundations, these errors should not be altogether so detestable; since the symbolizing in many truths makes gross errors more intolerable, as the Samaritan idolatry was more odious to the Jews than merely paganish[b]. If the dearest daughter of God upon earth should commit spiritual whoredom, her uncleanness is so much more to be hated, as her obligations were greater.

[z] Fr. Jun. de Ecclesia. [c. xvii.]

[a] Capitis autem malesani et deliri contagia vitanda sunt, ne et ipsi artus pestilenti humore labefierent.—F. Pic. Mirand. [De fide et ord. cred. Bas. 1601. t. ii p. 212.] Theor. 25.

[b] Maldonat. in Joan. cap. iv. [ver. 9. Paris. 1629. col. 1373.]

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O the glorious crowns, therefore, of those blessed martyrs of ours, who rather gave their bodies to be burnt to ashes, than they would betray any parcel of divine truth.

O the woful and dangerous condition of those souls, which, shutting their eyes against so clear a light, either willingly sit down in palpable darkness, or fall back from the sincerity of the Gospel in these miserable enormities both of practice and doctrine. It is not for me to judge them: that I leave unto that high and awful tribunal before which I shall once appear with them: but this I dare say, that if that righteous Judge shall punish either their obstinacy or relapses with eternal damnation, he cannot but be justified in his judgments; while in the midst of their torments they shall be forced to say, "*Thou, O God, art just in all that is befallen us; for thou hast done right, but we have done wickedly,* Neh. ix. 33.

For us, as we would save our souls, let us carefully preserve them from the contagion of Romish superstition. Let us never fear that our discretion can hate error too much. Let us awaken our holy zeal to a serious and fervent opposition, joined with a charitable endeavour of reclamation.

Shortly, let us hate their opinions, strive against their practice, pity their misguiding, neglect their censures, labour their recovery, pray for their salvation.

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AN APOLOGETICAL

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER.

READER:—

Nothing can be so well said or done but may be ill taken. While I thus sincerely plead for truth, the well-meaning ignorance of some mistakers hath passed as deep as unjust censures upon me; as if preferment had changed my note, and taught me to speak more plausible language concerning the Roman Church than I either did or ought. Wherein, as I pity their uncharitableness, so I earnestly desire to rectify their judgment; lest their prejudice may turn more to their sin than to my wrong.

The main ground of the exception is, That I yield the church of Rome a true visible church.

Wherein, the harsh noise of a misconstrued phrase offends their ear, and breeds their quarrel. For this, belike, in their apprehension, seems to sound no less than as if I had said, "The church of Rome is a true-believing church," or "a true part of the mystical body of Christ:" a sense, which is as far wide from my words or thoughts as from truth itself. Wherefore serves this book, but to evince the manifold corruptions of that foul church? That she is truly visible, abates nothing of her abominations: for who sees not, that "visible" refers to outward profession; "true," to some essential principles of Christianity; neither of them to soundness of belief? So as these two may too well stand together, a true visible Church, in respect of outward profession of Christianity; and an heretical, apostatical, antichristian synagogue, in respect of doctrine and practice. Grant the Romanists to be but Christians, how corrupt soever, and we cannot deny them the name of a church. Outward visibility gives them no claim either to truth or salvation.

Shortly, then, in two things I must crave leave to vindicate myself: one, that I do no whit differ from myself; the other, that I differ not from the judgment of our best orthodox and

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approvedly classical divines. Both which cleared, what have I done?

It is a grievous challenge, this of inconstancy; for though, while we are here, in this region of mutability, our whole man is subject to change, yet we do all herein affect a likeness to the God of truth, *in whom there is no shadow by turning*, especially in religion, so much more as that doth more assimilate and unite us to that Unchangeable Deity.

"Lo," say they, "the man that once wrote, 'No peace with Rome,' now cries nothing but 'Peace with Rome,' while he proclaims it a true visible church, and allows some communion with it."

Alas! brethren, why will ye suffer a rash and ignorant zeal thus to lie palpably in your way to truth? Be but pleased to cast your eyes upon the first chapter of that book of mine, which is thus objected to me in a causeless exprobration, that which long since I wrote of the irreconcilableness of Rome[a], and see if that section be not a full expression of the same truth, and that in the same words, which I have here published. There shall you find taught, That there is no other difference betwixt us and Rome, than betwixt a church miserably corrupted, and happily purged; betwixt a sickly, languishing, dying church, and one that is healthful, strong, and flourishing: that Valdus, Wickliff, Luther, did never go about to frame a new church, which was not; but to cleanse, restore, reform that church which was: that they meant only to be physicians, to heal; not parents, to beget a church. There you shall find, that we are all the same church by virtue of our outward vocation, whosoever, all the world over, worship Jesus Christ the only Son of God, the Saviour of the world, and profess the same common creed: that some of us do this more purely, others more corruptly: that in the mean time we are all Christians, but sound Christians we are not. There ye shall find this very objection so fully answered, as if it had been either formally moved, or so long since prevented.

The words are these: "But how harshly doth this sound to a weak reader, and more than seems to need reconciliation with itself, that the Church should be one, and yet cannot be reconciled! Certainly, yet so it is. The dignity of the outward form, which comprehends this unity in itself, avails nothing to salvation, nothing to grace, nothing to the soundness of doctrine. The net doth

[a] "No peace with Rome:" Roma irreconciliabilis." Sect 1.

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not straight make all to be fish that it hath dragged together; ye shall find in it vile weeds, and whatever else that devouring element hath disgorged. The Church is at once one, in respect of the common principles of faith; and yet in respect of consequences, and that rabble of opinions which they have raked together, so opposed, that it cannot (as things now stand) by any glue of concord, as Cyprian speaketh, nor bond of unity, be conjoined. That which Rome holds with us makes it a church; that which it obtrudes upon us makes it heretical. The truth of principle makes it one; the error and impiety of additions makes it irreconcilable, &c. Look on the face therefore of the Roman church, she is ours, she is God's; look on her back, she is quite contrary, antichristian. More plainly, Rome doth both hold the foundation and destroy it: she holds it directly, destroys it by consequent. In that she holds it, she is a true church, howsoever impured; in that she destroys it, what semblance soever she makes, she is a church of malignants. If she did altogether hold it, she should be sound and orthodox; if altogether she destroyed it, she should be either no church or devilish: but now that she professes to hold those things directly which by inferences she closely overthrows, she is a truly visible church, but an unsound one."

Thus I wrote well near twenty years ago, without clamour, without censure. And since that, in my Latin sermon to the Convocation, did I vary aught from this hold? Did I not there call heaven and earth to record, of our innocence, in separating from the Roman church? Did I not cast the fault upon their violence, not our will? Did I not profess, *Lubentes quidem discessimus, &c.* "We willingly indeed departed from the communion of their errors; but from the communion of the Church we have not departed. Let them abandon their errors, and we embrace the church: let them cast away their soul-killing traditions, and false appendances of their new faith; we shall gladly communicate with them in the right of the same Church, and hold with them for ever[d]?"

This I freely both taught and published, with the allowance, with the applause of that most reverend synod; and now doth the addition of a dignity bring envy upon the same truth? Might that pass commendably from the pen or tongue of a doctor which will not be endured from the hand of a bishop? My brethren, I

[d] "Columba Noæ," &c.—See vol. x.

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am where I was; the change is yours. Ever since I learned to distinguish betwixt the right hand of verity and the left of error, thus I held; and shall, I hope, at last send forth my soul in no other resolution. And if any of you be otherwise minded, I dare boldly say, he shall do more wrong to his cause than to his adversary.

That I differ not from myself, you have seen: see now that I differ not from our learned, judicious, approved divines.

That the Latin or western church, subject to the Romish tyranny, unto the very times of Luther, was a true church, in which a saving profession of the truth of Christ was found, and wherein Luther himself received his Christianity, ordination, and power of ministry, our learned doctor Field hath saved me the labour to prove, by the suffrages of our best and most renowned divines[e]: amongst whom, he cites the testimony of Calvin, Bucer, Melancthon, Beza, Mornay, Deering. And if since that time it be foully corrupted, so as now that acute author is driven to the distinction of *vere ecclesia* and *vera ecclesia;* yet at last he thus concludes: "But will some man say, 'Is the Roman church at this day no part of the Church of God?' Surely, as Austin noteth[f] that the societies of heretics, in that they retain the profession of many parts of heavenly truth and the ministration of the sacrament of baptism, are so far still conjoined with the Catholic Church, and the Catholic Church in and by them bringeth forth children unto God: so the present Roman church is still in some sort a part of the visible Church of God, but no otherwise than other societies of heretics are, in that it retaineth the profession of some parts of heavenly truth, and ministereth the true sacrament of baptism to the salvation of the souls of many thousand infants, &c." Thus he.

Junius, distinguishing betwixt the church and papacy, determines the church of Rome to be a truly-living, though sick church; whereof the papacy is the disease, marring the health, threatening her life: and punctually resolves[g], *Ecclesia papalis, qua id habet, &c.* "The popish church, in that it hath in it that which pertains to the definition of a church, is a church."

Doctor Raynolds makes it his position, That the church of

[e] Append. to the Book of the Church: part iii. chap. 2. [Oxf. 1628. p. 880.]

[f] Aug. de Baptis. contr. Donatist. lib. i. c. 8. et 10. [Opp. t. ix. coll. 85–87]

[g] Jun. de Eccl. lib. sing. c. 17. [ut supra, col 1019.]

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Rome is neither the Catholic Church nor a sound member of the catholic; yielding it a member, while he disproves it sound[h].

Paræus: *Accusant nos, &c.* "They accuse us," saith he[i], "that we have made a division in departing from the Church:" *Nos vero, &c.* "But we have not departed from the church, but from the papacy."

Master Hooker is most pregnant for this point. "Apparent it is," saith he[k], "that all men are of necessity either Christians or not Christians. If by external profession they be Christians, then are they of the visible Church of Christ: and Christians by external profession they are all whose mark of recognisance hath in it those things which we have mentioned[l], yea, although they be impious idolaters, wicked heretics, persons excommunicable, yea, and cast out for notorious improbity." Thus he; and going on, he shews how it is possible for the selfsame men to belong to the synagogue of Satan and to the Church of Jesus Christ. The passages are too long to transcribe, and the books are obvious.

Doctor Crakenthorp, in his learned answer to Spalatensis, defends heretical churches to be truly members of the Catholic Church, though unsound ones; subscribing herein to the determination of Alphonsus: and descending to this particular, concludes[m], *Hæc tamen ipsa tua Romana, &c.* "This your Roman church must be accounted both to be in the Church and to be a church: not simply, not according to the integrity of faith, not according to any inward virtue, not so effectually that it should avail to salvation for a man to be in it; but yet a church it is, in some respects, according to the external profession of faith and of the word of God, according to the administration of the sacraments, according to some doctrines of true belief, by which, as by

[h] Thes. Rain. 5. [Romana ecclesia nec catholica est nec sanum membrum catholicæ. Tit. theseos v. inter Rainoldi sex theses de S. Script. et Eccl. Lond. 1602. p. 123.]

[i] [Accusant nos quod fecerimus διχοστασίαν, secedendo ab ecclesia. Nos vero non ab ecclesia, sed a papatu successimus. Pareus in Rom. xvi. 18. p. 337. Opp. Francof. 1647. t. iii.]

[k] Hooker, book iii. of Eccl. Pol. c. 1. [§ 7. Ed. Keble 1841.]

[l] One Lord, one Faith, one Baptism.

[m] Crak. Defen. Eccles. Angl. c. 16. [Hæc tamen ipsa tua Romana, in ecclesia est, et ecclesia censenda; non quidem *simpliciter*, non secundum *integritatem fidei*, non secundum *ullam virtutem internam*, non *salubriter*, sic ut ad salutem cuiquam prosit in ea esse, sed ecclesia tamen est *secundum quid*, secundum *externam fidei* et verbi Dei professionem, secundum *administrationem* sacramentorum, secundum *aliqua veræ fidei dogmata*; quibus velut externis quibusdam ligamentis orthodoxis et catholicis ecclesiis adhuc connectitur.]

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so many outward ligaments, she is yet knit to the orthodox and Catholic Church." Thus he, fully to my words and meaning.

I might swell up the bulk with many more; a catalogue whereof Brierley hath, for his own purpose, fetched up together[n]. I will only shut up this scene with our late most learned sovereign, king James; who, in the conference at Hampton Court, with the acclamation of all his judicious hearers, avowed that no church ought further to separate itself from the church of Rome in doctrine or ceremony, than she hath departed from herself when she was in her flourishing and best estate, and from Christ her Lord and Head.

Well therefore doth my reader see, that I have gone along with good company in this assertion: although I am not ignorant that some worthy divines of ours[o] speak otherwise; in the height of zeal denying the church of Rome to be a true church, to be a church at all; whose contradiction gives colour to this offence. But let my reader know, that, however their words are opposite, yet not their judgment: a mutual understanding shall well accord us in the matter, however the terms sound contrary. Our old word is, "Things are as they are taken." The difference is in the acception of "true" and "church;" both which have much latitude and variety of sense. While by *true* they mean right believing, and by *church* a company of faithful, which have the word of God rightly understood and sincerely preached, and the sacraments duly administered[p]; it is no marvel if they say the church of Rome is neither true nor church: who would, who can say otherwise? But while we mean by a true church a multitude of Christians professing to agree in the main principles of religion, how can they but subscribe to us; and in this sense yield the church of Rome both a church, and truly visible? So as, shortly, in a large sense of "true church," these divines cannot but de-

[n] Pet. Baro, Conc. ad Clerum; Bunny, Treat. of Pacif.; Dr. Some, against Penry; Peter. Mart. Epistle; Answer to Machiavel, p. 80; Dr. Covel; Fregevil. Polit. Ref.; B. of St. David's Chapl.; Dr. Williams of the Church; [Summe of the] Confer. p. 75. [See Brereley's (i. e. James Anderson's) Protestant's Apologie for the Roman Church, 1608. pp. 168, 169, 175, 473. Brereley does not however refer to Fregevill or to Williams.]

[o] Zanch. Miscell. de Eccles. [Miscell. tomus alter, cap. iii. pp. 100, 101, 134. Neostadii. 1608.] Whitak. [Controv. ii.] Quæst. 6. p. 445. Perk. in 1. ad Gal. [Works, vol. ii. p. 185. Cambr. 1609.] Cameron, [Prælectiones, t. i. Tract. de Ecclesia, Salmurii, 1626.]

[p] Zanch. ubi supra, [p. 136.] In quo purum Dei Verbum orthodoxe intellectum et sincere prædicatum, Sacramenta sola et legitime juxta institutum Christi administrata, &c.

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ascend to us; in a strict sense of both, we cannot but ascend to them: in fine, both agree in the substance, while the words cross. Certainly, in effect, master Perkins saith no other[q], while he defines his reformed catholic to be one, that holds the same necessary heads of religion with the Roman church; yet so as he pares off and rejects all errors in doctrine, whereby the same religion is corrupted: wherein that well-allowed author speaks home to my meaning, though in other terms. That the Roman church holds the necessary heads of religion, gives it a right, in my sense, to a true visibility: that it holds foul errors, whereby the doctrine is corrupted, makes it false in belief, while it hath a true being.

This then may give sufficient light to that passage in my sixth page[r], whereat some have heedlessly stumbled. That which I cited from Luther out of Cromerus, I find also alleged by doctor Field[s] out of Luther himself. The words are, that "under the papacy is the very kernel of Christianity; much good, yea all." Know, reader, the words are Luther's, not mine: neither doth he say, "in" the papacy, but "under" it; under it, indeed, to trample upon, not to possess; or if to possess, yet not to enjoy. Their fault is not in defect of necessary truths, but in excess of superfluous additions. Luther explicates himself: for his "kernel" is the several articles of Christian belief; his "all good" is Scriptures, sacraments, creeds, councils, fathers: all these they have; but, God knows, miserably corrupted. That they thus have them is no whit worse for us, and little better for themselves: would to God they were theirs, as well in true use as in possession!

It was an ill descant, that a nimble papist made upon those words of Luther, which yield them the kernel of Christianity. "If we have the kernel," saith he, "let them take the shell." Soft, friend; you are too witty. Luther did not give you the kernel, and reserve us the shell: he yielded you both kernel and shell, such as it is; but the shell rotten, the kernel worm-eaten. Make much of your kernel; but as you have used it, it is but a bitter morsel. Swallow that if you please; and save the shell in your pocket.

Neither think to go away with an idle misprision: "We are a true visible church: what need we more? why should we wish to

[q] M. Perk. Ref. Cath. [pref. Works, vol. i.]
[r] [See chap. i. of this treatise.]
[s] Append. ubi supra, [part iii. chap. ii. p. 880.]

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be other than we are?"—Alas, poor souls! a true visibility may and doth stand with a false belief. Ye may be of a true visible church, and yet never the nearer to heaven. It is your interest in the true mystical body of Christ that must save your souls, not in the outwardly visible: your errors may be, and are, no less damnable, for that ye are by outward profession Christians, yea, so much the more. Woe is me, your danger is more visible than your church. If ye persist wilfully in these gross corruptions, which do by consequent raze that foundation which ye profess to lay, ye shall be no less visible spectacles of the wrath of that just God, whose truth and spirit ye have so stubbornly resisted. The God of Heaven open your eyes to see the glorious light of his truth, and draw your hearts to the love of it; and make your church as truly sound as it is truly visible!

Thus, in a desire to stand but so right as I am in all honest judgments, I have made this speedy and true apology, beseeching all readers in the fear of God, before whose bar we shall once give an account of all our overlashings, to judge wisely and uprightly of what I have written: in a word, to do me but justice in their opinions; and, when I beg it, favour. Farewell, reader; and God make us wise and charitable!

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THE RECONCILER.

AN EPISTLE PACIFICATORY

OF THE SEEMING DIFFERENCES OF OPINION CONCERNING THE TRUE BEING AND VISIBILITY OF THE ROMAN CHURCH.

BY JOS. EXON.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE AND TRULY RELIGIOUS,
MY SINGULAR GOOD LORD,

EDWARD,
EARL OF NORWICH.

MY EVER HONOURED LORD:

I CONFESS my charity led me into an error. Your lordship well knows how apt I am to be overtaken with these better deceits of an overkind credulity. I had thought that any dash of my pen, in a sudden and easy advertisement[a], might have served to have quitted that ignorant scandal which was cast upon my mis-taken assertion of the true visibility of the Roman church. The issue proves all otherwise. I find, to my grief, that the mis-understanding tenacity of some zealous spirits hath made it a quarrel.

It cannot but trouble me to see that the position which is so familiarly current with the best reformed divines, and which hath been so oft and long since published by me without contradiction, yea not without the approbation and applause of the whole representative body of the clergy of this kingdom, should now be quarrelled and drawn into the detestation of those that know it not.

As one, therefore, that should think it corrosive enough that any occasion should be taken by aught of mine to ravel but one thread of that seamless coat, I do earnestly desire, by a more full

[a] [See the foregoing "Apologetical Advertisement."]

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explication, to give clear satisfaction to all readers; and, by this seasonable reconcilement, to stop the floodgates of contention.

I know it will not be unpleasing to your lordship, that through your honourable and pious hands these welcome papers should be transmitted to many. Wherein I shall first beseech, yea adjure, all Christians under whose eyes they shall fall, by the dreadful name of that God who shall judge both the quick and the dead, to lay aside all unjust prejudices, and to allow the words of truth and peace. I dare confidently say, let us be understood, and we are agreed.

The Searcher of all hearts knows how far it was from my thoughts to speak aught in favour of the Roman synagogue. If I have not sufficiently branded that strumpet, I justly suffer. Luther's broad word is by me already both safely construed and sufficiently vindicated.

Obj. "But do you not say, It is a true visible church? Do you not yield some kind of communion with these clients of Antichrist? What is, if this be not, favour?"

Resp. Mark well, Christian reader, and *the Lord give thee understanding in all things.*

To begin with the latter. No man can say but the church of Rome holds some truths: those truths are God's, and in his right ours: why should not we challenge our own, wheresoever we find it? If a very devil shall say of Christ, *Thou art the Son of the living God,* we will snatch this truth out of his mouth, as usurped; and in spite of him proclaim it for our own. Indeed, there is *no communion betwixt light and darkness;* but there is communion betwixt light and light. Now all truth is light, and therefore symbolizeth with itself: with that light therefore, whose glimmering yet remains in their darkness, our clearer light will and must hold communion. If they profess three Persons in one Godhead, two Natures in one Person of Christ; shall we detrect to join with them in this Christian verity? We abhor to have any communion with them in their errors, in their idolatrous or superstitious practices: these are their own, not ours. If we durst have taken their part in these, this breach had not been: now, who can but say that we must hate their evil and allow their good? It is no countenance to their errors that we embrace our own truths: it is no disparagement to our truths that they have blended them with their errors. Here can be no difference then, if this communion be not mis-taken. No man will say that we

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may sever from their common truths: no man will say that we may join with them in their hateful errors.

For the former; he that saith a thief is truly a man, doth he therein favour that thief? He that saith a diseased, dropsied, dying body is a true, though corrupt body, doth he favour that disease, or that living carcass? It is no other, no more, that I say of the church of Rome. Trueness of being and outward visibility are no praise to her: yea, these are aggravations to her falsehood. The advantage that is both sought and found in this assertion is only ours, as we shall see in the sequel, without any danger of their gain. I say then, that she is a true church; but I say, withal, she is a false church: true in existence, but false in belief. Let not the homonymy of a word breed jars, where the sense is accorded. If we do not yield her the true being of a church, why do we call her the church of Rome? What speak we of? or where is the subject of our question? Who sees not that there is a moral trueness and a natural? He that is morally the falsest man, is in nature as truly a man as the honestest, and therefore in this regard as true a man. In the same sense therefore that we say the devil is a true, though false spirit; that a cheater is a true, though false man; we may and must say, that the church of Rome is a true, though false church. Certainly, there hath been a true error and mistaking of the sense, that is guilty of this quarrel. As for the visibility, there can be no question. Would God that church did not too much fill our eye; yea, the world! There is nothing wherein it doth more pride itself than in a glorious conspicuity; scorning, in this regard, the obscure paucity of their opposers.

Obj. But, you say, "What is this, but to play with ambiguities? That the church of Rome is itself, that is, a church, that it is visible, that it is truly existent, there can be no doubt: but is it still a part of the truly existent visible church of Christ?

Resp. Surely, no otherwise than an heretical and apostatical church is and may be. Reader, whosoever thou art, for God's sake, for thy soul's sake, mark where thou treadest, else thou shalt be sure to fall, either into an open gulf of uncharitableness, or into a dangerous precipice of error. There is no fear nor favour to say that the church of Rome, under a Christian face, hath an antichristian heart: overturning that foundation by necessary inferences, which by open profession it avoweth. That face, that profession, those avowed principles are enough to give

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it claim to a true outward visibility of a Christian church; while those damnable inferences are enough to feoff it in the true style of heresy and antichristianism. Now this heresy, this antichristianism makes Rome justly odious and execrable to God, to angels, and men; but cannot utterly dischurch it, while those main principles maintain a weak life in that crazy and corrupted body.

But is not this language different from that whereto our ears and eyes have been inured, from the mouths and pens of some reverend divines and professors of our Church?

Know, reader, that the stream of the famous doctors, both at home and abroad, hath run strongly my way. I should have feared and hated to go alone. What reason is there then to single out one man in a throng? Some few worthy authors have spoken otherwise in the warmth of their zealous contention; yet so, as that even to them durst I appeal for my judges; for if their sound differ from me, their sense agrees with me: that, which as I touched in my Advertisement, so I am now ready to make clear by the instance of learned Zanchius, whose pregnant testimonies, compared together, shall plainly teach us how easy a reconcilement may be made betwixt these two seemingly-contrary opinions.

That worthy author, in his "Profession of Christian Religion," which he wrote and published in the seventieth year of his age, having defined the Church of Christ in general, and passed through the properties of it, at last descending to the subdivision of the Church militant, comes to inquire how particular churches may be known to be the true churches of Christ: whereof he determines thus; *Illas igitur, &c.* "Those churches, therefore, do we acknowledge for the true churches of Christ, in which, first of all, the pure doctrine of the gospel is preached, heard, admitted; and so only admitted, that there is neither place nor ear given to the contrary: for both these are the just property of the flock or sheep of Christ; namely, both to hear the voice of their own Pastor, and to reject the voice of strangers, John x. 4, 5. In which, secondly, the sacraments instituted by Christ are lawfully, and, as much as may be, according to Christ's institution, administered and received; and, therefore, in which the sacraments devised by men are not admitted and allowed. In which, lastly, the discipline of Christ hath the due place; that is, where both publicly and privately charitable care is had, both by admonitions, corrections, and at last, if need be, by excommunications, that the commandments of God be duly kept; and that all persons

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live soberly, justly, and piously, to the glory of God and edification of their neighbour." Thus he: wherein who sees not how directly he aims both at the justifying of our churches, and the cashiering of the Roman, which is palpably guilty of the violation of these wholesome rules? And indeed it must needs be said, if we bring the Roman church to this touch, she is cast for a mere counterfeit: she is as far from truth as truth is from falsehood.

Now, by this time, you go away with an opinion that learned Zanchy is my professed adversary, and hath directly condemned my position of the trueness and visibility of the Roman church.

Have but patience, I beseech you, to read what the same excellent author writes in his golden preface to that noble work, *De Natura Dei,* where this question is clearly and punctually decided. There you shall find, that having passed through the woful and gloomy offuscations of the Church of God in all former ages, he, descending to the darkness of the present Babylon, concludes thus, *Deinde non potuit Satan, &c.* "Moreover, Satan could not in the very Roman church do what he listed, as he had done in the Eastern; to bring all things to such pass, as that it should no more have the form of a Christian church: for in spite of Satan, that church retained still the chief foundations of the faith, although weakened with the doctrines of men: it retained the public preaching of the word of God, though in many places misunderstood and misconstrued; the invocation of the name of Christ, though joined also with the invocation of dead men; the administration of baptism, instituted by Christ himself, howsoever defiled with the addition of many superstitions. So as, together with the symbol of the covenant, the covenant itself remained still in her, I mean in all the churches of the west, no otherwise than it did in the Church of Israel, even after that all things were in part profaned by Jeroboam and other impious and idolatrous kings, upon the defection made by them from the church and tribe of Judah. For neither do I assent to them, which would have the church of Rome to have no less ceased to be the church of Christ, than those Eastern churches which afterwards turned Mahometan. What church was ever more corrupt than the church of the ten tribes? yet we learn from the Scriptures, that it was still the Church of God. And how doth St. Paul call that church, wherein antichrist, he saith, shall sit, *the temple of God?* Neither is it any baptism at all that is administered out of the Church of Christ. The wife, that is an adulteress, doth not cease to be a

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wife, unless, being despoiled of her marriage-ring, she be manifestly divorced[a]. The church of Rome therefore is yet the church of Christ: but what manner of church? Surely, so corrupted and depraved, and with so great tyranny oppressed, that you can neither with a good conscience partake with them in their holy things, nor safely dwell amongst them." Thus he again: wherein, you see, he speaks as home for me as I could devise to speak for myself, and as appositely professeth to oppose the contrary.

Look now how this learned author may be reconciled to his own pen, and by the very same way shall my pen be reconciled with others. Either he agrees not with himself, or else, in his sense, I agree with my gainsayers. Nothing is more plain, than that he, in that former speech, and all other classic authors that speak in that key, mean, by a "true church," a sound, pure, right-believing church; so as their *vera* is rather *verax*. Zanchy explicates the term while he joins *veram* and *puram* together[b]: so as, in this construction, it is no true church that is an unsound one, as if truth of existence were all one with truth of doctrine. In this sense, whosoever shall say the church of Rome is a true church, I say he calls evil good, and is no better than a teacher of lies. But, if we measure the true being of a visible church by the direct maintenance of fundamental principles, though by consequences indirectly overturned, and by the possession of the word of God and his sacraments, though not without foul adulteration; what judicious Christian can but with me subscribe to learned Zanchius, that the church of Rome hath yet the true visibility of a Church of Christ?

What should I need to press the latitude and multiplicity of sense of the word *church?* there is no one term, that I know, in all use of speech so various. If, in a large sense, it be taken to comprehend the society of all that profess Christian religion through the whole world, howsoever impured, who can deny this title to the Roman? If, in a strict sense, it be taken, as it is by Zanchius here, and all those divines who refuse to give this style to the synagogue of Rome, for the company of elect faithful men gathered into one mystical body under one head Christ, washed by his blood, justified by his merits, sanctified by his Spirit, conscionably waiting upon the true ordinances of God in his pure word and holy sacraments, who can be so shameless as to give

[a] [Zanchius. Præfat. de Natura Dei.]

[b] Ibid. Præfat. de Nat. Dei. [veram puramque esse ut Apostolicam Ecclesiam.]

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this title to the Roman church? Both these sentences, then, are equally true, "The church of Rome is yet a true church, in the first sense;" "The church of Rome long since ceased to be a true church, in the second."

As those friendly soldiers, therefore, of old, said to their fellows, Τί μαχόμεθα; "Why fight we?" stay, stay, dear brethren, for God's sake, for his Church's sake, for your soul's sake, stay these busy and unprofitable litigations; put up, on both sides, your angry pens; turn your swords into scythes to cut down the rank corruptions of the Roman church, and your spears into mattocks, to beat down the walls of this mystical Babylon. There are enemies enow abroad; let us be friends at home.

But if our sense be the same, you will ask why our terms vary, and why we have chosen to fall upon that manner of expression which gives advantage to the adversary, offence to our own.

Christian reader, let me beseech thee, in the bowels of Christ, to weigh well this matter, and then tell me why such offence, such advantage should be rather given by my words than by the same words in the mouth of Luther, of Calvin, of Zanchy, Junius, Plessee, Hooker, Andrews, Field, Crakenthorp, Bedell, and that whole cloud of learned and pious authors, who have, without exception, used the same language; and why more by my words now than twenty years ago, at which time I published the same truth in a more full and liberal expression. Wise and charitable Christians may not be apt to take offence where none is given.

As for any advantage that is hereby given to the adversaries, they may put it in their eye and see never the worse. "Lo," say they, "we are of the true visible church: this is enough for us; why are we forsaken? why are we persecuted? why are we solicited to a change?"

Alas, poor souls! do they not know that hypocrites, lewd persons, reprobates, are no less members of the true visible church? What gain they by this but a deeper damnation? To what purpose did the Jews cry, *The temple of the Lord,* while they despited the Lord of that temple? Is the seaweed ever the less vile because it is dragged up together with good fish? They are of the visible church, such as it is: what is this but to say they are neither Jews nor Turks nor Pagans, but misbelievers, damnably heretical in opinion, shamefully idolatrous in practice? Let them make their best of this just eulogy and triumph in this style; may we never prosper if we envy them this glory. Our

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care shall be, that, besides the church sensible, as Zuinglius distinguisheth[c], we may be of the church spiritual, and, not resting in a fruitless visibility, we may find ourselves lively limbs of the mystical body of Christ; which only condition shall give us a true right to heaven, while fashionable profession in vain cries, *Lord, Lord,* and is barred out of those blessed gates with an *I know you not.*

Neither may the reader think that I affect to go by-ways of speech; no, I had not taken this path, unless I had found it both more beaten and fairer. I am not so unwise to teach the adversary what disadvantage I conceive to be given to our most just cause by the other manner of explication. Let it suffice to say, that this form of defence more fully stops the adversary's mouth in those two main and envious scandals which he casts upon our holy religion, defection from the Church and innovation; than which no suggestion hath wont to be more prevalent with weak and ungrounded hearts. What we further win by this not more charitable than safe tenet, I had rather it should be silently conceived by the judicious than blazoned by my free pen.

Shortly, in this state of the question, our gain is as clear as the adversary's loss, our ancient truth triumphs over their upstart errors, our charity over their merciless presumptions.

Fear not therefore, dear brethren, where there is no room for danger: suspect not fraud where there is nothing but plain, honest simplicity of intentions: censure not where there is the same truth clad in a different, but more easy habit of words.

But, if any man's fervent zeal shall rather draw him to the liking of that other rougher and harder way, so as in the mean time he keep within the bounds of Christian charity, I tax him not: let every man abound in his own sense, only let our hearts and tongues and hands conspire together in peace with ourselves, in war with our common enemies.

Thus far have I, right honourable, in a desire of peace, poured out myself into a plain explication and easy accordance. Those whom I strive to satisfy are only mis-takers; whose censures, if some man would have either laughed out or despised, yet I have condescended to take off, by a serious deprecation and just defence.

It is an unreasonable motion to request minds, prepossessed with prejudice, to hear reason. Whole volumes are nothing to such as have contented themselves only to take up opinions upon

[c] Epist. l. ii. Resp. ad Catabaptist.

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trust, and will hold them, because they know where they had them; in vain should I spend myself in beating upon such anvils. But for those ingenuous Christians which will hold an ear open for justice and truth, I have said enough, if aught at all needed.

Alas! my lord, I see, and grieve to see it, it is my rochet that hath offended, and not I: in another habit, I long since published this, and more, without dislike: it is this colour of innocence that hath bleared some over-tender eyes. Wherein I know not whether I should more pity their error, or applaud my own sufferings. Although I may not say with the Psalmist, *What hath the righteous done?* let me, I beseech your lordship, upon this occasion, have leave to give a little vent to my just grief in this point.

The other day I fell upon a Latin pamphlet, homely for style, tedious for length, zealously uncharitable for stuff, wherein the author (only wise in this, that he would be unknown) in a grave fierceness flies in the face of our English prelacy; not so much inveighing against their persons, which he could be content to reverence, as their very places. I blest myself to see the case so altered. Heretofore, the person had wont to bear off many blows from the function; now, the very function wounds the person. In what case are we, when that, which should command respect brands us! What black art hath raised up this spirit of Aërius from his pit? Woe is me, that zeal should breed such monsters of conceit! It is the honour, the pomp, the wealth, the pleasure, he saith, of the episcopal chair that is guilty of the depravation of our calling: and, if himself were so overlaid with greatness, he should suspect his own fidelity. Alas! poor man, at what distance doth he see us! Foggy air useth to represent every object far bigger than it is. Our Saviour, in his temptation upon the mount, had only the glory of those kingdoms showed to him by that subtle spirit, not the cares and vexations: right so are our dignities exhibited to these envious beholders: little do these men see the toils and anxieties that attend this supposedly-pleasing eminence.

All the revenge that I would wish to this uncharitable censurer should be this, that he might be but for a while adjudged to this so glorious seat of mine, that so his experience might taste the bewitching pleasures of this envied greatness: he should well find more danger of being overspent with work than of languishing with ease and delicacy.

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For me, I need not appeal to Heaven: eyes enow can witness how few free hours I have enjoyed since I put on these robes of sacred honour. Insomuch as I could find in my heart, with holy Gregory, to complain of my change, were it not that I see these public troubles are so many acceptable services to my God, whose glory is the end of my being. Certainly, my lord, if none but earthly respects should sway me, I should heartily wish to change this palace, which the providence of God and the bounty of my gracious sovereign hath put me into, for my quiet cell at Waltham, where I had so sweet leisure to enjoy God, your lordship, and myself. But I have followed the calling of my God, to whose service I am willingly sacrificed, and must now, in an holy obedience to his Divine Majesty, with what cheerfulness I may, ride out all the storms of envy which unavoidably will alight upon the least appearance of a conceived greatness. In the mean time, whatever I may seem to others, I was never less in my own apprehensions, and, were it not for this attendance of envy, could not yield myself any whit greater than I was. Whatever I am, that good God of mine make me faithful to Him, and compose the unquiet spirits of men to a conscionable care of the public peace; with which prayer, together with the apprecation of all happiness, to your lordship and all yours, I take leave, and am

Your lordship's truly devoted,

In all hearty observance and duty,

JOS. EXON.

[The Letters which follow, in reply to the Bishop, having appeared in all the collected editions of his works, are also inserted here, prefaced by an introduction which accompanied the publication of the Letters, Lond. 1629, but which I have not met with elsewhere.]

TO THE CHRISTIAN READER, WISDOM AND CHARITY.

It is no easy matter for a man so to mortify his self-love as to neglect himself for the public good, and to vail his private engagements (though with some seeming disadvantage) to the peace of the Church; that which is too apparent in the present occasion. While there might be some colour of ambiguity of terms and

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possibility of misconstruction in that position concerning the true being and visibility of the Roman church, I could the less marvel that a mistaking should breed a quarrel; but now, after so clear an explication as I have given of my sense, and so satisfactory a reconcilement as no ingenuous Christian can except against, I am not a little troubled to see the peace of the Church yet disquieted with personal and unkind dissertations.

Surely, whatever may be pretended, not one hair of a Christian's head can be endangered in that assertion of mine—yet not so much mine as the most of the reformed divines of Christendom—as it is by them and me both understood and interpreted; since we call all Christians to no less detestation of the abominable corruptions and idolatries of the Roman church notwithstanding the yieldance of a bootless visibility, than those that deny it the being and name of a church; yea, we raise more strong advantage against the adversary by this grant than by that denial.

Neither is here the least contradiction to any clause of the Articles of our Church of England in that sense wherein I have delivered myself; such is my true filial honour to that our holy Mother, that I should hate myself if I should offer to oppose any of her sacred dictates, however it may sound to an ignorant ear.

In every opposition there must be supposed the same subject, the same respect, the same understanding of both, else, however the words run, the matter disagrees not. For example; if one man shall say the Church is visible, material, consisting of lime and stone; another shall say the Church is invisible, immaterial, not consisting of any earthy stuff; these two do not contradict each other, while the one speaks of the outward fabric of the Church, the other of the spiritual state of the Church; neither is it otherwise in my assertion, and that which is counter-alleged from the Articles or Homilies of the Church, as I have sufficiently explained my sense both in my Advertisement and Reconciler: it is not for me to cloy my reader with repetitions.

Now, lest I might perhaps seem partial to my own cause, and flatter myself in my own opinion, I have craved the judgment of some of the most eminent and approved divines of our Church and the French, whose names are justly reverend, whose works have made them famous in our gates. I have of many hundreds selected only four, two bishops[d] and two doctors, such as whose

[d] Bishop Morton of Coventry and Lichfield, bishop Davenant of Salisbury, Dr. Prideaux of Oxford, Dr. Primerose, preacher of the French church.

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very mention is able to stop the mouth of calumny, and to make ignorance ashamed of itself. I have taken the boldness to publish their private letters in answer to mine. Peruse them, reader, and take satisfaction, and confess it was thy mistaking, and not my error, that made me appear foul. Farewell; and love, peace, and the God of peace be with thee.

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

THOMAS[c],

LORD BISHOP OF COVENTRY AND LICHFIELD.

My Lord:

May your leisure serve you to read over this poor sheet of paper, and to censure it. Your name is left out in the catalogue of some other famous divines mentioned in the body of it, that you might not be forestalled. I suffer for that, wherein yourself, amongst many renowned orthodox doctors of the Church, are my partner.

As if you had not already said it enough, I beseech your lordship, say once more what you think of the true being and visibility of the Roman church. Your excellent and zealous writings have justly won you a constant reputation of great learning and no less sincerity, and have placed you out of the reach of suspicion: no man can, no man dare misdoubt your decision.

If you find any one word amiss in this explication, spare me not; I shall gladly kiss your rod, and hold your utmost severity a favour. But if you here meet with no other than the words of a commonly-professed truth, acquit me so far as to say, there is no reason I should suffer alone. And let the wilful or ignorant mis-takers know, that they wound innocency, and through my sides strike their best friends.

I should not herein desire you to tender my fame, if the injury done to my name did not reflect upon my holy station, upon my well-meant labours, upon almost all the famous and well-deserving authors that have stood for the truth of God; and, lastly, if I did not see this mistaken quarrel to threaten much prejudice to the Church of God, whose peace is no less dear to us both than our lives.

[c] Thomas Morton, bishop of Chester 1615, translated to Lichfield and Coventry 1618, and to Durham 1632, died Sept. 22, 1659, aged 95 years.—Pratt.

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In earnest desire and hope of some few satisfactory lines from your reverend hand, in answer to this my bold, yet just suit, I take leave, and am

Your much devoted and loving brother,

JOS. EXON.

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, MY VERY GOOD LORD AND BROTHER,

JOSEPH,

LORD BISHOP OF EXON, THESE.

RIGHT REVEREND, AND AS DEARLY BELOVED, BROTHER:

I have, I confess, been too long in your lordship's debt for these letters, which are now to apologize for me; that although I had my payment ready and *in numeratis* at the first reading of your "Reconciler," yet I reserved my answer until I had perused the two other books and seconds, that so I might return my payment *cum fœnore*.

In that your lordship's tractaté, I could not but observe the lively image of yourself; that is, according to the general interpretation of all sound professors of the gospel of Christ, of a most orthodox divine.

And now, remembering the accordance your lordship hath with others touching the argument of your book, I must needs reflect upon myself, who have long since defended the same point in the defence of many others.

I do therefore much blame the petulcity of whatsoever author that should dare to impute a popish affection to him, whom, besides his excellent writings and sermons, God's visible, eminent, and resplendent graces of illumination, zeal, piety, and eloquence have made truly honourable and glorious in the Church of Christ.

Let me say no more: I suffer in your suffering; not more in consonancy of judgment than in the sympathy of my affection. Go on, dear brother, with your deserved honour in God's Church with holy courage, knowing that the dirty feet of an adversary, the more they tread and rub, the more lustre they give the figure graven in gold. Our Lord Jesus preserve us to the glory of his saving grace!

Your lordship's

unanimous friend and brother,

THO. COVENT. and LICHFIELD.

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TO THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

JOHN[f],

LORD BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

My Lord:

I send you this little pamphlet for your censure. It is not credible how strangely I have been traduced everywhere, for that which I conceive to be the common opinion of reformed divines; yea, of reasonable men; that is, for affirming the true being and visibility of the Roman church. You see how clearly I have endeavoured to explicate this harmless position; yet I perceive some tough misunderstandings will not be satisfied.

Your lordship hath with great reputation spent many years in the divinity chair of the famous University of Cambridge. Let me therefore beseech you, whose learning and sincerity is so throughly approved in God's Church, that you would freely, how shortly soever, express yourself in this point: and if you find that I have deviated but one hair's breadth from the truth, correct me; if not, free me by your just sentence.

What need I to entreat you to pity those, whose desires of faithful offices to the Church of God are unthankfully repaid with suspicion and slander? Whose may not this case be? I had thought I had sufficiently, in all my writings, and in this very last book of mine whence this quarrel is picked, showed my fervent zeal for God's truth against that antichristian faction of Rome; and yet I doubt not but your own ears can witness what I have suffered.

Yea, as if this calumny were not enough, there want not those whose secret whisperings cast upon me the foul aspersions of another sect, whose name is as much hated as little understood.

My lord, you know I had a place with you, though unworthy in that famous synod of Dort: where, howsoever sickness bereaved me of the hours of a conclusive subscription; yet your lordship heard me, with equal vehemency to the rest, crying down the unreasonableness of that way. [I am still the same man, and shall live and die in the suffrage of that reverend synod; and do confidently avow that those other opposed opinions cannot stand with the doctrine of the Church of England. But if for the composing of the differences at home, (which your

[f] John Davenant, bishop of Salisbury 1621, died April 20th, 1641, aged about 70 years.—PRATT.

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lordship knows to be far different from Netherlandish,) there could have been tendered any such fair proposition of accordance as might be no prejudice to God's truth, I should have thought it an holy and happy project, wherein, if it be not a fault to have wished a safe peace, I am innocent[a].] God so love me, as I do the tranquillity and happiness of his Church: yet can I not so overaffect it, that I would sacrifice one dram of truth to it. To that good God do I appeal as the witness of my sincere heart to his whole truth, and no-less-than-ever-zealous detestation of all popery and Pelagianism.

Your lordship will be pleased to pardon this importunity, and to vouchsafe your speedy answer to

Your much devoted and faithful brother,

JOS. EXON.

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

JOSEPH,

LORD BISHOP OF EXON, THESE.

My Lord:

You desire my opinion concerning an assertion of yours, whereat some have taken offence. The proposition was this, "that the Roman church remains yet a true visible Church."

The occasion which makes this an ill-sounding proposition in the ears of Protestants, especially such as are not throughly acquainted with school distinctions, is the usual acception of the word "true" in our English tongue; for though men skilled in metaphysics hold it for a maxim, *Ens, Verum, Bonum convertuntur;* yet with us, he which shall affirm such a one is a true Christian, a true gentleman, a true scholar, [a true soldier[a],] or the like, he is conceived not only to ascribe trueness of being unto all these, but those due qualities or requisite actions whereby they are made commendable or praiseworthy in their several kinds.

In this sense the Roman church is no more a true church in respect of Christ, or those due qualities and proper actions which Christ requires, than an arrant whore is a true and loyal wife unto her husband.

I durst, upon mine oath, be one of your compurgators, that you never intended to adorn that strumpet with the title of a true church in this meaning. But your own writings have so fully

[a] [In the Edition of 1629.]

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cleared you herein, that suspicion itself cannot reasonably suspect you in this point.

I therefore can say no more concerning your mistaken proposition than this, If in that treatise wherein it was delivered, the antecedents or consequents were such as served fitly to lead the reader into that sense, which under the word *true* comprehendeth only truth of being or existence, and not the due qualities of the thing or subject, you have been causelessly traduced. But on the other side, if that proposition comes in *ex abrupto*, or stands solitary in your discourse, you cannot marvel, though, by taking the word *true* according to the more ordinary acception, your true meaning was mistaken.

In brief, your proposition admits a true sense; and in that sense, is, by the best learned in our reformed Church, not disallowed: for the being of a church does principally stand upon the gracious action of God, calling men out of darkness and death unto the participation of light and life in Christ Jesus. So long as God continues this calling unto any people, though they, as much as in them lies, darken this light, and corrupt the means which should bring them to life and salvation in Christ; yet where God calls men unto the participation of life in Christ by the word and by the sacraments, there is the true being of a Christian church, let men be never so false in their expositions of God's word, or never so untrusty in mingling their own traditions with God's ordinances.

Thus the church of the Jews lost not her being of a church when she became an idolatrous church. And thus, under the government of the Scribes and Pharisees, who voided the commandments of God by their own traditions, there was yet standing a true church, in which Zacharias, Elizabeth, the Virgin Mary, and our Saviour himself was born, who were members of that church, and yet participated not in the corruptions thereof.

Thus, to grant that the Roman was and is a true visible Christian church, though in doctrine a false, and in practice an idolatrous church, is a true assertion; and of greater use and necessity in our controversy with papists about the perpetuity of the Christian church than is understood by those who gainsay it.

This in your "Reconciler" is so well explicated, as if any shall continue in traducing you in regard of that proposition so explained, I think it will be only those who are better acquainted with wrangling than reasoning, and deeper in love with strife than truth. [As for the aspersion of Arminianism, I can testify

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that in our joint employment at the synod of Dort you were as far from it as myself, and I know that no man can embrace it in the doctrine of predestination and grace, but he must first desert the Articles agreed upon by the Church of England, nor in the point of perseverance, but he must vary from the common tenet and received opinion of our best approved doctors in the English Church. I am assured that you neither have deserted the one nor will vary from the other.][a] And therefore be no more troubled with other men's groundless suspicions than you would be in like case with their idle dreams.

Thus I have enlarged myself beyond my first intent. But my love to yourself, and the assurance of your constant love unto the truth, enforced me thereunto. I rest always

Your loving brother,

Jan. 30, 1628. JOHN SARUM.

TO THE REVEREND AND LEARNED

MASTER DOCTOR PRIDEAUX,

PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY IN OXFORD, AND RECTOR OF EXETER COLLEGE.

WORTHY MASTER DOCTOR PRIDEAUX:

All our little world here takes notice of your worth and eminency, who have long furnished the divinity chair in that famous university with mutual grace and honour.

Let me entreat you, upon the perusal of this sorry sheet of paper, to impart yourself freely to me in your censure; and to express to me your clear judgment concerning the true being and visibility of the Roman church.

You see in what sense I profess to hold it; neither was any other ever in my thoughts: say, I beseech you, whether you think any learned orthodox divine can with any colour of reason maintain a contradiction hereunto. And if you find, as I doubt not, much necessity and use of this true and safe tenet, help me to add, if you please, a further supply of antidotes to those popish spiders that would fain suck poison out of this herb.

It was my earnest desire that this satisfactory "Reconcilement" might have stilled all tongues and pens concerning this ill-raised brabble; but I see, to my grief, how much men care for them-

[a] [In the Edition of 1629.]

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selves more than peace. I suffer, and the Church is disquieted: your learning and gravity will be ready to contribute to a seasonable pacification.

In desire and expectation of your speedy answer, I take my leave, and am

Your very loving friend and fellow-labourer,

JOS. EXON.

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,
AND MY VERY GOOD LORD,

JOSEPH,

BISHOP OF EXETER.

RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD:

Upon the receipt of your "Reconciler," which it pleased you to send me, I took occasion, as my manifold distractions would permit, to peruse what had been said on both sides concerning the now-being of the Roman church.

Wherein I must profess, that I could not but wonder at the needless exceptions against your tenet; you affirming no new thing in that passage misliked in your "Old Religion." And this your "Advertisement" afterward, so fully and punctually cleareth, and your "Reconciler" so acquitteth it, with such satisfying ingenuity, that I cannot imagine they have considered it well, or mean well, that shall persist to oppose it.

For who perceives not, that your lordship leaves no more to Rome than our best divines ever since the Reformation have granted? If their speeches have been sometimes seemingly different, their meaning hath been always the same: that in respect of the common truths yet professed among the papists, they may and ought to be termed a true visible church, in opposition to Jews, Turks, and pagans, who directly deny the foundation; howsoever their antichristian additions make them no better than the synagogue of Satan.

This being agreed upon by those whose judgment we have good reason to follow, cited in your "Advertisement," and by others, they do an ill office to our Church, in my opinion, who set them at odds in this point that are so excellently reconciled; and give more advantage to the adversary by quarrelling with our worthies, than the adversary is like to get by our acknow-

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ledgment, that they are such a miserable church as we discover them to be.

What I have thought long since in this behalf, it appeareth in my lecture "De Visibilitate Ecclesiæ;" and as often as this hath come in question in our public disputes, we determine here no otherwise than your lordship hath stated it: and yet we trust to give as little advantage to popery as those that do detest it; and are as circumspect to maintain our received doctrine and discipline, without the least scandal to the weakest, as those that would seem most forward.

That distinction of Rome's case before and since the Council of Trent, holds not to dis-church it; but shows it rather to be more incurable now than heretofore.

Neither find I any particulars objected which those worthy men have not sufficiently cleared that have justified your assertion.

Not to trouble therefore your weightier affairs with my needless interposition: as that controversy about the altar, Joshua xxii, had presently a fair end upon the full understanding of the good meaning on both sides; so I trust in God this shall have. In which I am so persuaded, that if it were to be discussed there after our scholastical manner, it might well be defended either *pro* or *con* without prejudice to the truth, according to the full stating which your "Advertisement" and "Reconciler" have afforded.

And thus, with tender of my due observance and prayers for your happiness, I rest

Your lordship's
in Christ to be commanded,
JOHN PRIDEAUX.

From Exon. Coll. Martii 9no.

TO MY REVEREND AND LEARNED FRIEND,

MASTER DOCTOR PRIMEROSE,

PREACHER TO THE FRENCH CHURCH IN LONDON.

WORTHY MASTER DOCTOR PRIMEROSE:

You have been long acknowledged a great light in the reformed churches of France; having for many years shined in your orb, the famous church of Bourdeaux, with notable effects and singular approbation both for judgment and sincerity: both which also

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your learned writings have well approved; so as your sentence cannot be liable to the danger of any suspicion.

Let me entreat you to declare freely what you hold concerning the trueness and visibility of the Roman church, as it is by me explicated; and withal, to impart your knowledge of the common tenet of those foreign divines with whom you have so long conversed concerning this point, which, if I mistake not, only a stubborn ignorant will needs make litigious. It grieves my soul to see the peace of the Church troubled with so absurd a misprision.

In expectation of your answer I take leave, and commend you and your holy labours to the blessing of our God. Farewell. From

Your loving brother
and fellow-labourer,
JOS. EXON.

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,
AND MY VERY GOOD LORD,

JOSEPH,

BISHOP OF EXETER.

RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD:

I have been so busied about my necessary studies for preaching on Sunday, Tuesday, and this Thursday, that I could not give sooner a full answer to your lordship's letter, which I received on Friday last at night; whereby I am desired to declare freely what I think concerning the trueness and visibility of the present Roman church, as it is by your lordship explicated; and what is the common tenet of the foreign divines, with whom I have so long conversed beyond the seas, concerning that point.

I might answer, in two lines, that I have read your "Reconciler;" and judge your opinion concerning that point to be learned, sound, and true.

Though that, if I durst favour an officious lie, I would willingly give my suffrage to those divines which, out of a most fervent zeal to God and perfect hatred to idolatry, hold that the Roman church is in all things Babel, in nothing Bethel. And as they which seek to set right a crooked tree, bow it the clean contrary way to make it straight; so to recover and pull out of the fire of eternal damnation the Roman Christians, I would gladly pourtray them with sable colours, and make their religion more black in

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their own eyes than they are in ours; the hellish-coloured faces of the flat-nosed Ethiopians; or, to the Spaniard, the monstrous Sambenit of the inquisition.

But fearing the true reproach cast by Job in his friends' teeth, *Will ye speak wickedly for God, and talk deceitfully for him?* Job xiii. 7: and knowing that we must not speak a lie, nó not against the devil, which is *the father of lies;* I say that the Roman church is both Babel and Bethel. And, as God's temple was in Christ's days at once *the house of prayer* and *a den of thieves,* Matt. xxi. 13; so she is, in our days, *God's temple,* 2 Thess. ii. 4, and *the habitation of devils, the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird,* Rev. xviii. 2.

Which I prove thus:

The Church is to be considered three manner of ways: first, according to God's right which he keepeth over her, and maintaineth in her, by the common and external calling of his word and sacraments; secondly, according to the pure preaching of the word, and external obedience in hearing, receiving, and keeping the word sincerely preached; thirdly, according to the election of grace, and the personal calling, which hath perpetually the inward working of the Holy Ghost joined with the outward preaching of the word, as in Lydia, Acts xvi. 14. Thence cometh *the answer of a good conscience toward God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ,* 1 Pet. iii. 21.

To begin with the last consideration. These only are God's Church, which are *Jews inwardly in the spirit,* as well as *outwardly in the letter; whose praise is not of men, but of God,* Rom. ii. 28, 29: who are Nathanaels, and *true Israelites, in whom there is no guile,* John i. 47: invisible to all men; visible to God alone, who *knoweth them that are his,* 2 Tim. ii. 19, and each of them to themselves, because they *have received the spirit which is of God, that* they *might know the things which are freely given* them *of God,* 1 Cor. ii. 12, and *the white stone and new name, which no man knoweth saving he that receiveth it,* Rev. ii. 17. Of this Church, called by the apostle *the people which God foreknew,* Rom. xi. 2, there is no controversy amongst our divines.

In the second consideration, these only are the true visible Church of God, amongst whom the word of God is truly preached without the mixture of human traditions, the holy sacraments are

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celebrated according to their first institution, and the people consenteth to be led and ruled by the word of God. As when Moses laid before the faces of the people, *all the words which the Lord commanded him; and all the people answered together, All that the Lord hath spoken we will do,* Exod. xix. 7, 8; xxiv. 3. *The Lord said unto Moses, Write thou these words: for after the tenor of these words I have made a covenant with thee and with Israel,* xxxiv. 27. And Moses said to the people, *Thou hast avouched this day the Lord to be thy God, and to walk in his ways, and to keep his statutes, and his commandments, and his judgments, and to hearken unto his voice: and the Lord hath avouched thee this day to be his peculiar people, as he hath promised thee, and that thou shouldest keep all his commandments,* Deut. xxvi. 17, 18. This condition of the commandment God did often inculcate into their ears by his prophets; as when he said to them by Jeremiah, *This thing commanded I them, saying, Obey my voice, and I will be your God, and ye shall be my people; and walk ye in all the ways that I have commanded you, that it may be well unto you,* Jer. vii. 23; xi. 4.

So in the gospel, Christ saith, *My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me,* John x. 27; but *a stranger will they not follow, but will fly from him, for they know not the voice of strangers,* v. 5; where he giveth the first mark of the visible, true, and pure Church, to wit, the pure preaching and hearing of Christ's voice. As likewise St. John saith, *He that knoweth God heareth us. Hereby know we the spirit of truth and the spirit of error,* 1 John iv. 6.

Again, the Lord saith, *By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another,* John xiii. 35: pointing out the concord and holy agreement which is among the brethren, as another mark of the orthodox Church. As likewise when he saith, *Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven,* Matt. v. 16, he showeth that good works are the visible mark of the true orthodox Church.

The true preaching and reverend hearing of the gospel is a visible mark of our faith and hope; our concord in the Lord is a mark of our charity; our good works are real and sensible testimonies of our inward faith, hope, and charity. Where we find these three signs, we know certainly that there is Christ's true Church; and judge charitably, that is probably, that every

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one in whom we see these outward tokens of Christ's true and orthodox Church, is a true member of the mystical body of the Lord Jesus. I say charitably, because outward marks may be outwardly counterfeited by hypocrites; as it is said of Israel, *They did flatter with their mouth, and they lied unto him with their tongues. For their heart was not right with him, neither were they steadfast in his covenant,* Ps. lxxviii. 36, 37: and of many of those that followed our Saviour, *many believed in his name, when they saw the miracles which he did. But Jesus did not commit himself unto them, because he knew all men,* John ii. 23, 24.

Therefore, when the people of Israel departed from the covenant, and by their idolatry brake, as much as in them lay, the contract of marriage between them and God; they ceased, in that behalf, to be God's true spouse and people, though still they called him their husband and their God. When they made a molten calf in the wilderness, and worshipped the works of their own fingers, God said to Moses, *Thy people, which thou broughtest out of the land of Egypt, have corrupted themselves,* and not "my people," Exod. xxxii. 7: and Moses, to show that on their part they had broken the covenant, broke the tables of the covenant, v. 19. When under Ahaz they did worse, Isaiah called them *children that are corrupted,* i. 4: their prince and governors, *rulers of Sodom;* themselves, *people of Gomorrah,* v. 10: their holy city, *a harlot,* v. 21. And God about the same time cried unto them by Micah, *Thou, that art named the house of Jacob;* thou, that wast *of late my people,* Micah ii. 7, 8: and to the ten tribes by Hosea, *Ye are not my people, and I will not be your God,* Hosea i. 9. After the same manner Christ said to the Jews, which gloried and made their boast that God was their father, *If God were your father, ye would love me: ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do,* John viii. 42, 44.

If we speak of the Romish church according to this distinction, defining the Church by the keeping of the covenant in pureness of doctrine and holiness of life, God himself hath stript her of that glorious name, calling her *spiritually Sodom, Egypt,* Rev. xi. 8; and *Babylon,* xiv. 8: *Sodom,* in the pollution of her most filthy life; *Egypt,* in the abominable multitude of her filthy idols; *Babylon,* in the cruel and bloody oppression and persecution of the saints. And, because she was to call herself as falsely as

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arrogantly, the mother-church, the angel calleth her *the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth*, xvii. 5. Because also she was to bring and magnify herself in the multitude of her saints, he saith that she is *drunk with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus*, v. 6. And, taking from her the name of *the Church*, which she challengeth privately to all other Christian congregations, he nameth her, as I have already said, *The habitation of devils, the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird*, xviii. 2.

In the first sense, Moses said to God, *Why doth thy wrath wax hot against thy people?* Exod. xxxii. 11; because, although they had broken the covenant on their part, by the works of their hands, God had not as yet broken it on his part. Jeremiah, in the greatest heat of their monstrous idolatries, prayed, after the same manner, *Do not abhor us, for thy name's sake: do not disgrace the throne of thy glory: remember, break not thy covenant with us*, Jer. xiv. 21: and Isaiah, *Thou art our father: we are all thy people*, Is. lxiv. 8, 9. For so long as God calls a people to him by his word and sacraments, and honours them with his name, so long as they consent to be called by his name, professing it outwardly, they remain his people, although they answer not his calling, neither in soundness of faith nor in holiness of life: even as rebellious subjects are still true subjects on the king's behalf, who loseth not his right by their rebellion; nay, on their own also in some manner, because they still keep and profess his name, and give not themselves to any foreign prince. Did David lose his right by the rebellion of the people under his son Absalom? And, therefore, when the king subdueth these traitors, he carrieth himself towards them, both in forgiving and in punishing, as their lawful and natural prince, and not as a conqueror of new subjects. So as a strumpet is a true wife, so long as her husband consents to dwell with her, and she is named by his name: and as Hagar, when she fled from her mistress Sarai, was still Sarai's maid, as she confessed, saying, *I flee from the face of my mistress Sarai*, Gen. xvi. 8; in like manner, a rebellious, fugitive, and whoring church is still a true church, so long as God, keeping the right of a king, of a master, of a husband over her, giveth her not the bill of divorcement; but consents that his name be called upon her, and she still calleth herself his kingdom, his maid, his wife. Thus God calleth the Jews His people, even then when he said they were

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not his people, Is. lviii. 1; because he had not broken the band of marriage with them, and put them away by divorcement. Therefore he said unto them, *Where are the letters of your mother's divorcement, whom I have put away?* l. 1: meaning, he had not given unto them a writing of divorcement, but did still acknowledge them to be his spouse, notwithstanding their manifold and most filthy whoredoms with false gods, which he charged them with, saying unto them by Jeremiah, *Thou hast polluted the land with thy whoredoms and with thy wickedness. Thou hast a whore's forehead, and refusest to be ashamed. Wilt thou not for this time cry unto me, My father, thou art the guide of my youth? Turn, O backsliding children, saith the Lord, for I am married unto you;* or, according to the French translation, *I have the right of a husband over you,* Jer. iii. 2, 3, 4, 14. So after he had called the ten tribes *Lo ruhamah* and *Lo-ammi,* saying he would no more have mercy upon them, and that they were not his people, he calleth them his people, Hos. i. 6, 9. *My people,* saith he, *asketh counsel at their stocks, and their staff answereth them,* iv. 12.

But, after that God had scattered them among the Medes and other nations of Assyria, and broken his covenant with them, they became not only in the second, but also in the first sense, *Jezreel,* and no more *Israel; Lo-ruhamah,* and no more *Ruhamah; Lo-ammi,* and no more *Ammi.* Then was fulfilled the prophecy, *Plead with your mother, plead: for she is not my wife, neither am I her husband,* Hos. ii. 2. So the Jews, which were God's people in the midst of their idolatry, since they have denied Christ to be the Messiah, the mediator between God and them, and have crucified the Lord of glory, are no more God's people, although they beg still that name. They are, saith Christ, *the synagogue of Satan:* they *say they are Jews, and are not, but do lie,* Rev. iii. 9. For, seeing God hath broken them off, and grafted the Gentiles in their room, Rom. xi. 17, they qualify themselves God's people as falsely and injuriously, as a whore, lawfully divorced by her husband, calleth herself his wife.

To apply this to the Roman church, which hath adulterated and corrupted the whole service of God, and is more adulterous than was at any time Judah or Ephraim, and therefore is not a true visible church in the second sense; I say she is one, in some sort, in the first. In her, God doth still keep his true word

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in the Old and New Testament, as the contract of his marriage with her. In her, is the true Creed, the true Decalogue, the true Lord's Prayer, which Luther calleth "the kernel of Christianity." In her, Christ is preached, though corruptly. In her, the Trinity and incarnation of Christ are believed. In her, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are prayed unto; though in an unknown tongue to the most part. In her, the little children are baptized, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: and no divine will deny that their baptism is a true sacrament, whereby their children are born to God; seeing we do not rebaptize them, where leaving her, they adjoin themselves to us: who then can deny that she is a true church? for out of the Church there is no baptism, and the Church alone beareth children to God. In her, sitteth *the man of sin, the son of perdition, who sitteth in the temple of God*, 2 Thess. ii. 3, 4, which is the Church. It is granted, that she is *Babylon* in the second sense; and God's people is commanded to come out of Babylon, Rev. xviii. 4. What is God's people but God's Church, which forsaketh her successively; as of old, the typical people came out of the typical Babylon, not at once, but at many several times? If then we apply unto her God's commandment, exhorting her to come out of Babylon, either we understand not what we say, or we acknowledge her to be God's people, that is, God's Church, though idolatrous, rebellious, and disobedient. Neither shall she cease to be God's people in this sense, till the coming of that blessed day, when the air shall rebound with the shouting of the saints, *Babylon is fallen, she is fallen, that great city, because she made all nations drunk with the wine of the wrath of her fornication,* Rev. xiv. 8.

I say then, that as Jerusalem was at the same time *the holy city* and *a harlot;* the temple was *Bethel* and *Bethaven,* God's house and a house of iniquity; the Jews were *God's people* and *no people,* God's children and the devil's; Ephraim was *Ammi* and *Lo-ammi,* in divers respects: even so, the Romish church is both Bethel and Babel; Bethel from God, calling her to the communion of his grace in Christ by his word and sacrament of baptism; Babel from herself, because she hath made a gallimaufrey of the Christian religion: confounding, pellmell, her own traditions with God's word; her own merits with Christ's; the blood of martyrs with the blood of *the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world,* John i. 29; purgatory with the same *blood which purgeth us*

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from all sin, 1 John i. 7; justification by works, with justification *by faith only*, Gal. ii. 16; praying to the creatures, with praying to the Creator; idols of men, women, beasts, angels, with God's worship; the mediation of saints, with the mediation of him who is *the surety of the new testament, and is able to save to the uttermost all those that come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them*, Heb. vii. 22, 25. Nay, as Calvin said truly, in the Romish church Christ is scarcely known among the saints: of whom, some are in heaven, as the apostles; &c.: some on earth, as the pope: some in hell, as St. Dominic, the firebrand of the war against the Albigeois; St. Garnet, whom Tyburn sent to his own place, to be rewarded of the gunpowder treason: some did never die, because they had never the honour to live; as St. Christopher, St. Ursule, St. Longin, who was a spear, St. Eloi, who was two couple of sharp nails; and many more of the same stuff. In a word, the roaring of the gamards of Baal is so loud in that church, that Christ's voice is scant heard in her: and yet heard, both in the mouth of these Babylonian builders, which understand not one another; and in the mouths of the people halting between Christ and the pope their Baal. And therefore, in that behalf, not the true, but a true Christian church.

This testimony is the praise of the most wonderful patience of God, who suffereth so long that common hackney to bear his name.

It is her shame, as it is the shame of a queen married to a good husband, to be convicted of running up and down after strangers.

It is a vantage to us, in our employment for her conversion: for, as when Hagar had confessed truly that she was Sarai's maid, the angel took her at her word, saying, *Return to thy mistress, and submit thyself to her*, and persuaded her, Gen. xvi. 9; even so we take the Roman church by the neck, when she confesseth that she is Christ's church, as she is indeed, exhorting her to return unto Christ, to obey his word, to submit herself unto him, and to follow the true faith of the ancient Catholic and apostolic Church.

Neither is it any vantage to her against us, to enforce us to return to her, or to upbraid us for forsaking her: for, as Moses, when the people had committed idolatry, *took his tabernacle, and pitched it without the camp, afar off from the camp*, Exod. xxxiii. 7, breaking off all communication with those which had broken the covenant of the Lord their God, till they repented; as

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God said to Jeremiah of the Jews, which had *opened* their *legs to every one that passed by, and multiplied* their *whoredoms*, (Ezek. xvi. 25.) *Cast them out of my sight, and let them go forth: Let them return unto thee, but return not thou unto them*, Jer. xv. 1, 19: as Hosea said of Ephraim, *Ephraim is joined to idols, let him alone*, Hos. iv. 17: so Christ saith unto us, *Come out* of Babylon, *my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues*, Rev. xviii. 4. Her sins are a spiritual leprosy; and we run away from leprous men, though true men, and our nearest and dearest friends; crying—what they are loth to cry—*Unclean, unclean*, (Lev. xiii. 45,) lest their breath should infect us. Her sins are infidelity, not negative, but privative; not in whole, but in part: as St. Paul, a believing Jew, was in unbelief when he persecuted the Church: and St. Paul saith unto us, *Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers, &c. Come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you, and will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty*, 2 Cor. vi. 14. 18. A faithful subject will not take a traitor, though a subject, by the hand; nor I, a papist, in matter of his religion: neither will honest women go unto the stews with the greatest lady, though she be a great one's wife.

This I have ever taught privately, preached publicly, published in printed books against papists, during these thirty three years of my ministry in the French churches, without any advantage to our adversaries, without any contradiction of our divines, without any exception taken against it by our churches, or any particular among the brethren; which all, in their name, preach and publish that they are of the same mind, calling themselves "The Reformed Churches," and our religion "The Reformed Religion." For, as the good kings of Judah did not build a new temple, call to God a new people, set up a new religion, but repurge and cleanse the old temple, restore the ancient religion, exhorted God's people to shake off the new inventions of the new-patched religion, and to return to the Lord their God by the old way which their fathers had beaten, and Moses had traced unto them in the law; and as Zerubbabel, Ezra, Nehemiah, Jeshua, builded the walls of Jerusalem upon the ancient foundation, every man building next himself, Neh. iii. and iv.: even so, the protestant divines have every one next himself, not builded a new church upon a new foundation, but repurged the ancient church of idol-

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atry, superstition, false interpretations of the Scriptures, and traditions of men, whereof she was fuller than ever Augeas's stable was full of muck; but beaten down, and burned with the fire of God's word, the walls *of wood, hay, stubble*, which the Babylonian builders had raised upon the old foundation, which is Christ Jesus, and edified upon it a fair palace *of silver, gold, precious stones*, 1 Cor. iii. 12. This same is the opinion also of my colleagues of the French Church of the city of London.

If any self-conceited Christian thinketh this an advantage, rather than a disparagement and disgrace, to that punk the Roman church; and taketh thereby occasion to persevere to be her bawd or stallion, and to run a whoring with her; I say with the Psalmist, *The wicked hath left off to be wise, and to do good*, Ps. xxxvi. 3; and with the angel *He that is unjust, let him be unjust still: and he which is filthy, let him be filthy still*, Rev. xxii. 11. For neither must an honest heart speak a lie, for the good that may come of it, nor conceal in time and place a necessary truth, for any evil that may ensue of it. If it harden more and more the flinty hearts of some unto death, it will soften and melt the iron hearts of others unto life; that, seeing among us the mud and dirt of human traditions, wherewith the pope and his clergy had furred and soiled the bright-shining glass of the gospel, wiped away from this heavenly mirror of God's favour, they may come unto us, and, *beholding, with open face, as in a glass, the glory of the Lord*, may be *changed* with us *into the same image, from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord*, 2 Cor. iii. 18.

Which last effect I pray, with my heart, your "Reconciler" may have with those that are children of peace. And so recommending your lordship, with all your learned, eloquent, sound, and useful labours to God's most powerful blessing, and myself to the continuance of your godly prayers and old friendship, I remain for ever

Your Lordship's most humble
and affectionate Servant,

GILBERT PRIMEROSE.

From London, the 26th of February, 1629.

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TO MY WORTHY AND MUCH RESPECTED FRIEND,

MR. H. CHOLMLEY.

MASTER CHOLMLEY:

I have perused your learned and full reply to Master Burton's answer: wherein you have, in a judicious eye, abundantly righted yourself, and cleared a just cause; so as the reader would wonder where an adversary might find ground to raise an opposition.

But let me tell you, were it a book written by the pen of an angel from heaven in this subject, I should doubt whether to wish it public. How true, how just soever the plea be, I find, such is the self-love and partiality of our corrupt nature, the quarrel is enlarged by multiplying of words. When I see a fire quenched with oil, I will expect to see a controversy of this nature stinted by public altercation. New matter still rises in the agitation, and gives hint to a foreresolved opposite of a fresh disquisition: so as we may sooner see an end of the common peace, than of an unkindly jar in the Church; especially such a one as is fomented with a mistaken zeal on the one side, and with a confidence of knowledge on the other.

Silence hath sometimes quieted suchlike mis-raised brabbles, never interchange of words. This very question was on foot some forty years ago, in the hot chase of great authors; but whether through the ingenuity of the parties, or some overruling act of divine Providence, it soon died without noise; so I wish it may now do. Rather let the weaker title go away with the last word, than the Church shall be distracted.

For that position of mine which occasioned your vindication, you see it sufficiently abetted and determined by so reverend authority as admits no exception. I dare say no learned divine of our own Church or the foreign can but subscribe, in this our sense, to the judgment of these worthies. To draw forth, therefore, this cord of contention to any further length, were no less needless than prejudicial to the public peace. He is not worthy to be satisfied that will yet wrangle.

As for those personal aspersions that are cast upon you by malice, be persuaded to despise them. These western parts, where your reputation is deservedly precious, know your zeal for God's truth no less fervent, though better governed, than the most fiery of your censurers. No man more hateth popish superstition: only your fault is, that you do not more hate error than injustice; and cannot abide wrong measure offered to the worst enemy.

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Neither be you troubled with that idle exprobration of a prebendary retribution. Who would care for a contumely so void of truth? God knows that worthless gift was conferred upon you ere this task came into either of our thoughts: and whoso knows the entire respects betwixt us from our very cradles till this day, may well think that a prebend of three pounds by the year need not go for a fee, where there is so much and so ancient cause of dearness. I am sorry to see such rancour under the coat of zeal.

Surely nothing but mere malice can be guilty of this charge: no less than of that other envious challenge, of your decay of graces; of falling from your first love, from industry to ease, from a weekly to a monthly preaching: when those that know the state of your Tiverton, the four-parted division of that charge, and your forced confinement to your own day by public authority, both spiritual and temporal, must needs acquit you, and cry down the wrong of an accuser. As for the vigour of God's good graces in you, both common and sanctifying, all the country are your ample witnesses. I, that have interknown you from our childhood, cannot but profess to find the entrance of your age no less above the best of your youth in abilities than in time; and still no less fruitful in promises of increase than in eminent performances.

What need I urge this? your adversaries do enough feel your worth: so as, to speak seriously, I cannot sufficiently wonder at the liberty of those men, who, professing a strict conscience of their ways, dare let their pens or tongues loose to so injurious and uncharitable detraction, whereof they know the just Avenger is in heaven. It should not be thus betwixt brethren; no, not with enemies.

For the main business there wants not confidence on either side. I am appealed to by both; an unmeet judge, considering my so deep engagements. But, if my umpirage may stand, I award an eternal silence to both parts. Sit down in peace, then; you and your worthy second, whose young ripeness and modest and learned discourse is worthy of better entertainment than contempt: and let your zealous opponents say, that you have overcome yourselves in a resolved cessation of pens, and them in a love of peace.

Farewell, from

Your loving friend and ancient colleague,

JOS. EXON.

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CERTAIN

CATHOLIC PROPOSITIONS,

WHICH A DEVOUT SON OF THE CHURCH

HUMBLY OFFERS TO THE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION OF ALL

INGENUOUS CHRISTIANS,

WHERESOEVER DISPERSED ALL THE WORLD OVER.

TO ALL THEM WHO, THROUGH THE WHOLE ISRAEL OF GOD, FOLLOW ABSALOM WITH A SIMPLE HEART.

Be not deceived any longer, dear Christian souls: be ye free, that ye may be safe. There is a certain sacred tyranny that miserably abuses you, and so cunningly beguiles you, that you choose rather to err and perish. God hath given you reason; and, above that, faith: do not so far wrong yourselves as to be made the mere slaves of another's will, and to think it the safest way to be willingly blind. Lay aside for a while all prejudice and superstitious side-taking; and consider seriously these few words, which my sincere love to your souls and hearty ambition of your salvation hath commanded me, as before the awful tribunal of Almighty God, to tender unto you.

If what I say be not so clear and manifest to every ingenuous judgment, that it shall not need to borrow further light from abroad, condemn this worthless scroll; and in your severe doom punish the author with the loss of an hour's labour.

But if it shall carry sufficient evidence in itself, and shall be found so reasonable, as that to any free mind it shall not persuade but command assent; give way, for God's sake and for your soul's sake, to that powerful truth of God, which breaks forth from heaven upon you; and at last acknowledge, besides a world of foul errors, the miserable insolence and cruelty of that once-famous and renowned Church, which, to use Gerson's word, will needs make faith of opinion, and, too impotently favouring her own passions, hath not ceased to persecute with fire and sword the dear and holy servants of God; and at last, notwithstanding all the vain thunderbolts of a proud and lawless fury, make much of those your truly-Christian and religious

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brethren, who, according to the just liberty of faithful men, refuse and detest those false and upstart points of a new-devised faith.

But if any of you (which, God forbid!) had still rather to be deceived and dote upon his received errors; and, as angry curs are wont, shall bark and bay at so clear a light of truth; my soul shall, in silence and sorrow, pity that man in vain. I wis we have had disputing enough, if not too much. Away, from henceforth, with all these paper-brabblings. God from heaven shall stint these strifes. Wonder, O catholics! and ye, whom it concerns, repent!

I. Every true Christian is, in that very regard, properly capable of salvation; and for matter of faith, goes on in the ready way to heaven.

II. Whosoever being duly admitted into the Church of God by lawful baptism, believeth and maintaineth all the main and essential points of Christian faith, is, for matter of belief, a true Christian.

III. The sum of the Christian faith are those principles of Christian religion and fundamental grounds and points of faith, which are undoubtedly contained and laid down in the canonical Scriptures, whether in express terms or by necessary consequence, and in the ancient creeds universally received and allowed by the whole Church of God.

IV. There cannot be nowadays any new rule of faith.

V. As there cannot be any new rule of faith, so there cannot now be any new faith. It is not therefore in the power of any creature under heaven to make any point to be of faith which before was not so; or to cause any point not to be of faith which formerly was so.

VI. He cannot be an heretic who doth not obstinately deny something which is truly a point of faith, or hold some point contrary to the foresaid Articles of Christian faith.

VII. There are and may be many theological points which are wont to be believed and maintained, and so may lawfully be of this or that particular church, or the doctors thereof, or their followers, as godly doctrines and probable truths, besides those other essential and main matters of faith, without any prejudice at all of the common peace of the Church.

VIII. Howsoever it may be lawful for learned men and particular churches to believe and maintain those probable, or, as they may think, certain, points of theological verities; yet it is not lawful for

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them to impose and obtrude the said doctrines upon any church or person, to be believed and held as upon the necessity of salvation; or to anathematize or eject out of the Church any person or company of men that thinks otherwise.

IX. Notwithstanding any such unjust anathema denounced against any such person or church, whosoever holds those principles and essential points of Christian faith, however he be in place far remote from all the visible churches of Christ, and neither know not or receive not those other positions of theological determination, is throughly capable, in such condition, of Christian communion; and if many such be met together under a lawful pastor, there cannot be denied unto them both the truth and title of a true visible church of Christ.

X. The church of Rome is only, and at the best, a particular church.

XI. All Christian churches are no other than sisters and daughters of that great and universal Mother, which furnisheth both heaven and earth; of equal privilege, in respect of God and his faith; save only, that each one is so much more honourable as it is more pure and holy. It is not therefore lawful for any one of them, in regard of the businesses of faith, to take upon herself the power and command over any other, or to prescribe unto any of them what they must necessarily believe upon pain of damnation.

XII. Those issues of controversy, in regard whereof the reformed catholics are wont to be condemned and anathematized by the Roman church, are far from principles of Christian faith; neither are any other than their own theological positions, and the institutions and devices of that particular church[a].

[a] I perceive some readers have unheedily and unjustly stumbled at this proposition, as if I had herein slighted the differences betwixt us and the Roman church; from which I am so far, as that I have ever professed to hold them to be, on their parts, no less than damnable errors; and such, as by consequence do raze the foundation. If these words have seemed to sound otherwise, it is nothing but the reader's inconsiderate mistaking; who, if he please to bend his second and more serious thoughts upon the place, will easily see that my intention is herein only to show how unjustly the church of Rome doth charge us with heresy in denying their doctrine, forasmuch as those positions of theirs, which we are condemned for refusing, are far from being principles of faith, but are things of their own devising and imposing. For example, they condemn us for rejecting the doctrine of transubstantiation, and refusing to hold that the substance of the bread is, by the force of the words, truly and really turned into the very flesh, blood, and bone of Christ: now, I say, this their doctrine of transubstantiation is far from being any principle of faith, but only a point of their own divinity, devised and maintained by themselves. They condemn us for refusing to pray to saints, or to worship images: I say, that this

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XIII. The reformed catholics have not offered to bring in any new opinion or doctrine into the Church, but only labour and endeavour to procure some late and superfluous additions to the faith, to be cashiered and rejected.

XIV. Vainly, therefore, and unjustly is it required of them, that they should show the succession of their religion and church, as raised upon a quite other foundation, to be derived from the apostolic times to the present; since all that they profess, is, a desire to purge the very same Church of God from certain new errors and superstitious rites, wherewith it is miserably defiled.

XV. Out of all which premises it necessarily followeth, that the Roman church which upon these grounds sticketh not to exclude true Christians, differing from them in matter of such doctrines, from the Church of God and eternal salvation, is justly guilty of great insolency, and horrible breach both of charity and peace; and that the reformed, notwithstanding this rash and unjust censure of theirs, forasmuch as they do inviolably hold all the points of the truly ancient and Christian faith, do justly claim unto themselves a most true and perfect interest in the communion of all Christian churches and eternal salvation.

XVI. There is no less danger in adding to the Articles of Christian faith, than in diminishing them, or detracting from them.

XVII. Those points which the Roman church is wont to add, and forcibly to put upon all catholics, as well the reformed as those whom they term their own, are such as are grounded on her own mere authority.

XVIII. The reformed catholics do justly complain, and prove that those points which the Roman church imposeth and urgeth as the meet additions both of faith and divine worship, are neither safe nor agreeable to the holy word of God, and plead it to be utterly unjust, that those accessory points, of their devising or determining, wherein every church should be left free and at her due liberty, should be imperiously thrust upon them, notwithstanding their vehement and just resistance.

XIX. It argues a palpable self-love in the Roman church, and must needs at the last draw down a grievous judgment from God

doctrine, that saints ought to be invoked or images worshipped, is far from being a principle of faith, but only one of their own theological positions, devised and imposed by themselves. The like may be and must be said of all their other points obtruded on the church; wherein I hope no wise reformed catholic will think he hath reason to dissent from me, or to misdoubt my proposition.

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upon her, that this particular church will needs make herself uncapable of any better condition; in that she vainly brags that she cannot err, and fearfully accurseth and sends down to hell all those that proffer her the least endeavour of the means of her remedy and redress.

XX. Upon all these grounds, it is plain that the reformed catholics are in a safe estate; and that, contrarily, the Roman are in a miserable error and fearful danger; and lastly, that it is only through their default, that the Church of God is not reduced to an happy purity and peace.

2 Tim. ii. 7.—*Consider what I say, and the Lord give you understanding in all things.*

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A LETTER PARÆNETICAL

TO A WORTHY KNIGHT,

READY TO REVOLT FROM THE RELIGION ESTABLISHED.

WORTHY SIR:

WHEN lewd and debauched persons drop away from us, we lament their loss, not our own: but when men of worth leave us, it is not their loss more than ours.

With so much more indignation must we needs think of those cheaters, (for so I construe St. Paul's κυβείαν,) that would fain win you from us with mere tricks of missuggestion: the attempt whereof hath given occasion to these warm lines, which my true zeal of your safety have drawn from me.

So much hath been already spoken to this cavil, that, would you please but to cast your eye upon bishop Morton's treatise of "The Grand Imposture," and bishop Bedell's Epistles to Wadsworth[a], you could not desire other satisfaction. Thither give me leave to refer you at your best leisure.

In the mean time, lest I should seem willing to spare my own endeavours, let me shortly discover the vanity of that stale collusion which some seducers would put upon you.

Certainly, sir, the more you look into these quarrels, the more you find that *Templum Domini* was not a more mocking plea amongst the Jews of old, than *Ecclesia Catholica* is this day among Christians. Those challenge it whole that have it not, and those that have right to it are excluded with equal importunity.

Blessed be God, you were born and bred in a noble and renowned daughter of that great and universal mother, the Church of England. What reason can an enemy show you why you should repent you of such a parentage, and spit in the face of so gracious a mother and nurse?

Nothing, it seems, is urged to you but her age.

[a] [Lond. 1685. annexed to the Bishop's Life.]

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It is a killing word with those Romish impostors, "Where was your church before Luther?" than which, there was never any plea more idle, more frivolous, when it falls under a wise and judicious discussion. For, consider, I beseech you. Did we go about to lay the foundations of a new church, the challenge were most just. *Primum verum* was the old and sure rule of Tertullian. We abhor new churches and new truths: find ours either to be, or to be pretended such, and forsake us. But when all our claim, all our endeavour is, only the reforming and repairing of an old church, faulty in some mouldered stones, and misdaubed with some untempered and lately laid mortar, what a frenzy is this, to ask where that church was which we show them sensibly thus repaired. Had it not been before, how could it have been capable of this amendment? and if it be but reformed by us, it was formed before; and having been since deformed by their errors, is only restored by us to the former beauty.

As sure as there is any church, any truth in the world, this is the true and only state of this controversy; the misprision whereof have been guilty of the loss of many thousand souls.

To speak plainly, it is only the gross abuses and palpable innovations of the church of Rome which we have parted from. Set these aside, they and we are and will be one church. Let this be done, and if their cruelty and uncharitableness would sever us, our unity of faith and Christian love shall make us one, in spite of malice. If their mis-zealous importunity will needs so incorporate those which we can convince for new errors, as to make them essential to the very being of their church, they are more injurious to themselves than their enemies can be; we can but lament to see them guilty of their own mischief.

For us, we have erred in nothing but this, that we would not err. To demonstrate this in particulars were a longsome task, and that which I have already performed in that my treatise of "The Old Religion." May it please you to let fall your eye upon that plain and moderate discourse, you shall confess this truth made good, every parcel whereof I am ready to justify against all gainsayers.

When these men, therefore, shall ask where our church was, answer them boldly, "Where it is."

It is with churches as with those several persons whereof they consist. Give me a man that, having been Romish for opinion, is now grown wiser and reformed, he hath still the same form or

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essence, though not the same errors: he is the same man, then; yea, I add, he is the same Christian that he was, while he holds firmly all those articles of catholic faith which are essential to Christianity. If he now find reason to reject those hideous novelties of the inerrability of a man of sin; of the new and monstrous, but invisible incarnation of his Saviour by charm of a sinful priest; of marting of sins, of purgatory flames, and the rest of that upstart rabble of the Tridentine Creed, while he undoubtedly believes all those truths, which carried our fathers, who lived before the hatching of these devices, safely and directly to heaven; who can deny him the honour of true catholicism and Christianity?

No otherwise is it in whole churches, whereof every believing soul is an abridgment. If any of them find just cause to refuse some newly obtruded opinions, which the rest are set to maintain, while in the mean time the foundation remains entire, this can be no ground to dischurch that differing company of Christians; neither are they other from themselves upon this diversity of opinion.

But I hear what some whisperers say, "It is the determination of the Church which makes what points she thinks fit *de fide*, and fundamental:"—Let me confidently say this is the most dangerous innovation that can fall into the ears, hearts, hands of Christians. If the Church can make another God, another Christ, another heaven, other prophets and apostles, she may also lay another foundation. But the old rule of the Chosen Vessel, whereon I securely cast my soul, is, *Fundamentum aliud ponere nemo potest.*

But that you may perfectly discover the fraud, what church is it, I beseech you, to whom this power is arrogated? and by whom is it usurped? None but the Roman: and what is that but a particular church? I speak boldly, there was never so gross a gullery in the world as this. What interest hath Rome in heaven more than Constantinople, than Paris, than Prague, than Basil, than London, or any other city under heaven? or, what privilege hath the Italian church above the Greek, French, German, English? It is the charge of the apostle, *My brethren, have not the faith of God in respect of persons:* I may, upon the same grounds, say, in respect of places, the locality of truth is the most idle and childish plea that ever imposed upon wise men.

Away with this foppery. The true divinity of St. Peter was, and is, *In every nation, he that feareth God and worketh right-*

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eousness, is accepted of him. The climate makes no difference: and if more respect have been anciently given to that see than to others, it was the sovereignty of the city which then drew on those honours to the church, which, upon the very same reason, were no less transmitted to Constantinople. Set those aside, and what holiness can Tiber challenge above Rhine or Thames? Let fools be mocked with these fancies; but you, whom God hath endued with singular judgment and understanding in all things, will easily resent the fraud, and see that there is no more reason why the English church should conform in opinion to the Romish, were the doctrines equally indifferent, than the Roman church to the English. They are but the several limbs of one large and universal body; and if, in respect of outward order, there have been or may be acknowledged a precedency; yet in regard of the main substance of truth, we cannot admit of any dependence on any church under heaven.

Here, that which is the purer from error and corruption must take the wall, maugre all the loud throats of acclaiming parasites. Yea, so far must we needs be from pinning our faith upon the sleeve of Rome, as that we cannot, without violence offered to our own consciences, but see and say, that there is no particular church on earth so branded by the Spirit of God in the Scriptures as Rome. Insomuch as the best abettors and dearest fautors of that see are glad to plead that Rome is St. Peter's, and St. John's Babylon. We bless God for standing on our own feet, and those feet of ours stand upon the infallible grounds of the prophets and apostles, of primitive creeds, councils, fathers; and therefore we can no more deceive you than they can deceive us.

The censure that the enemies of our Church cast upon it is, not untruth, but defect. They dare not but grant what we say is true, but they blame us for not saying all is true which they say. Now that which we say was enough to serve those ancient Christians which lived above those lately devised additions, the refusal whereof is made heinous and deadly to us. How safe, how happy is this erring! Let my soul be with those blessed martyrs, confessors, fathers, Christians, which never lived to hear of those new articles of the new Roman faith; and I dare say you will not wish yours any other where. There can be no danger in old truths, there can be nothing but danger in new obtrusions.

But I find how apt my pen is to overrun the bounds of a letter. My zeal of your safety carries me into this length. The errors,

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into which these seducers would lead you are deadly, especially upon a revolt. Your very ingenuity, I hope, besides grace, will suggest better things to you: *Hold that which you have, that no man take your crown.* My soul for yours, you go right. So sure as there is an heaven, this way will lead you thither. Go on confidently and cheerfully in it. Let me never be happy, if you be not. You will pardon my holy importunity, which shall be ever seconded with my hearty prayers to the God of Truth, that he will stablish your heart in that eternal truth of his Gospel which you have received, and both work and crown your happy perseverance. Such shall be the fervent apprecations of

Your much devoted Friend,

JOS. EXON.

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A PLAIN AND FAMILIAR EXPLICATION OF

CHRIST'S PRESENCE

IN THE

SACRAMENT OF HIS BODY AND BLOOD,

OUT OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND,

FOR THE SATISFYING OF A SCRUPULOUS FRIEND.

ANNO 1631.

That Christ Jesus our Lord is truly present, and received in the blessed sacrament of his body and blood, is so clear and universally agreed upon, that he can be no Christian that doubts it.

But in what manner he is both present and received is a point that hath exercised many wits and cost many thousand lives; and such as some orthodox divines are wont to express with a kind of scruple, as not daring to speak out.

For me, as I have learned to lay my hand on my mouth where God and his Church have been silent, and to adore those mysteries which I cannot comprehend; so I think it is possible we may wrong ourselves in an over-cautious fear of delivering sufficiently revealed truths. Such I take this to be which we have in hand. Wherein, as God hath not been sparing to declare himself in his word; so the Church of England, our dear mother, hath freely opened herself in such sort, as if she meant to meet with the future scruples of an over-tender posterity.

Certainly, there can be but two ways wherein he can be imagined to be present and received—either corporally or spiritually.

That he should be corporally present at once in every part of every eucharistical element through the world, is such a monster

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of opinion, as utterly overthrows the truth of his human body, destroys the nature of a sacrament, implies a world of contradictions, baffles right reason, transcends all faith, and, in short, confounds heaven and earth: as we might easily show in all particulars, if it were the drift of my discourse to meddle with those which profess themselves not ours: who yet do, no less than we, cry down the gross and Capernaitical expression, which their pope Nicholas prescribed to Berengarius; and cannot but confess, that their own cardinal Bellarmine advises this phrase of Christ's corporal presence should be very sparingly and warily taken up in the hearing of their people. But my intention only is, to satisfy those sons of the Church, who, disclaiming from all opinion of transubstantiation, do yet willingly embrace a kind of irresolution in this point; as holding it safest not to inquire into the manner of Christ's presence. What should be guilty of this nice doubtfulness, I cannot conceive, unless it be a misconstruction of those broad speeches, which antiquity, not suspecting so unlikely commentaries, hath upon all occasions been wont to let fall concerning these awful mysteries. For what those oracles of the Church have divinely spoken in reference to the sacramental union of the sign and the thing signified in this sacred business, hath been mistaken as literally and properly meant to be predicated of the outward element: hence have grown those dangerous errors, and that inexplicable confusion which hath since infested the Church. When all is said, nothing can be more clear, than that, in respect of bodily presence, the heavens must contain the glorified humanity of Christ, until his return to judgment. As, therefore, the angel could say to the devout Maries after Christ's resurrection seeking for him in his grave, *He is risen: he is not here*, Mark xvi. 6; so they still say to us, seeking for his glorious body here below, "He is ascended: he is not here." It should absolutely lose the nature of an human body if it should not be circumscriptible. Glorification doth not bereave it of the truth of being what it is. It is a true human body, and therefore can no more, according to the natural being even of a body glorified, be many wheres at once, than, according to his personal being, it can be separated from that Godhead which is at once every where. Let it be therefore firmly settled in our souls as an undoubted truth, That the human body of Christ, in respect of corporal presence, is in heaven; whither he visibly ascended, and where he sits on the right hand of the Father, and whence he shall come again with glory; a parcel of our Creed,

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which the Church learned of the angels in Mount Olivet; who taught the gazing disciples, that *this same Jesus, which was taken up* from them *into heaven, shall so come in like manner as* they *saw him go into heaven;* which was with wonderful glory and magnificence. Far be it from us then to think that the blessed humanity of the Son of God should so disparage itself, as where there is neither necessity nor use of a bodily descent to steal down, and convey himself insensibly from heaven to earth daily, and to hide up his whole sacred body in an hundred thousand several pyxes at once. It is a wonder that superstition itself is not ashamed of so absurd and impossible a fancy: which it is in vain for men to think they can salve up with a pretence of Omnipotence. We question not the power of God, but his will; and do well know, he cannot will absolute contradictions; *Deus hoc potenter non potest,* as one said truly.

That which we say of Christ's presence holds no less of his reception. For so do we receive him into us, as he is present with us; neither can we corporally receive that which is bodily absent. Although, besides the common incongruity of opinion, the corporal receiving of Christ hath in it a further prodigiousness and horror. All the novices of the Roman schools are now ashamed of their popes' *dentibus teritur:* but when their doctors have made the best of their own tenet, they cannot avoid St. Austin's *flagitium videtur præcipere.* By how much the human flesh is and ought to be more dear, by so much more odious is the thought of eating it. Neither let them imagine they can escape the imputation of an hateful savageness in this act for that it is not presented to them in the form of flesh; while they profess to know it is so, howsoever it appeareth. Let some skilful cook so dress man's flesh, in the mixtures of his artificial hashes and tasteful sauces, that it cannot be discerned by the sense; yet if I shall afterwards understand that I have eaten it, though thus covertly conveyed, I cannot but abhor to think of so unnatural a diet. Corporally then to eat, if it were possible, the flesh of Christ, as it could, in our Saviour's own word, *profit nothing,* John vi. 63; so it could be no other than a kind of religious cannibalism; which both nature and grace cannot but justly rise against.

Since therefore the body of Christ cannot be said to be corporally present or received by us, it must needs follow, that there is no way of his presence or receipt in the sacrament but spiritual:

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which the Church of England hath laboured so fully to express, both in her holy liturgy and publicly authorized homilies, that there is no one point of divine truth which she hath more punctually and plainly laid down before us.

What can be more evident than that which she hath said in the second[a] exhortation before the communion? thus:—

"Dearly beloved, forasmuch as our duty is to render to Almighty God our heavenly Father most hearty thanks, for that he hath given his Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, not only to die for us, but also to be our spiritual food and sustenance;" as it is declared unto us, as well by God's word, as by the holy sacraments of his blessed body and blood, &c. Lo, Christ is in this sacrament given to us to be our spiritual food. In which regard also this sacrament is in the same exhortation called a godly and "heavenly feast;" whereto that we "may come holy and clean," we must "search and examine our own consciences," not our chops and maws; that we may come, "and be received as worthy partakers" of such an heavenly table.

But that in the following exhortation is yet more pregnant, that we should "diligently try and examine" our faith, "before we presume to eat of that bread and drink of that cup. For as the benefit is great, if with a true penitent heart and lively faith we receive that holy sacrament; (for then we spiritually eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his blood; then we dwell in Christ, and he in us; we be one with Christ, and Christ with us;) so is the danger great, if we receive the same unworthily." What terms can be more express? It is bread and wine, which we come to receive: that bread and that wine is sacramental. It is our heart, wherewith we receive that sacrament: it is our faith, whereby we worthily receive. This receipt and manducation of the flesh of Christ is spiritually done; and by this spiritual receipt of him we are made one with him, and he with us. By virtue then of the worthy receipt of this sacramental bread and wine, we eat the flesh and drink the blood of Christ spiritually; and there grows hereby a reciprocal union betwixt Christ and us. Neither is he otherwise one with us than we are one with him; which can be no otherwise than by the power of his institution and of our faith.

And that no man may doubt what the drift and purpose of

[a] [The second, according to the order observed in K. Edw. VI. Liturgies. See Cardwell's Ed. Oxf. 1852. p. 286.]

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our blessed Saviour was, in the institution and recommendation of this blessed sacrament to his Church, it follows in that passage: "And to the end that we should alway remember the exceeding great love of our Master, and only Saviour, Jesus Christ, thus dying for us, and the innumerable benefits which by his precious blood-shedding he hath obtained to us; he hath instituted and ordained holy mysteries, as pledges of his love, and continual remembrance of his death, to our great and endless comfort." If, therefore, we shall look upon and take these sacred elements as the pledges of our Saviour's love to us, and remembrances of his death for us, we shall not need, neither indeed can we require, by the judgment of our church, to set any other value on them.

But, withal, that we may not slightly conceive of those mysteries, as if they had no further worth than they do outwardly show, we are taught in that prayer which the minister, kneeling down at God's board, is appointed to make, in the name of all the communicants before the consecration, that, while we do duly receive those blessed elements, we do, in the same act, by the power of our faith, eat the flesh and drink the blood of Christ: so effectual and inseparable is the sacramental union of the signs thus instituted by our blessed Lord and Saviour with the thing thereby signified. For thus is he prescribed to pray: "Grant us therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body, and our souls washed through his most precious blood, and that we may ever[b] dwell in him, and he in us:" implying, that so doth our mouth and stomach receive the bread and wine, as that in the mean time our souls receive the flesh and the blood of Christ: now the soul is not capable of receiving flesh and blood, but by the power of that grace of faith which appropriates it.

But that we may clearly apprehend how these sacramental acts and objects are both distinguished and united, so as there may be no danger of either separation or confusion, that which followeth in the consecratory prayer is most evident: "Hear us, O merciful Father, we beseech thee; and grant that we receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine, according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed body and blood: who, *in the same night that he was betrayed, took bread; and, when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it*

[b] ["continually" K. E. Lit.]

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to his disciples, saying; Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you: Do this in remembrance of me." What more can be said? What come we to receive outwardly? the creatures of bread and wine. To what use? in remembrance of Christ's death and passion. What do we the while receive inwardly? we are thereby made partakers of his most blessed body and blood. By what means doth this come about? by virtue of our Saviour's holy institution. Still it is bread and wine in respect of the nature and essence of it; but so, that, in the spiritual use of it, it conveys to the faithful receiver the body and blood of Christ: bread and wine is offered to my eye and hand, and Christ is tendered to my soul.

Which yet is more fully, if possibly it may be, expressed in the form of words prescribed in the delivery of the bread and wine to the communicant: "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life;" and, "Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving, &c." No gloss in the world can make the words more full and perspicuous. So do we, in remembrance of Christ's death, take and eat the sacramental bread with our mouths, as that our hearts do feed upon the body of Christ by our faith. And what is this feeding upon Christ but a comfortable application of Christ and his benefits to our souls? Which is, as the prayer next following expresses it, then do we feed on Christ, when by the blessed "merits and death" of our blessed Saviour, "and through faith in his blood," we do "obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of his passion," and are "fulfilled with his grace and heavenly benediction."

Or if we desire a more ample commentary upon this sacramental repast, and the nourishment thereby received, the prayer ensuing offers it unto us in these words: "We most heartily thank thee, for that thou hast vouchsafed to feed us, which have duly received these holy mysteries, with the spiritual food of the most precious body and blood of thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ; and dost assure us thereby of thy favour and goodness towards us; and that we be very members incorporate in thy mystical body, which is the blessed company of all faithful people; and be also heirs through hope of thy everlasting kingdom, by the merits of the most precious death and passion of thy dear Son."

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This, then, is to feed upon Christ. Lo, the meat and manducation and nourishment are all spiritual, while the elements be bodily and sensible.

Which the allowed Homilies of the Church also have laboured, in most significant terms, to set forth.

"Thou must carefully search and know," saith the first sermon concerning the sacrament (tome 2[c]), "what dignities are provided for thy soul: whither thou art come, not to feed thy senses and belly to corruption, but thy inward man to immortality and life; nor to consider the earthly creatures which thou seest, but the heavenly graces which thy faith beholdeth. For this table is not, saith Chrysostom, for chattering jays; but for eagles, who fly thither where the dead body lieth."

And afterwards, to omit some other passages, most pregnantly thus: "It is well known, the meat we seek for in this supper is spiritual food, the nourishment of our soul, a heavenly refection, and not earthly; an invisible meat, and not bodily; a ghostly substance, and not carnal: so that, to think without faith we may enjoy the eating and drinking thereof, or that that is the fruition of it, is but to dream a gross carnal feeding, basely abjecting and binding ourselves to the elements and creatures; whereas, by the advice of the Council of Nice, we ought to lift up our minds by faith, and, leaving these inferior and earthly things, there seek it where the Sun of Righteousness ever shineth. Take this lesson, O thou that art desirous of this table, of Emissenus, a godly father, that when thou goest to the reverend communion to be satisfied with spiritual meats, thou look up with faith upon the holy body and blood of thy God, thou marvel with reverence, thou touch it with the mind, thou receive it with the hand of thy heart, and thou take it fully with the inward man[d]." Thus that homily, in the voice of the Church of England.

Who now shall make doubt to say, that in the sacrament of the blessed Eucharist Christ is only present and received in a spiritual manner: so as nothing is objected to our senses but the elements; nothing but Christ to our faith? and therefore, that it is requisite we should here walk with a wary and even foot, as those that must tread in the midst, betwixt profaneness and superstition: not affixing a Deity upon the elements, on the one side; nor, on the other, slighting them with a common regard:

[c] [Homilies, Oxf. 1859. p. 441.]
[d] [Ibid. p. 445.]

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not adoring the creatures; not basely esteeming their relation to that Son of God whom they do really exhibit to us?

Let us not then think it any boldness, either to inquire or to determine of the manner of Christ's presence in the sacrament; and confidently to say, that his body is locally in heaven, spiritually offered to and received by the faith of every worthy communicant upon earth.

True it is, that in our Saviour's speech, John vi, to believe in Christ is to eat his flesh and to drink his blood, even besides and out of the act of this eucharistical supper; so as, whosoever brings Christ home to his soul by the act of his faith, makes a private meal of his Saviour: but the holy sacrament superadds a further degree of our interest in the participation of Christ; for now, over and above our spiritual eating of him, we do here eat him sacramentally also: every simple act of our faith feeds on Christ; but here, by virtue of that necessary union which our Saviour's institution hath made betwixt the sign and the thing signified, the faithful communicant doth partake of Christ in a more peculiar manner: now his very senses help to nourish his soul; and by his eyes, his hands, his taste, Christ is spiritually conveyed into his heart, to his unspeakable and everlasting consolation.

But to put all scruples out of the mind of any reader concerning this point, let that serve for the upshot of all which is expressly set down in the fifth rubric in the end of the Communion, set forth as the judgment of the Church of England, both in king Edward's and queen Elizabeth's time, though lately, upon negligence, omitted in the impression, in these words: "Lest yet the same kneeling might be thought or taken otherwise, we do declare, that it is not meant thereby that any adoration is done, or ought to be done, either unto the sacramental bread and wine there bodily received, or unto any real and essential presence there being of Christ's natural flesh and blood. For as concerning the sacramental bread and wine, they remain still in their very natural substances; and therefore may not be adored, for that were idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians: and as concerning the natural body and blood of our Saviour Christ, they are in heaven, and not here; for it is against the truth of Christ's natural body to be in more places than one at one time, &c.[e]"

[e] [K. E. Lit. Cardwell, Preface p. xlii. note B.]

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Thus the Church of England, having plainly explicated herself, hath left no place for any doubt concerning this truth. Neither is she any changeling in her judgment, however some unsteady minds may vary in their conceits. Away then with those nice scruplers, who, for some further ends, have endeavoured to keep us in an undue suspense, with a *Non licet inquirere de modo;* and conclude we, resolutely, that there is no truth in divinity more clear than this of Christ's gracious exhibition and our faithful reception of him in this blessed sacrament.

Babes, keep yourselves from idols. Amen.

END OF VOL. VIII.

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